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BIOGRAPHY

Vol. 22 1999 No. 14

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FESTSCHRIFT

for GEORGE SIMSON

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Vol. 22
1999
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Gabriel Merle

Noel Annan

Michael Holroyd

Edward Seidensticker

Glenn D. Paige

Stephen O'Harrow

Frederick R. Karl

Johan Galtung

Anthony M.Friedson

ue 22 . number 1 . winter 1999

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22:1 • Winter 1999

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Editors' Note iii

Articles

Gabriel Merle 1 What I Know of George Simson: Scrappy Notes for a Distant Biography of the Founder of *Biography*

Through retracing the history of a relationship which began by a community of interests quickly developing into friendship, the author outlines the portrait of a man of strong convictions, who, he feels, has always been, as a private person, a scholar, and a citizen, a faithful servant to truth, freedom, and justice.

Noel Annan 16 Keynes and the Bloomsbury Group

John Maynard Keynes was a central figure in the Bloomsbury Group, but both the Strachey clan and the Stephen sisters (Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf) had reservations about him. They feared that his success in life as a public figure had caused him to betray the ideals of the Group. Noel Annan considers whether this was so.

Michael Holroyd 32 Carrington and Strachey

Michael Holroyd revisits the world of Bloomsbury and investigates the complex relationship between Lytton Strachey and the painter Dora Carrington. He concludes that Strachey's life was at one with his writings, and that both illustrate a moral reaction from the sexual repression that had flourished in late Victorian Britain when Strachey was growing up.

Edward Seidensticker 46 Autobiography

The essay chiefly explores difficulties in writing autobiography and relations between autobiography and other autobiographic forms, such as diary, memoir, and autobiographic fiction, as well as differences between autobiography and biography. It also remarks upon different kinds of autobiography.

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Glenn D. Paige 57 Gandhi as Leader: A Plutarchan Perspective

This paper explores the criteria used for judging leaders by asking how Plutarch might have evaluated Gandhi. In particular, the author addresses the extension of categories developed for a martial or violence-accepting society to a nonviolent leader.

Frederick R. Karl 75 Writing George Eliot's Biography

Even in writing about a traditional subject like George Eliot, the biographer must seek innovative ways of presenting her. Such innovations include an entire array of contexts: cultural, personal, historical, critical, psychological. The biographer here decided that a psychological approach, while eschewing all narrowing systems, was the preferable way to integrate Eliot's life and work.

Stephen O'Harrow 86 Babar and the *Mission Civilisatrice:* Colonialism and the Biography of a Mythical Elephant

Illustrated in a series of events in the fictional early life of the "King of the Elephants," author Jean de Brunhoff (1899–1937) created Babar, a multifarious character, facets of which have charmed juvenile as well as adult readers, both in French and in foreign translation, for several generations. The humanity and bourgeois domesticity of de Brunhoff's pachydermal universe, however, mask a basically colonialist perception of the world, one which accurately reflected the de Brunhoffs' social milieu, the zeitgeist in the first third of the twentieth century, and Republican France's complex attitudes towards being a colonial power.

Johan Galtung 104 A Multicultural Global Culture: Not a Question of When, But How

The paper compares multilingual and multicultural competence and identifies a number of similarities. One of them is the capacity of children to learn languages and cultures, provided the competence comes from significant others like friends rather than through a formal school system. Two parents may well raise their children in two languages and two cultures, but one parent is advised not to switch. The author's own family biography, and Hawai'i, are used as examples. Better passive knowledge of other languages and cultures than none at all; and general softening of cultures is more peace productive than one global culture.

Anthony M. Friedson 113 George Simson: A Grateful Summary

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Editors' Note

Essays in Honor of George Simson

A *festschrift* is a funny thing. We knew this almost as soon as we announced the project. Just watching the mouths of the average American twist around the strange ordering of consonants has made the project well worth the effort. But a *festschrift* in honor of George Simson has more than just the pleasure of watching people struggle to mispronounce the word; the Friends of George are such a various crew that the works they have submitted to honor their friend—and the contributors are all F.O.G.s of one sort or another—not only represent the varied interests of George himself but also have offered us and, we are sure, the readers of this volume a lively variety of intellectual approaches and topics. In covering George's career the essays herein range from personal reminiscence to scholarly analysis. All give us an intimate look at the process of being a working intellectual.

The most personal contributions are those of biographer Gabriel Merle and poet Anthony Friedson. Merle's "Scrappy Notes" provides us, through the lens of skeptical Gallic amusement and admiration, with as complete a summary of George's career as we will get at this point. Friedson's note, "A Grateful Summary," which, in fact, concludes the volume, provides a light-hearted—it is difficult to erase the image of George the editor switching his spiked Prussian helmet for "a delicate Emily Dickinson chapeau"—look at George's career as seen from the point of view of one of his closest colleagues.

It is only natural that works by biographers would be key to a collection dedicated to the founder of both the Biographical Research Center and *Biography*, and three of the most important biographers writing today have contributed essays to this *festschrift*. George's friendship with Michael Holroyd began with their interest in Lytton Strachey. It is more than fitting that, as a biographer of both Strachey and Carrington, Holroyd tells us how he became involved with his subjects. Noel Annan, too, focuses on the Bloomsbury group in his fascinating picture of

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Editor's Note iii

Articles

Carolyn A. Barros 177 Getting Modern: *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*

With *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Gertrude Stein radically alters the history of autobiography. Stein effects the shift to modernist autobiography by eschewing the romantic conception of the self—a set of feelings and internal motives—to construct herself as a modernist work of art, a collage of multiple identities, a multi-perspectival "Master-piece."

Daniel L. Manheim 209 The Voice of Arii Taimai: Henry Adams and the Challenge of Empire

This article represents Henry Adams as distinctly divided on the question of imperialism. In his memoir about the last chiefess of Tahiti, he found a narrative that at once provided a just representation of his subject and silenced a narrative that implicated himself as biographer in his family's imperialist project.

Anna Makkonen 237 Holocaust Chronicle, Spiritual Autobiography, Portrait of an Artist, Novel in the Making: Reading the Abridged Diary of Etty Hillesum

Critical discussion of Etty Hillesum's diary has mostly concentrated on the Holocaust. This essay emphasizes the literariness of *An Interrupted Life*—symbols, metaphors, intertexts, and the sense of coherence—and examines the diary's relationship to spiritual autobiography, the bildungsroman, and (meta)fiction. Addressing simplified notions of the diary as a genre, the author argues that the "novelization" created by the act of publishing a (literary) diary is the product of the interplay between the scripts of the diarist, the editor, and the reader alike.

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Editor's Note iii

Articles

Panthea Reid 323 Virginia Woolf, Leslie Stephen, Julia Margaret Cameron, and the Prince of Abyssinia: An Inquiry into Certain Colonialist Representations

Only a fragment of Virginia Woolf's 1940 account of the 1910 "*Dreadnought* Hoax" has survived. Her brother Adrian Stephen has little to say about her involvement. Thus her masquerade as a prince of Abyssinia has been open to wildly varied readings. However, a chain of connections between the political journalism of her father, Leslie Stephen, the photography of her great-aunt, Julia Margaret Cameron, nineteenth-century Anglo-Abyssinian history, and Virginia's 1910 work on her first novel, *The Voyage Out*, provides documentary evidence for the reasons behind her disguise. This evidence suggests that Virginia was aware of ways in which Abyssinians had been well- and mis-represented in words and images (some of which are reproduced here). The Abyssinian disguise which she and others adopted, then, can be read as a protest against colonialist stereotypes of Africans and as an expression of solidarity with a princely victim of English imperialism.

Joe Moran 356 "Simple Words": Peter Ackroyd's Autobiography of Oscar Wilde

This article discusses Peter Ackroyd's fictionalized autobiography, *The Last Testament of Oscar Wilde*. It suggests that the text opens up significant questions about biographical and autobiographical interpretation, and more specific issues concerning the relationship between Wilde's own self-fashioning as a celebrated public figure and the social construction of sexualities in late nineteenth-century Britain.

Steven Weiland 370 Biography, Rhetoric, and Intellectual Careers: Writing the Life of Hannah Arendt

Elizabeth Young-Bruehl's biography of political philosopher Hannah Arendt is considered for its formal or rhetorical qualities. The design

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of the argument and elements of Young-Bruehl's own role in her text illustrate characteristic problems in and dimensions of intellectual biography. Arendt's own views about biography are incorporated into an account of her biographer's efforts to find a form suitable for representing her life and unusual scholarly career. Young-Bruehl's book is an example of resistance to some trends in biographical inquiry as well as a model for how the work may be done and the form itself made a subject of reflection.

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Editor's Note

Articles

Sean Meehan 477 Specimen Daze: Whitman's Photobiography

Whitman's use of photography throughout his career plays a key role in the conception of his work's autobiographical nature. Focusing on and around his prose autobiography *Specimen Days* (1882), this essay argues that Whitman incorporates photography (in both image and word) to produce a faithful version of his autobiography, but at the same time, that Whitman writes with an understanding of the dynamic play of the process of photographic representation that serves to question the accuracy and completion presumed in photographs. In *Specimen Days*, Whitman thus uses photography against its own positivist grain, provoking the recognition of the relationship between the positive identity represented and the means of its representation.

Judith Johnston 517 The Hero as Woman of Letters: Anna Jameson Revises Her Girlhood

In Anna Jameson's "A Revelation of Childhood" she revises her childhood to accord with the current ideology of the day, but also to construct herself as a professional writer in competition with Ruskin and Carlyle. She uses two conventions of biography and autobiography to achieve this: hagiography and the concept of piety.

Phyllis E. Wachter and William Todd Schultz 533 Annual Bibliography of Works About Lifewriting, 1998–1999

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W. Andrew Achenbaum 605 *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations*, edited by Kathleen Woodward

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What I Know of George Simson: Scrappy Notes for a Distant Biography of the Founder of *Biography*

Gabriel Merle

Wednesday, August 18, 1965. Paris, North railway station. The time is 16:19. The London train is coming in. I am looking for a traveler, 5'9" tall, brown hair, wearing dark-rimmed, clear-lens glasses, weighing about 190 lbs. He should be wearing a medium-brown suit with an orangeish and brown tie. And carrying a Pan American Airlines whitish bag (with a round blue spot in the middle). I could not miss him. As he himself is looking for someone about his size, wearing shorts and a yellow open shirt, with sunglasses partly out of the pocket, and in his hands a review exhibiting a picture of Lytton Strachey, he could not miss me either. In fact, we walk directly towards each other. The traveler is George Simson, thirty-four, assistant professor of English at the University of Hawaii (spelling of the time). The subject of his dissertation for his Ph.D. was *Lytton Strachey's use of his sources in Eminent Victorians*. It had been submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota two years before.

George Simson is arriving from Marlow, the place where James Strachey, the younger brother and literary executor of Lytton, lives. He has spent a few weeks there, working again on his author. In London, he met Michael Holroyd, a young writer who himself is writing a life of Strachey. And now, George Simson has crossed the Channel to meet me, whose own project is not so much different from Holroyd's. For reasons that are foreign to this narrative, I had not written a single line of my book in four years of meditation, so that, despite our biological

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calendars, he was, on Strachey matters, my elder by far. We were looking forward to interesting talks about Strachey. It was to be the case.

One of the first points we agreed upon was that it was time to "tell all" about Strachey. (No biographer had spoken of his homosexuality so far). Given the nature of his thesis, George Simson had not been faced with the problem of candor, but his position was clear from the start: a biography must be faithful to the facts.

Otherwise, while bowing to Strachey's subtlety and irony, George suddenly stops (we are walking along under the chestnut trees of Sceaux Park) and says regretfully: "He didn't invent much." Or else, I can still see him, in the country where I had taken him, walking on the terrace of my house, imitating General Gordon's "Half gliding, half tripping motion." On the question of Strachey's sources, the best solution was doubtless to read his dissertation. Which I did, later, to my advantage.

However, the Sphinx of Bloomsbury was not our only subject of conversation. In a letter announcing his coming to France, George Simson had enclosed a sheet, which he called a prospectus, in which he described in detail what was to be a journal providing a forum where all the problems concerning biography could be debated. At this stage, he had an advisory board, and he had a handful of dollars available, but obviously not enough.

These few days, crammed with stimulating talk, were, on his own admission, "an introduction to France." He seemed happy to see children in the house. (His own were about the same age.) One of his first observations in the Paris streets was "At last pregnant women! I never saw any in London."

He did some sightseeing: a visit to the tapestries at Aubusson, a glimpse of the Fontainebleau chateau, with a look at the age-old carp in the pond, an afternoon at Versailles, where memories from Japan assailed him: "Louis XIV seems to have used Versailles as Yoritomo used the *bakufu* in Japan in the XIIth century. A useful maneuver in ages of relatively poor communication." My knowledge of the great shogun being next to nil, I refrained from commenting. He also went to the Louvre for "an all too brief visit," where he was "unfortunately somewhat overwhelmed by the Davids" (Who is not?), and then took the train to Brussels, and flew back home.

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In over thirty years, half a dozen other encounters were to follow, and a fairly regular correspondence—thanks to which I feel I can risk the challenge of writing about him.

* * * * *

Our second meeting took place on the occasion of his first sabbatical (1969–1970).

In the interval, George Simson has recast his thesis. He has embarked on "textual criticism from the point of view of the new transformational grammar," not without asking himself if this grammar is really new. Still, he does not regret the effort: "I am glad I have put in the extra years trying to improve it." As for the journal *Biography*,

> the federal government here has set up a National Endowment for the Humanities, but it may not be funded because of the ridiculous war in Vietnam. We had hoped to get some help from that.

The war drags on. "*Biography* cannot get money. It is not dead however." He hopes it will leave "its dormant state."

For citizen Simson, the war is turning from the ridiculous to the obscene. "Our *rôle* of Savior of the World has the stench of burnt flesh about it." No surprise then if George commits himself: "I'm a member of the Hawaii State [Eugene] McCarthy for President Committee." And as his personal work is not making much progress, he thinks it fit to add "another time-consuming futility," immediately corrected by "But futility might be better than folly in this case. McCarthy is a peace candidate."

The historic movements of the year 1968 hit Honolulu, too:

> We too, had our unrest, though peaceful, and rather than guerrilla warfare, a mere 157 arrests, all acquitted. Our cause was a tenure case: a leftish political science professor who was ostensibly fired for being unproductive, while really the firing was done because his views were unacceptable to the regnant majority in the government. I have been in the center of the storm.

Political and unionist action meet here, quite naturally, in someone who, a few years before, had been elected to the departmental policy committee, and who has just been elected

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Chairman of a group called the Student-Faculty Union (an eloquent name). Obviously, George Simson is not the scholar entrenched in his ivory tower, but a citizen who, white collar or not, is a salaried employee who considers that a campus, from this point of view, is no different from any other work place. He will develop this theme forcibly later on. For the time being, after several years, the 1969–1970 sabbatical is welcome.

* * * * *

He decides on Europe. Like most Americans, George Simson is of European descent. His ancestors came from Prussia. And indeed his features, his stature, his gait (and now his Barbarossa beard) gave him an air which is certainly more German than say British or Italian. His wife Marguerite, née Bramhall, is of Anglo-Norman descent. They will spend the better part of these ten months in Yugoslavia. Sceaux, France, is a convenient stopping place on the outward journey. Strachey remains a central theme of conversation.

During his previous journey, George described himself as "the worst of travelers." Yet, this time, accompanied by his whole family, he will travel a lot. In Luxembourg, he buys a large reddish Volkswagen (a familiar feature on Oahu roads to this day). We visit Paris, then the Simsons leave for the Grand Tour: Chartres, Compiègne, Namur, Cologne, Aachen, Vienna, Graz, Maribor, Zagreb, Ljubliana, Rijeka. Given the recent dismemberment of Yugoslavia, his remarks of thirty years ago sound nostalgic: "The Yugoslavs seem very friendly and helpful." For the former graduate student who "lived too long in Minnesota," "the climate in Rijeka is first rate." But with the fall coming, "it seems to be about time to start looking for a house." They find one in Zadar, and George, leaving behind (without regret it would seem) his travelogue, sits down for a few months and revisits Strachey.

> I'm writing now, accompanied by all the vices: passionate intensity, incompressible diction, intellectual crudity, lack of detachment, direction, design. The page of narrative has been excised; the analytic vigor has returned, full of bumps and grinds and bad jokes.

Under the self-deprecating words, one feels a certain elation.

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In the spring (1970), the return journey includes Greece and Italy, a few days' rest in Sceaux, the 14th of July on the Champs-Elysées, George muttering "Kamikaze" if I drive too fast for his taste, happy hours, full of good talk and leisure, lighted by the smile of the ladies and the sonorous games of the children; frail, fortunate moments, fleeting, impalpable. George shows me a few pages of his manuscript: they are theoretical reflections on biography at large. I tell myself I'll see more of it when I receive the book, since it is virtually finished. Curiously, I shall never hear of it again.

Then London. Amsterdam will be the last stop. "Our zeal for seeing sights is waning after two and a half months." They fly home while the VW bus is loaded on a cargo-boat.

* * * * *

Several years elapse before we renew our transworld conversations in person. They are very active years for both of us. George Simson fights on three fronts: research, unionism, politics.

1972 is the year of the Presidential election. Nixon is running for a new term. George Simson is fiercely opposed to Nixon. In 1970, he had written from Zadar:

> We are very depressed by the news from US. . . . We have an official category of functionary now, 'confidential informer' (recognized in HR 14864). Spies! Stool pigeons! . . . I think that people in my position will have to fight or become subservient.

And a few weeks later:

> The worst is to be intimidated by the Nixon-Agnew-Kissinger-Friedman crowd of lunatics.

George Simson was not intimidated, he didn't become subservient, he fought. He campaigned for the Democratic candidate. He himself ran for the State House of Representatives. "Landslide Simson" (as he was called then) won the primary election by ten votes, but lost the general election.

He also fought on the union front. Hardly back from Europe, he was elected President of a chapter of the American Federation of Teachers in Hawaii. He was also a member of the State Board of the Hawaii Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO. On the occasion

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of negotiations between faculty and administration in the University of Hawaii, he published a paper on the relationships that should exist between these two entities.

The title is provocative (Solidarity Never!), the analysis ruthless, the denunciation fierce. For him, the professoriat does not understand that the adversary is management; it balkanizes itself in inner dissensions, notably between the Haves and the Have-nots. It should unionize on an industrial rather than a guild model. The industrial model alone will meet the growing needs for higher education in America, latent or expressed in uneducated adults, particularly women, in those who rethink their lives, and in the retired. Decidedly, the professoriat lacks a holistic approach to the world's problems.

A passionate lesson in class struggle being thus administered, George Simson does not hesitate to denounce also, in bitterly ironical words, the AFL-CIO (to which he belongs), for "supporting a genocidal war in Vietnam, because war industries are good for business and jobs, because shooting gooks is not the same as shooting miners in Ludlow, Colorado." His uncle Louis, who was shop steward in a shipyard, and was one of those who work "for the other fella," would have been proud. Marguerite, his wife, was too. She shares his Weltanschauung. She is precisely at the moment one of those women who, the children having left high school for college, rethink their lives. She is starting law school, she will graduate J.D., will specialize in civil rights cases, will become President of Hawaii Women Lawyers. In the words of her husband, "she represents mostly poor people in family court." And he concludes "I wonder if she is a lawyer or a social worker."

The third fight is undoubtedly a victory. The long-awaited news breaks at last: "I've re-started the journal *Biography*, and this time it will definitely appear." The first number is to come out in January 1978. Leon Edel will write a manifesto. The dream of fifteen years has come true.

A big leap forward is the Symposium, the first ever of its kind, dedicated solely to Biography and its New Directions. The date is January 1981. The main participants come from South Africa, Britain, France, Japan, and the US. A monograph, with a foreword by the editor Anthony Friedson, provides a record of the event, and proclaims it has contributed to "lifting the barriers."

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We meet again with pleasure, after an interval of more than ten years. In fact, we don't see each other very much. George, like all congress organizers, is overworked: we'll find ourselves staying with another friend, the great sinologist John DeFrancis, who will prove an unsurpassable host. Still, two images stick indelibly in my memory: a welcoming glass of champagne at Alani Drive, and, in the restaurant where the Symposium closes, George Simson, standing between Michael Holroyd on his right and myself on his left, his hands on our shoulders, a broad happy smile on his face, expressing his pleasure at bringing together for the first time his friends of the (supposed) Strachey International Club (SIC for short). This rare moment of effusion is justified: if Strachey is no longer in the foreground, he was at the root of it all.

* * * * *

Borne along perhaps by the impetus of the symposium, George informs me he has in mind a subject for a biography. Meanwhile, he's writing a piece on "Ethics and Biography" for a book of readings he is also co-editing. The following year (1982), he delivers a paper at the Los Angeles MLA. Feeling the need for a word designating the paradigms obtaining in the field of biography, he coins the word *biodigm*, henceforward intrinsically associated with his name.

In town George Simson is known as a father of three. But on the campus, it's common knowledge that after Becky, Kathy, and Andy, the journal *Biography* is his fourth child. In those first years, "*Biography* thrives," he writes, "although our reputation exceeds our exchequer."

Politics is not absent from his thoughts. Reagan's election triggered off (as might be expected) violent opposition. As early as August 1981, George Simson denounces in the *Honolulu Advertiser* "Reagan's cruel administration," especially its dangerous foreign policy.

Again, in February 1983:

> The American Ayatollahs are very happy with our "defense" budget. The small-town chauvinists think the USSR is anti-Christ and don't see the consequences of a nuclear war. [neither do the idiot admirals here] Even Tricky Dicky, Bobo the Ford and li'l Jimmy knew the nukes could blow up the world.

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The years 77–83 are full, and the need for a change of scene is growing, In fact, the Simsons have celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of their wedding. Sneaking off to Maui will be the prelude to another sabbatical in Europe. The destination is London, for the wish to write a biography has taken shape. The target is Samuel Rogers (1763–1855), the banker-poet. "I'm really going sleuthing. If nothing turns up, so much the worse; but if the hidden trunk in the old attic or cellar does turn up, it could be exciting." In fact, he finds no hidden trunk in London, but, besides the factual-social stuff, he is interested in the psychology of money and its relation to poetic symbols and enjoys the fun of it.

During his stay in London, he is informed that he has been elected President of the Conference of Editors of Learned Journals in New York ("el Supremo," as he says self-mockingly).

Sometimes the mood is not so cheerful—either concerned, or gruffish, because the children are not quite as diligent in their studies as they might be, or indignant because the Chancellor, "violating about every avenue of due process" reverses the recommendation for promotion made by his predecessor, or decidedly nostalgic. George Simson does not profess to exhibit his feelings or sentiments, but at times they show through the surface. Thus, evoking his departed parents, he remembers how, a few years before in Seattle, when visiting his mother, who had suffered a near fatal heart attack, he suddenly found his hands shaking, something he had never experienced before. Or, he produces an old photo showing two figures seen from the back, a big one and a small one, hand in hand, walking down the lane to the house in Alani Drive: his father and his son. "I like this picture very much," he says soberly. Or again, he recalls colleagues and friends untimely gone: Kim Youngsook Harvey only yesterday, Linda Tillich some time before, dear Dick Foster in 77, who did not see the glorious week of the Center in January 1981.

* * * * *

The French fortnight of 1984 (Paris suburb and deep South-West) had been as floral as a French May can be to honor visitors from Hawaii. On leaving George expressed a little disappointment: we had not talked enough about biography. Then, correcting himself, "perhaps it was just as well." In fact, during that fortnight, a big idea was launched: swapping houses in

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the next sabbatical. The idea was left to slumber for a while, then was to awaken in due time.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, the major preoccupation of the middle and late eighties is unchanged: biography. Biography as a subject for critical examination, *Biography* as a medium to convey the critical output, the Center as a working base. The space at his disposal is insufficient: he longs for a bigger place. A new section in the review is created: *Reviewed Elsewhere*, which will develop under the vigorous efforts of Marie-José Fassiotto. George Simson also looks towards East and South-East Asia, undoubtedly rich in untapped fascinating biographical sources. He relies on the University of Hawaii Peace Institute and its good relations with peace groups in Mongolia and the Academy of Sciences in North Korea. There is a purpose behind all this. Culture and peace meet. Man matters. Man's destiny is worth being narrated and handed down.

George Simson, now Director of the Center for Biographical Research, is invited to talk on the mainland, at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, where he gives the key-note address. The subject is Biography and Theory. In this fairly arduous text, I was particularly struck to see how he himself shows through his words (a fact which, by the way, corroborates Buffon's dictum and justifies biography). Simson appears as someone not insensitive to form but in ardent quest for meaning; able to build a construct but incurably unable to lose contact with life; homo sapiens all right but also homo faber. (And indeed, who does not know George-the-roofer, George-the-carpenter, the don-with-hands who built a terrace, who turned a garage into a studio with enough amenities to please an English peer, who sawed down a wall in the CBR cottage to make a nice big meeting room?) And, to come back to the sapiens sapiens side, a lover of freedom, a man afraid of dogmas, to the point of welcoming indeterminacy.

To be in charge of a review has its drawbacks: you have so many books to read that you no longer have time to write. At least not a full-length book. At the Los Angeles conference, George Simson professes to be "mainly a reader rather than a writer." Professes, admits, or regrets? The fact is that the hour of Samuel Rogers has passed.

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This time (1991) George's sabbatical will last only five months, during which he will work on some of the four papers he claims to have produced in a twelvemonth.

In Paris, a visit to my University (Paris 7-Denis Diderot) starts a chain of bitter remarks on University architecture in Cambridge, Harvard, Stanford—and Paris. Fortunately, he discovers that Montmartre is full of attractive apartments and quiet streets. He also visits some places of power. In London Lord Annan had shown him the House of Lords, in Paris a collaborator of the Prime Minister guides him through Hotel Matignon. The place is impressive, but he is more impressed still by the guide's explanations on the way our Social Security functions, a system so good that it "puts the US to shame."

George Simson is sensitive to cold. But the winter is not particularly severe in that part of the country. In March, they drove over to Normandy, where Marguerite's ancestors, the Bramhalls, lived before going to England in the wake of the Conqueror. They saw the beaches where the Allies landed in June 1944. Arromanches reminded him of a lesson by Fernand Braudel: "geography first." They also saw the famous Bayeux tapestry. But all the while, the "cottage" was on his mind. He regularly called the secretary. Once an editor. . . .

Our true encounter took place in France, after our return from Hawaii at the end of May. A few days in Sceaux, a few days in the home where my roots are, where George appreciates the improvements carried out since his previous sabbatical. The days pass calmly. A week in Berlin concludes the European tour.

* * * * *

The recent years have been very fruitful too. *The Los Angeles Times* recognizes in him a "prodigiously well-read scholar" and appoints him member of its Book Prize for Biography jury. An exciting, but crushing task. "The format of biographies needs radical revision," sighs the new juryman. Meanwhile, the Biodigm text (revised and tried out on Bangkok listeners) appears in an essay published by NYU.

CBR is active too. An international Conference on "Life-Writing from the Pacific Rim" is in preparation. *Early Women Lawyers of Hawaii* is published, Donald J. Winslow's *Glossary of Terms in Biography, Autobiography, and Related Forms* is given a

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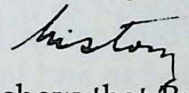
second edition. The boss himself is elected Editor-in-Chief (tongue in cheek: "elevated") and remains director of CBR.

Seen from Europe, and probably from elsewhere too, American universities are rich. Seen from the inside, they are much less so. One day, the CBR cottage is threatened with either demolition or removal at a prohibitive cost. CBR writes to its friends to remind them that research institutes depend on the strength of their publications, that legislative funding fluctuates, and that private support is needed.

One difficulty comes from within the university itself: the administration has decided to charge 6 percent to 10 percent on gifts. This enormous levy means a tremendous loss for CBR. The Director protests vehemently, and asks donors to join with him in voicing their condemnation of the measure.

Another cause for George Simson to give vent to an angry outcry is a certain rule peculiar to Hawaii: UH faculty members running for public office have to take leave without pay, the argument being that this rule prevented "a conflict of interests." *Ka Leo o Hawai'i,* the University newspaper, quotes George Simson's declaration on the subject: "They don't want to treat us as full citizens. They want to treat us like chattels. The message is 'Either your rights or your livelihood.' That sucks." Hopefully, a new faculty contract proposal was being negotiated with the Board of Regents.

Ronald Reagan had been the butt of George Simson's political wrath, but *in fine* he thinks that  (this shaky concept is thus materialized) will show that Bush was "the most deceptive of our Presidents." Naturally enough, he welcomes William Clinton's election. But with reserve: "The Clinton victory was heartening, but Clinton is not." Later, he will dub him "Wily Willy." Militants are bound to be disappointed by political leaders.

For some, retirement is the end of the race. For others, it is a new starting line. George Simson's position is clear: after nearly forty-five years of hard work, he can look back with serenity on his achievement. Then, he will look ahead. In fact, recognition is now widespread. The best instance is to be found in the "Chronology" section of a book on biography by Catherine Parke: his journal and his Symposium are ranked among the major world events in serious biography, along with the four gospels.

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Pleased as he is to see *Biography* bracketed in the company of the four gospels, Plutarch, and Suetonius, George Simson is too much of a realist to take this statement at its face value. But he understands it can be useful. In a humorous letter to University of Hawaii President Mortimer, he takes the opportunity to ask him "to take a small monetary risk for a big intellectual return," in other words to contribute some money to the Center. Just as he is engrossed in his own grown-up kids (happy when they graduate, happy to help them establish themselves, happy when they get married and when a baby promotes him to the rank of grandfather, anxious when the question of health comes up), so he is attentive to the future of his *oeuvre*. Not that he wants, once retired, to impose. He wouldn't like to be "a doddering ancient." He has prepared his succession. A new Editor is appointed. In Michael Fassiotto, the University has its first Ph.D. awarded in Biography; others will follow. George Simson has created a community of scholars and then planned for its continuation into the next generation: he can take his leave. Admittedly, he will miss the life of intellect and discussion. But not some of the less authentic aspects of academic life.

In fact, he won't have much time to miss anything. He is already on his starting-block. He has several projects: an article on the history of CBR for NYU's *Biography and Source Studies*; a *History of CELJ* (Council of Editors of Learned Journals); a text book on biography (from an old draft which is to be extended and added to and later will be put on CD-Rom). Then, there will be the full-length Biodigms.

With such a strenuous life, one sometimes longs for a rest. The rest, or the dream, would be a cruise. On the Baltic. It would entail a search for the place where his great great great grandfather Simson had a horse farm—three hundred strong—near Koenigsberg, in the days of Frederick the Great. In short, a pilgrimage back to his sources.

* * * * *

On coming to the end of these notes, I must confess something bothers me: nowhere do I mention George's faults and failings! Now, as a human being, I feel pretty sure he is not perfect. And as a biographer, I do know the biographee is more human when he appears frail and fallible. Yet it is a fact that the letters we

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have exchanged over the years, and the few meetings we have had, together were not of a kind likely to reveal one's shortcomings. So much for the credibility of the present account. What can be done?

Well, on second thought, coherent as his life may be, I suspect there might be an interesting contradiction or two in George Simson's thinking and action.

First, speaking of the Peace Institute, he writes: "It is part of our statement of principles that we will study peace through peaceful means, since peace through violent means has been a giant failure since 1 million B.C." Who could not help but approve? I only ask myself if this position does not reflect a cathartic effort, a self-prescribed therapy to fight and control a personal demon, for I fail to see in him the meekness of Assisi or that of the great Mahatma, but on the contrary a mass of accumulated energy—extremely flammable.

Second, a free mind, a powerful mind, a man who "never saw a shrink and never had a breakdown," he also prides himself on never having joined a church. And indeed the vision of a churchy Georgy is entertaining. But, considering his unceasing labors to create his Journal, to improve it, enlarge its scope (on the biographical front, he has become a worldwide warrior), and, more important still, considering his disinterested involvement in struggles for the rights of the individual against institutions, for freedom, justice, and peace, is he not, as a private person, a scholar, and a citizen, even though he be churchless, is he not, fundamentally, a man of faith?

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Top: *George Simson, at age eight, on the S. S. Lurline, enroute to Honolulu. With Hilo Hattie, his father and mother, and family friend Joanne Lepine.*

Middle: *The literary man of the world.*

Bottom: *George and Marguerite Simson, at their Mānoa home, 1968.*

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Top: *George and Marguerite Simson, Stephen O'Harrow, Donald Fairey, Cesar Chavez, and Edward Casey, Honolulu, 1972.*

Middle: *George Simson, Michael Holroyd, Phyllis Auty, Noel Manganyi, Margot Peters, Gabriel Merle, Leon Edel, Joel Colton, Anthony Friedson, Shoichi Saeki, and L. W. Koengeter. The New Directions in Biography Conference, 1981.*

Bottom: *At the Biography Cottage, Spring 1997.*

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Keynes and the Bloomsbury Group

Noel Annan

A Lecture Presented on the 50th Anniversary of Keynes's Death

> *"A safety bicycle with genitals."*
>
> *"A malignant goblin gibbering over destinies that are not his own."*
>
> *"He sits like a decayed and amorous spider in King's."*
>
> *"If ever a soul were doomed it is he."*
>
> *"We did our best to persuade him and Ka Cox that if they stay any longer in offices, they will be lost to humanity—as indeed they almost are."*

Such, at different times, were the judgments on Keynes by the most famous literary minds in Bloomsbury—Lytton Strachey and Virginia Woolf. Yet Woolf, who never quite surrendered to his charm, praised his "queer imaginative ardour about history, humanity," and his "ranging adventurous mind which I enjoy," and Strachey at the end of their cataclysmic row, when Keynes took Duncan Grant away from him, wrote "You must always think of me as your friend. I shall think of you in the same way."

Some may ask: does it matter what he and Bloomsbury thought of each other? Roy Harrod thought it did matter and wanted to show that Keynes outgrew Bloomsbury. As a quintessential Oxford man, Harrod could not believe that Keynes took Bloomsbury and its values seriously. Of course Keynes enjoyed Bloomsbury's iconoclasm and speculated about truth and love as a young man should. But once he had served in the Treasury and learned the ways of the world, he put aside childish things. What could be more natural than to distance himself from his old friends? What could be more romantic than for Prince Desiré, having broken the spider's web woven by Carabosse Clemenceau in the forest of Versailles, to wake and marry the sleeping Aurora Lopokova? What could be more dramatic than for the savior of capitalism to die just as fame was placing laurels on his brow?

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In his splendid biography Robert Skidelsky has destroyed that oleograph for ever. Although inevitably I shall speak of Bloomsbury's expostulations against Keynes, it is important to remember how much Bloomsbury admired him and how much he was part of them. First at Cambridge and then in one or other house in a Bloomsbury square, he spent evening after evening talking as a friend with abandon.

Efficiency was not an ideal that cut much ice in Bloomsbury. Keynes liked efficiency. Only a few days into his first term at King's, he said "I've had a good look round the place and come to the conclusion that it's pretty inefficient." But Keynes made reservations. At that time there was a peacock in the College attended by a keeper eighty years old, the groom of a former Provost. Looking after a peacock is not an exacting job—and perhaps the old man wasn't very good at it; when both died they were not replaced. Keynes regretted that. He once said "you cannot run a College without three or four gross abuses." He knew about obscure playwrights, alchemy, genealogy, and, as Alfred Pigou once said, "He knew the numbers of wives a boar—I don't mean a human bore—has to have if he is to be kept happy." (Keynes said the number was fourteen.) But he was not a passionless calculator. He was a gambler who would back his fancy on a book, a painting, the market—or a person. One day before 1914, John Sheppard, later Provost of King's, found Keynes in Bloomsbury with Duncan Grant and Adrian Stephen. "I've just returned from Ostend where they are playing roulette without a zero." The author of the *Treatise on Probability* rose, all packed their bags, left on the night boat and returned after the weekend, all expenses paid and in pocket. Whatever misgivings Bloomsbury had about Keynes, they acknowledged that he was one of them.

What were these misgivings? About his character, about his personality. There were the reservations that people often have about their friends. And we ourselves too about ours. But there was I think a deeper reason. There was between him and Bloomsbury a deep rift about the nature of political obligation. From Plato in the *Republic*, philosophers have tried to explain why anyone should strive to lead a good life and promote the common good in society when living for one's own selfish ends is so much more pleasurable. Why do, or do not, men consent to live together in society, and what do they need to do to

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prevent life from becoming "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short?" Do they form an implicit contract with their rulers? Or is this all a delusion and we need only realize that we will in fact be happy if we try to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number?

At the turn of this century this last explanation, utilitarianism, was looking distinctly shabby. John Stuart Mill had tried to rescue it from some of its contradictions in maintaining that goodness could be defined in terms of pleasure. But as an analytic hedonist, he argued that the rightness or wrongness of an action was to be defined by the aggregate goodness and badness of its consequences. He was followed by Henry Sidgwick, who did not dissent from Mill's contention that goodness meant happiness. But, as a renowned Cambridge agnostic, Sidgwick could not believe that there was any reason for behaving altruistically if God did not exist and men no longer feared the day of divine judgment. Meanwhile at Oxford, Green and Bradley thought Kant and Hegel might rescue us from these dilemmas. But at Cambridge a young philosopher was determined to revive utilitarianism by going beyond Sidgwick's synthetic hedonism. This was G. E. Moore.

Moore was an Apostle, and it was in this discussion club that Bloomsbury found their ethos. Much rubbish has been written about the Apostles since the days of Blunt and Burgess. Even Robert Skidelsky seemed to think that it was the aim of "the Society" to elect the most brilliant intellects among their contemporaries, and he chides the Apostles for not electing Karl Pearson or Pigou or any of the Cambridge Victorian geniuses in science. But Pearson was intolerant in discussion and Pigou positively hated what he called jaw. A prospective member had to be considered "Apostolic." What did that mean? Sidgwick gave the best definition and it holds good to this day. An Apostle must pursue the truth with absolute devotion. There should be no reserve between friends. The only duty is to speak with candor. No proposition is so well established that it can not be questioned, questioned sincerely, not for love of paradox. Yet sincerity is not the same as solemnity. In-jokes and private allusions were always permitted. The Apostles had evolved their own private language. The discussed "The Real." The world outside and its preoccupations were "The Phenomenal." With their code of secrecy and what Milton calls their "sober

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certainty of waking bliss," they had more in common with the Calvinists than they would have liked to confess. They were the elect and outsiders were "too stupid or too wicked," as Lytton Strachey put it, to comprehend truth.

Skidelsky is right to say that the Apostles were no mere student discussion group maundering over coffee. The undergraduate members of the society would find formidable Apostles from earlier days present at the meetings: Russell, McTaggart, and Whitehead as well as Moore himself. The tone was informal but the exposition was rigorous, and Keynes's gift for clear logical analysis shone. Russell said "When I argued with him I felt I took my life in my hands, and I seldom emerged without feeling something of a fool." At the beginning of Keynes's second year Moore published *Principia Ethica*. Strachey, Woolf, and Keynes believed that a new age of reason had dawned.

Moore began by saying that good is good. It cannot be defined as happiness or duty or anything else. He declared that you cannot predict the consequences of any action. This undermined one of the most important props of utilitarianism, the hedonistic calculus. For if you cannot predict the consequences you cannot argue that a particular course of action or reform in politics will increase for certainty the amount of happiness in society. Actions can never be good. At best they can be a means to producing a good state of mind. Indeed the only things that are valuable, Moore said in his chapter on the Ideal, are states of mind. The best states of mind are loving and communing with friends and enjoying beautiful objects. A philosopher can only make a list of such states of mind and it would never be complete because each of us fashions his own concept of good, and it is not the same as other people's concepts. Then just as we are hoping for a new definition of political obligation, Moore appears to backtrack. When all is said and done, promoting your own good is better than promoting altruism. Since you cannot predict the consequences of your actions in trying to make life more pleasant for others, you will probably get it wrong.

Moore tried to build a bridge to the world of politics and "doing good" by admitting that the best states of affairs were complex wholes in which there were common goods which, in conjunction with states of mind, could be of greater value than

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good states of mind on their own. This proposition, according to Leonard Woolf, was at the heart of many a meeting of the Apostles, and Keynes thought he and his friends rejected it in 1905. As he put it, "I am a good friend of the universe and I will do my best for it: but am I willing to go to the devil for it?" Moore left political obligation much as Sidgwick had left it.

Moore also introduced a new method of discussing ethics. We must, he argued, use words in their literal common-sense meaning. He was in fact a pioneer in emphasizing that the task of philosophy was to analyze meaning. He dismissed German idealism, where the primary ethical concept is "What is it my duty to do?" by arguing, in the utilitarian tradition, that the primary concept in ethics is the goodness of a state of affairs. So out went McTaggart and his brand of Hegelianism.

Nor should one forget that Moore had a mesmeric personality. His gasp of astonishment that his listener should be so uncomprehending, the antics of his pipe, spluttering and endlessly re-lit during discussion, and his innocence and unworldliness made his listeners feel themselves less pure than they should be.

How far the Bloomsbury Apostles understood or misunderstood Moore's ethics is still a bone of contention. Like DNA, Bloomsbury's structure resembled a double helix. The Stephen and Strachey clans intertwined. On Leslie Stephen's death his children quit respectable middle-class Kensington for Bloomsbury, and discarded relatives, old family friends, and the encumbrances of chaperons, dances and visiting cards. It was Thoby Stephen, the elder of Sir Leslie's sons, who introduced his Cambridge friends Bell, Strachey, Saxon-Turner, and Woolf to his sisters Vanessa and Virginia. The other strand of the helix contained Lytton, Oliver, James, and Marjorie Strachey and their cousin from the Slade School, Duncan Grant. There were others from an older generation—Roger Fry, Desmond and Molly MacCarthy and on occasions E. M. Forster—and from the younger, the mathematician Harry Norton and the economist Gerald Shove. The ringmaster was Vanessa, who married Clive Bell in 1907 and continued after Thoby's death to hold at homes on Thursday evenings, in Gordon Square. Ten of the twenty members of Old Bloomsbury were Apostles.

Moore provided Bloomsbury with a framework for discussing the good, the true, and the abominable, but the move to

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Bloomsbury was already a signal that they thought the culture of the Edwardian establishment was false and deplorable. So too was the prospect of democratic culture. Moore gave them reasons for dismissing the Fabians and other forms of socialism as irrelevant to their belief that one of the goals in life was the defense of civilization. Civilization meant trying to lead the good life and that was to be found in love of friends and through art and literature.

So it was that Mr. Strachey and Mr. Woolf called on Mr. Keynes in his first term to see if he was fit to be elected to the Apostles. The very next term in 1905 he was elected. Moore's ethics made a particular appeal to them because in its emphasis on love it refused to ask whether such love had a good or bad consequence for others and for society at large. That spoke to their condition, for Strachey and Keynes were both homosexual. What is more, as Skidelsky noted, they were not good-looking and considered themselves physically unattractive.

Strachey took a liking to Keynes at once. He liked clever people. Keynes "analyses with amazing persistence and brilliance . . . his conversation is extraordinarily alert and very amusing." Keynes deferred to Strachey, who was three years his senior. Today people express astonishment that Strachey could have been taken seriously. They forget his overpowering personality, his biting intelligence, and his extreme cleverness. He was the first to coin the epithet "dim" for the benighted and the term "death packet" for those beyond redemption. He was the master of the killing silence. The two of them invented a new concept: the Higher Sodomy.

Homosexuality was institutionalized among the English upper classes to a degree unknown in any other country. From eight to eighteen, nearly three-quarters of the year upper and upper-middle class boys were immured in boarding schools, few of them meeting girls of their own age; and the Oxbridge colleges were monastic establishments. Every so often there was a scandal. The King's don Oscar Browning and William Cory Johnson had both been required to leave Eton for indiscretion. In College at Eton Keynes recorded that there was no sexual activity but on walks "the resurrection of the body alternated with the problem of whether a kiss should be followed by a cop"—copulation. The intense study of the classics—*The Phaedra, The Symposium, The Greek Anthology*—idealized homosexuality

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in ancient culture. *The Greek View of Life*, by the King's don Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, romanticized love between men in ancient Greece.

The higher sodomy took this a stage further. Strachey and Keynes dismissed Lowes Dickinson. Certainly passion should be romantic, and the beloved good-looking and embodying virtú; but the objective was bed, the passion sensual, and the chase devoid of hypocrisy. The Apostles discussed endlessly whether beauty and intelligence could unite in one person. Strachey and Keynes persuaded themselves that a breathtaking undergraduate Arthur Hobhouse possessed both, got him elected to the Apostles, and then discovered they were wrong. They anathematized aesthetes: "even in his sodomy," wrote Keynes of an Oxford acquaintance, "he wants to worship an idealised version in which he has clothed some good-looking absurdity." Yet for all this talk about copulation more often than not the exquisite hare eluded the timorous hounds.

Strachey, angular, spindly, with piping voice and droopy hands, was passionate and almost invariably rebuffed. He dramatized his sufferings as we do when we are young. Yet as you read his letters to Keynes a comparison forms in the mind. Is not this Madame de Merteuil in *Les Liasons Dangereuses* writing to Valmont? Pursuing at Oxford an old Eton flame, Keynes reported that "things ended in only a semi-embrace." By return post Strachey wrote: "how you can throw away your opportunities in the way you do I can't conceive. Glances, imaginations, half-embraces—really I give you up! I really did hope there would be something fine—and then 'your nerves gave way.' Pooh! you're a maniac." Keynes replied, "My dear, I have always suffered and I suppose I always will from a most unalterable obsession that I am so physically repulsive that I've no business to hurl my body on anyone else's."

But there was worse to come. Keynes began to make off with adorables whom Strachey believed he had at last persuaded to reciprocate his love. First there was Hobhouse, and then there was Duncan Grant. Throughout his life Grant, sensual and mischievous, caused havoc, as he put it, because he fell so easily in and out of love. In fact, Strachey's affair with Grant had petered out, but jealousy festered. Strachey first filled Keynes with remorse by behaving with generosity, and then like Madame de Merteuil in the shattering 159th letter, he struck:

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"Quand j'ai à me plaindre de quelqu'un, je ne persifle pas; je fais mieux; je me venge."

Strachey took his revenge. He nicknamed Keynes "Pozzo di Borgo," and he and his brother James set out—the date is February 1909—to spread malice about him among the Apostles and to turn absent friends such as Leonard Woolf against him. Strachey called him lascivious, insensitive, and incapable of love. Keynes had been unwise enough to show James his diary in which he kept an account of how many times he had sex, masturbated, and had wet-dreams. James declared how disgusted he was at this apparition of a calculating machine at work on such a subject. Lytton and James Strachey succeeded in reducing Keynes to misery. Keynes found himself shunned at meetings of the Apostles. Strachey had struck at the jugular with unerring aim. For what Keynes wanted more than sex was affection.

There was another cause for Strachey's jealousy. Keynes had sat the civil service and had passed top into the India office where he became expert in India's currency and financial problems. Strachey failed to get a fellowship at Trinity. Keynes too failed at his first attempt at King's, but at his second in 1909 he got his fellowship. Meanwhile his work in the civil service had opened the doors of London society to him. He met cabinet ministers, top civil servants, and Asquith himself; and in Whitehall his book on Indian finance won him expert réclame. Meanwhile Strachey was living miserably at home, with little money and no publications to his credit.

When war came Keynes was called to the Treasury. Bloomsbury opted out of the war until the Government introduced conscription. And at the end of 1915 five Cabinet ministers resigned on that issue. Then, they asked Keynes: was he, or was he not, with them on the issue of conscientious objection to conscription? Yes, he appeared at tribunals to speak on behalf of Duncan Grant and Bunny Garnett. Yes, he treated the tribunal in his own case with contempt. But did he not know he was safe because he was doing work of national importance? Keynes did not deny that the State had a right to conscript its citizens. But he maintained that he had a right to resist the State to make him act contrary to his convictions.

Elizabeth Johnson was the first to question Roy Harrod's contention that Keynes was never a conscientious objector, and Skidelsky shows how near he was to resigning. The climax came

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when his old patron Edwin Montagu, President of the Cambridge Union when Keynes came up to Cambridge, who had smoothed the way for him to be offered posts by a Liberal Government, made a speech out of character demanding that Germany must be smashed. Strachey cut out the newspaper report and put it on Keynes's plate at breakfast with a note that read "Dear Maynard, why are you still in the Treasury? Yours Lytton."

Keynes's immediate reaction was to send a check for £50 to the National Council Against Conscription; and when Lansdowne's proposals for peace talks were turned down, he wrote to Duncan Grant "I work for a Government I despise for ends I think criminal." His Bloomsbury friends continued to jibe. Worn out with overwork as the crisis of raising credit continued, he came back one night to find them saying that after the Emperor Karl's overtures for peace were turned down, one was ashamed to be English. He contradicted everyone, treated them with contempt and said "Go to bed, go to bed"; whereupon Sheppard to him, "Maynard, you will find it a mistake to despise your old friends." Skidelsky is right to say that he went to Versailles carrying a burden of personal guilt and despondent of the outcome from the first.

Was Keynes betraying the sacred creed of Moore, and by extension, of Bloomsbury? He was certainly prone to deceive himself. Asquith, whom he liked, was as opposed to a compromise peace as those emissaries of Lloyd George, Beaverbrook and Horatio Bottomley. It was at this time that he got a reputation for arrogance. Ottoline Morrell called him "That satyr Keynes greedy for work, fame, influence, domination, admiration." His manner, she considered, "bordered on the insolent"—that manner that was to infuriate American negotiators in both world wars. He laid down the law on any subject and was unscrupulous in argument. Dennis Proctor, a Kingsman beloved of Lowes Dickinson and a Treasury official during the second world war, said that Keynes "handled statistics like India rubber and used his sharp but not bitter tongue to overwhelm his opponents. . . . He would maintain opposite theses with equal virulence in two simultaneous correspondences. . . . He would rend a colleague for carrying out a policy which he himself forced on him a month or two back." Walking on the Sussex downs one morning with him in

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the first world war, Bunny Garnett said he could hear the guns in France. Impossible, said Keynes, sound travels not on the wind but through the ether. Garnett persisted, and Keynes turning to Grant replied "Bunny says the Cambridge physicists are wrong about the diffusion of sound."

Even more alarming to Bloomsbury were his symptoms of worldliness. Visiting Garsington and moving in the Asquiths' world, he would boast of enjoying taking £25 off dowagers at bridge who could afford to lose when he could not. Could they believe their ears when he said that Asquith was more intelligent than Lytton? He thought it really grand to be dining with the Duke of Connaught. Sheppard, who sprang from non-conformist stock and knew of Keynes's non-conformist ancestors, exploded: "non-conformist snobbery. I know all about it. They're like bugs in a rug, bugs in a rug." Bloomsbury began to pick on his table manners. Vanessa Bell, who liked talking dirty with Keynes, drew the line at his scatological reminiscences and thought he was at a critical point in his life. The members of Bloomsbury were brutal to outsiders; they were also very severe to each other.

Two incidents absolved him. In 1918 Duncan Grant heard that the paintings Degas owned were being auctioned in Paris. Keynes persuaded the Treasury to stump up £20,000 to buy them for the National Gallery. "Your existence at the Treasury is at last justified," said Vanessa. Not only did he buy for the Gallery, he bought Cezanne's *Apples* for himself, since the keeper at the Gallery had no use for it. The second incident was the publication of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. It was a polemic and it matched the polemic which Strachey had published in 1918. *Eminent Victorians* was a polemic against Victorian Christianity, imperialism, public school education, and the impulse to exploit human beings as Florence Nightingale had done—an evil unredeemed by the fact that the cause was humanitarian.

Keynes's portraits of President Wilson and Clemenceau paralleled Strachey's indictments, and both books had powerful cultural and political consequences. Political history in those days was written in terms of the characters and schemes of statesmen, and for Keynes it only required for Wilson to be less hypocritical, Lloyd George less venal, and Clemenceau less cynical for all to have been well. He never considered the social forces that impinged upon his three villains—never considered

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that Lloyd George and Clemenceau were both prisoners. Lloyd George was the prisoner of the Conservative Party, which he had to keep sweet to redeem something from the wreckage; Clemenceau, an exceptionally open-minded Frenchman married to an American wife, was the prisoner of France, which had lost twice as many soldiers as Britain and whose northern provinces were devastated. Prodigious as Keynes's gifts were he did not think like a historian.

After the war Bloomsbury relaxed. Some had married or had moved to the country. In the old days it was said that the group loved in triangles and lived in squares, but Fitzroy, Gordon, and Tavistock squares were now used as *pieds à terre*, and the Woolfs, the Bells, and Strachey took country cottages. But the ethos was unaltered. Keynes spent many week-ends immediately after the war with Clive and Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant who were living in a triangle at Charleston. He eventually bought a house and a farm, Tilton, only half a mile away on Lord Gage's estate. Virginia Woolf, and more so Leonard, kept their distance. But Strachey had mellowed, now that fame and royalties from his biography of Queen Victoria rolled in, and Ralph Partridge and Carrington looked after him. Nevertheless Keynes's stinginess disgusted him. Wine was never served for lunch at Tilton: "Would you believe it? Not one drop of alcohol appeared. Il Gran Pozzo is now immensely rich . . . and water, water everywhere. Such is the result of wealth."

He was indeed well off. He speculated not only on his own account but for his Bloomsbury friends, lost their savings once and regained them. Later he was to establish a trust fund for Duncan Grant to free him from all anxiety about the future. Money fascinated him. He never spent it without justification. When going on holiday with Sebastian Sprott, they were stoned by shoe-shine boys who considered they had been paid less than the going-rate for foreigners. Sprott suggested that the hail of stones might stop if they paid more. "I refuse to be a party to debasing the currency" came the answer. At King's he restored the fortunes of the College by investing in equities, but he would not allow the Fellows to salve their consciences by making donations to a myriad of good causes. He believed in giving every so often one overwhelmingly generous donation to a good cause. When during the second world war, Dadie Rylands, standing in as Second Bursar, paid a shilling to repair a tap in a

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cottage leased to an old crone, Keynes rebuked him. It was not for him to dispense charity from the funds of a sacred trust for learning when the tenant was on a full-repairing lease.

Then from 1923 to 1925 a new cloud settled over his relations with Bloomsbury. He fell in love with Lydia Lopokova. They pleaded with him not to marry this parakeet—a mistress yes, but not a wife. Strachey called her a half-witted canary. Vanessa, who regarded Keynes as part of her landscape, could not endure this chatterbox who interrupted her as she painted in the morning. Bloomsbury worked in the day-time; Lydia, if she worked at all, worked in the theater at night. Bloomsbury demanded that intruders should not be conventional and should be rational. Lydia was certainly not conventional, but rational, no.

Why did he fall for her? Keynes was not a congenital homosexual. His psyche and his physique were both bisexual. The conventions of his education and friends inclined him towards men; but when during the war the supply was curtailed but demand remained inelastic, his rate of interest rose to a prohibitive level. James Strachey and Gerald Shove had married and now Bloomsbury supposed that a jolly girl like Barbara Hiles could unfreeze his assets. He did not want an intellectual or anyone whose thought processes resembled his own. Austin Robinson said, "If she had been less than first-rate, he would have despised her. If she had been first-rate, he would have broken her heart. All first-rate economic theorists have been egocentrics. They put the pursuit of truth far above the pursuit of friendship and have no thoughts of wounds they might be inflicting." Marriage for Keynes meant relaxation and support. He dispelled Lydia's madcap tendency to bolt by his tenderness and his gaiety. "He gave gaiety to life," she said, and she in turn did everything for him, chose his shirts and ties, and after his coronary defended him against friends and colleagues who would have exhausted him. But a mere slave would have bored him, and she never did. What she thought and said was unpredictable. She astonished him, and everything astonished her; the spring flowers, people's faces, above all the dotty situations human beings find themselves in.

Part of her charm lay in her language. She had no intention of mastering English. "Your fountain pen speaks such delightful things when I read it I have a smile inside and outside of me . . .

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very tender at the same moment exotick kisses." "Tonight I will rest and take a bath as I believe my feet are dirty. Your complete dog."

Her indiscretions made her famous. At a dinner given by Cordell Hull in Washington she was heard to say to her neighbor, "Two men—yes—I can see they have something to get hold of. But two women—that's impossible. You can't have two insides having an affair." One of Keynes's hobbies in the thirties was farming, and although he would discourse on the merits of dairy shorthorns as dual-purpose cattle, he was not one to dress for the part of a farmer; his one concession to the soil was to wear brown shoes with his blue-pin stripe suit. But he acknowledged his obligations to his neighbors by occasionally giving a garden party; only to hear his wife complain to some dignitary about harvesters, which breed in English summers: "These barristers, they bite you, they get on top of you, they even go to bed with you." She felt deeply about people. "Nijinsky. His soul had holes in it but when he danced the holes were healed."

In the end the change in Keynes's life was the saving of him. Lydia paced him, made him reserve his strength—after his coronary in 1936 and the publication of *The General Theory*, through the years at the Treasury and in Washington during the second world war. But the change spelt death to his intimate relations with Vanessa, Duncan and Charleston. At 46 Gordon Square Vanessa arranged a separate dining room for the Bells. She simply made it clear to Lydia that she was not welcome, and Lydia naturally resented it. Keynes met his old friends at the Cranium or at the Memoir Club where they exchanged memories, and it was at a meeting of that club in 1938 that Keynes delivered an *apologia pro vita sua*, later published as *My Early Beliefs*.

Keynes declared that he was still true to Moore's religion. He was still an immoralist—meaning that he still put his own desire to achieve a good state of mind before his duty (if he had one) to improve the world. But, he said, when they were all young, they forgot a) the importance of what Keynes called the "elaborate framework" of society, the social controls and the traditions that cement human beings together; b) the reverence that one should show towards the past and to institutions; and c) the irrationality of nations—indeed of the "human race"—the dark forces that possessed people, releasing them from the

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constraints of decent behavior. Russell, Braithwaite, and others considered Keynes had misunderstood Moore, but perhaps the most relevant criticisms came from two who were there that evening—Leonard Woolf and the young Quentin Bell. What did they object to?

Leonard Woolf thought the Apostles had never stopped discussing rules of conduct and whether a life of action was better or worse than a life of contemplation. Yes, they may have been naive but they had cause to be optimistic. The Dreyfus case was ending in a defeat for the wicked old regime.

Quentin Bell to the end of his life remained indignant. What was all this about reverence and dark forces? Reverence for the church and state that falsified evidence to prove Dreyfus guilty? Reverence is inimical to reason. And what was this "elaborate framework" Keynes spoke of? The laws against sodomy were part of it. He can hardly have been in favor of them. And what did he mean by saying that "some of the spontaneous irrational outbursts of human nature can have a sort of value," and that "even some of the feelings associated with wickedness can have value?" Hitler's feelings? The nationalism that engenders pogroms and massacres? The sad thing, Quentin Bell concluded, is that there were two Keynes's: the young Keynes who declared in that paper "I remain and always will remain an immoralist," and the Squire of Tilton, who became in 1942 Baron Keynes (and got away with it by going to hear a performance of *Iolanthe*). Bell and Janie Bussy, Dorothy Strachey's daughter, were both advocates of a popular front against fascism. They slunk out of the meeting convinced that Keynes had become a reactionary.

When I came up to King's in 1935 I imbibed at several removes part of the ethos of Bloomsbury. My director of studies in history was a pacifist and an advanced Liberal, but on one matter I disappointed him. I admired Machiavelli. Not the Machiavelli of *The Prince*, but the Machiavelli of *The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy*. In that book Machiavelli argues that only a few want power and to go into politics. The majority of people simply want to feel secure, to live in peace and to earn their living. Machiavelli said that his own ambition in life was to spend the day talking to people at their work; in the evening he would put on fine clothes and read noble books. Machiavelli did not say that politics is an ignoble calling. But if you go in for it, you must realize that you cannot behave and

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obey the same rules that you follow in private life. The two ways of life are governed by different rules. I was reinforced in this belief when I came across the problems of the school men in the twelfth century who were trying to reconcile the new learning of Aristotle and the pagan philosophers with the Fathers of the church. Some came to the conclusion that there were two truths—theological and philosophical. They were at once condemned as heretics.

I still believe the two spheres of thought and conduct are irreconcilable. Of course, they overlap. And if statesmen are wise they should try to bring the ethos of public life as near as possible to that of private life. A former Provost of King's, Bernard Williams, considered the plight of rulers who find themselves having to make decisions, not between right and wrong, but between different kinds of evil. He said, "Only those who are reluctant or disinclined to do the morally disagreeable when it is really necessary, have much chance of not doing it when it is not necessary."

That, I think, is Keynes's defense. Keynes was "reluctant and disinclined." Moore taught him that one must be extremely reluctant to accept readily the compromises of the world that so often are cruel and lead to greater evil. To that principle he remained faithful at Versailles and in Washington before he died. But as he grew older and worked in the world of affairs, he recognized that one had to make alliances with Mammon and even with that prince of tricksters, Lloyd George.

For Keynes did not forget a second sage whom he discovered when he was an undergraduate. It was not only his copy of *Principia Ethica* that was heavily annotated. Robert Skidelsky unearthed in the Marshall Library Keynes's winning essay for the Members Prize in November 1904 on Edmund Burke. In it he praised Burke for championing expediency over abstract right, for refusing to plunge communities in distress or destroy institutions "for the sake of a supposed millennium in the remote future." The state does not exist to direct affairs inexorably towards a good end. It exists to realize happiness—which is certainly not the same as good.

I have been considering only Keynes's relation to his old friends in Bloomsbury. I have not been considering his achievements in public life nor his character. That would require several more lectures. But let me add one further warning about

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his views on political obligation, something which I think is a key to interpreting his character. One can see in the *Treatise on Probability* the faint flicker of hope that somehow one could predict the probable benefits that one action or one piece of legislation might have. But it was mainly at the bridge table or on the stock exchange he put the theory into practice. He was, if the truth be told, poor at guessing what would happen in politics—his optimism affected his judgment. But few have done more to put into practice their ethical beliefs—in the creation of the Arts Council, in the support he gave to the performing arts and to galleries, to dozens of institutions such as King's College, and, above all, in his heroic attempt to tackle the scourge of his time and ours, unemployment. He spent the money he amassed in accordance with Moore's designation of a good state of mind—on his friends, on learning and on the arts. At the same time he knew the frailties of human beings and sensed their tragedy. And why were they tragic? There was a simple reason, revealed by that highly political poet Shelley. Keynes used to quote him:

> "The wise lack love; and those who love, lack wisdom."

He did love and he was wise.

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Carrington and Lytton Strachey plan a walking tour, with Carrington dressed as a boy. A sketch by Carrington, from Michael Holroyd's Lytton Strachey *(London: Chatto & Windus, 1994). Used by the gracious permission of Mrs. Francis Partridge.*

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Carrington and Strachey

Michael Holroyd

How is it that anyone becomes a biographer? Most writers when young want to be poets, playwrights or novelists. There is, of course, another category of writer, the historian. But she is a scholar and lives in a university, or these days several universities. She is a little set apart from poets, playwrights and novelists. A biographer, on the other hand, appears to be a hybrid: a novelist manqué crossed, as it were, with an unfrocked historian.

I find it hard to explain how I landed up as a biographer unless it is by way of failing at so many other careers. I had wanted to be a novelist but was threatened with an action for libel over my first and only novel, which put an end to novel-writing for me. At school I had been trained as a scientist, specializing in physics and mathematics. But I discovered I had no scientific abilities and my mathematics were inadequate. For a couple of years I worked as an articled clerk in a firm of solicitors, but my only interest lay in criminal law which, any lawyer will tell you, is not really an interest in law but in human nature. When I was young there was still compulsory national service in Britain. My two years in the army left no one who saw me in any doubt that I was not a natural leader of men on the battlefield. By the time I was in my mid-twenties, there appeared to be more future in other people's lives than in my own.

That is one explanation of why I became a biographer. It is true that I have always been a person to whom things have not happened—sometimes in the most spectacular way. I have only to stand in the middle of an otherwise empty room, breathing quietly, for someone to open the door, look round, and call out "No one here"; or write a letter and at once, it seems to me, I get no reply. This may have come about because I was largely brought up by grandparents and took their pace and condition rather than my own—that is to say the regime of seventy- or eighty-year-olds when I was seven or eight. To compensate for

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a passionately inactive life I filled my head with book-adventures—as single children often do. Books became my friends and my means of traveling in my imagination. Then I went one stage further, stepping from my own life into other people's, where, quite frankly, there was more going on.

That is one explanation of why I became what James Joyce called "a biografiend." Other people's lives appeared so much more fruitful and exciting. Other people had narrative: I seemed to hover in a vacuum. But what I read and what I experienced vicariously during the seven-and-a-half years I spent working on my first version of *Lytton Strachey* did much to change my mind. And the two-and-a-half years I have recently spent reshaping the narrative and bringing it up-to-date, during which I have (as it were) revisited my past self, have endorsed that change of mind.

In a preface to my biography, I have described my initial meeting with Lytton's younger brother and copyright-holder James Strachey. He was a psychoanalyst who had been analyzed by Freud, subsequently worked with him in Vienna, and then returned to Britain as Freud's authorized translator. His twenty-four volume standard edition of the Master's works was so well-regarded, he told me, that it was being translated back into German as their *own* standard edition. Though mystifying to me at the time, this was a good example of the Bloomsbury joke: apparently self-aggrandizing, yet also ironic, certainly absurd yet nevertheless with some oblique truth lurking in it (they *were* translating his notes and introductions).

My day with James Strachey and his curious wife Alix—a patient, colleague, and translator of Melanie Klein, and reputed to have once been a brilliant cricket player and dancer at the nightclubs—my day with them was a visit into a world very different from my own—which is part of the adventure of biography. It was a day that probably changed my life. The Stracheys lived in a house on the edge of a wood: they lived largely enveloped in cellophane, at almost 30 degrees centigrade, seldom eating, and combining their devastating powers of silence, like a black hole of silence it was, full of ambiguities.

James Strachey had been keeping his brother's papers ever since Lytton's death thirty years before. He was waiting for a time, he said, when public opinion had advanced to a point where the revelations which these papers contained would be

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generally acceptable to the public. One of the ways he would judge this was to be the reaction of potential biographers. Others had come before me, but been driven mad, in James's expert opinion, by the scandalous nature of the material. He would nevertheless, he said, allow me to come and work in their house, provided I was willing to take the risk.

I was. Who could resist such provocation? So I began in 1962. There were some twenty-five thousand letters, and diaries, and multitudes of miscellaneous papers in no special order, all swathed in cellophane which kept the spiders and other terrifying monsters snug and happy before I arrived to disturb them. I felt lost in this vast debris of scholarship. Where to begin? It is perhaps worth reminding people that almost thirty-five years ago the Bloomsbury Group stood very low in what Noel Annan has called "the stock exchange of culture." Even Maynard Keynes's reputation was in retreat before the Chicago school of economists. Strachey's books were not in paperback; Virginia Woolf was yet to be the inspiration she would become with the rise of feminist studies in the 1970s; and even the reputation of E. M. Forster, not yet rekindled by the films of his novels, and by P. N. Furbank's biography, glowed rather dully. Also the art criticism of Roger Fry, once director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and his lieutenant Clive Bell, was no longer considered "significant"; while the paintings of Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant had been removed to the cellars of many public galleries. In short Bloomsbury was completely out of fashion. As for Carrington, her paintings had not been seen and her name was unknown beyond her family and a few surviving friends. She had published nothing and exhibited almost nothing in her lifetime. Coming across her name for the first time in the Strachey papers, I wondered who she was—and indeed whether she was a woman or a man, since she had dropped Dora, her "sentimental lower class English name" as she called it, and was simply known as Carrington. But after a year, during which I held her letters and her diaries almost every day in my hands trying to piece together the extraordinary story they contained, she began to fill my imagination like a great character in fiction.

I had never seen anything like those letters. Sprawling, unpunctuated, misspelt, scribbled out urgently on page after page of foolscap paper, on the torn-out leaves of children's

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exercise books, or the writing-paper she herself designed; and lit up by bewitching and hilarious drawings of incidents from her life (rather like, I thought, some of the drawings of Edward Lear), these letters read with such freshness and immediacy that the ink seemed scarcely to have dried on them.

Essentially it was a private world they evoked. There was no purposeful chronicling for posterity here, no rehash of yesterday's headlines. It was because Carrington carried her instincts so miraculously from childhood into adult life that she was so remarkable. For all their lack of co-ordination, of formal literary discipline, these letters were alive with what her friend and lover Gerald Brenan called an improvised poetry, "like the rustling of leaves, the voices of birds, the arrangement of natural forms." They display her charm *and* her malice, her directness *and* her deceit, the vulnerability and muddle of her life, her humor, relish for gossip, and sense of beauty. Her moods change with amazing speed, are wonderfully caught, change again and are caught again. What comes through is her special gift for friendship and difficulty in loving. In a sense, this correspondence is her most satisfying form of intercourse. She is so various, there is some part of her in *all* of us. That is their appeal, their effect on us.

The story that these letters revealed, as I gradually assembled it from all the undated pieces, posed the insoluble mystery of why, beyond sexual attraction, some people fall so deeply in love with others. Perhaps we love people not only for what they are but also for what they might have been, since fantasy is as potent as fact in our emotional lives.

Carrington was born in 1893. "I had an awful childhood," she wrote. She detested her mother, who seemed an example of "conventional, domestic and repressive English womanhood." But she loved her elderly father, a civil engineer with the East India Railway Company who had returned to England in his fifties, "an Odysseus . . . home at last."

But around the time of Carrington's puberty, her father had a stroke that left him paralyzed. After that, the home was dominated by his governess-like wife. "I can't forgive [her] for taming him as she did," Carrington wrote, "and for regarding all his independence, & wildness, as peculiarities."

Visual experiences made up for much that was unhappy. In 1910, having left Bedford High School, she was awarded a

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scholarship to the Slade School of Fine Art in London. Here she won several prizes, cut her hair short in the style of a Florentine page-boy, and became, in the words of the artist Paul Nash, "a conspicuous and popular figure."

In fact she broke many hearts. "I do like you abominably," the Jewish painter Mark Gertler told her, ". . . & am absolutely yours." She liked him, but then she liked *everyone* and could not give herself to *any* of her admirers. She was reputed to have a "virginity complex." Certainly she felt that she would have been happier as a boy. That was one reason why she cut her hair short and dropped the name Dora.

Though she was not glamorous, she was curiously attractive to men. There was something childlike about her: the round apple cheeks, the intense blue eyes full of light, the creamy complexion like china. Her manner was naturally flattering, almost flirtatious, and she had a dazzling smile.

In the autumn of 1915, Carrington went to stay with the Bloomsbury painter Vanessa Bell, who had borrowed her sister Virginia Woolf's house in Sussex. Vanessa's guests that weekend demonstrated what a complex society the Bloomsbury Group had formed. There was Vanessa's lover and fellow painter, the ever-charming Duncan Grant; there was Lytton Strachey who was Duncan's cousin and one-time lover; there was Mary Hutchinson, the mistress of Vanessa's husband Clive Bell, who was also there; and, as a novelty, she had invited two young artists who had recently left the Slade School and done some work for Roger Fry's Omega Workshops—a "nice springy" girl called Barbara Hiles and her mysterious friend Carrington.

Carrington had been nervous about going for this Bloomsbury weekend. She felt more at home in the knockabout world of the Bohemian artist Augustus John in Chelsea. But "I was much happier than I expected," she told Mark Gertler. Duncan Grant was the nicest person there; and Lytton Strachey, she added, with his "yellow face and beard. Ugh!" was much the most unattractive. Strachey, then in his mid-thirties, was some thirteen years older than Carrington. He was writing his revolutionary *Eminent Victorians*. She thought him a "horrid old man" and was appalled when, out walking together, he suddenly stopped and kissed her.

She did not know he was homosexual, indeed she hardly knew what the word meant. Planning to take her revenge, she

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tiptoed into Strachey's bedroom the next morning, taking a pair of scissors with which she intended to cut off his horrid old beard. But as she leaned over him, he opened his eyes, looked at her, and something happened. It was a moment of unexplained intimacy, and she, who hypnotized so many others, was suddenly hypnotized herself—for life, as it were.

Lytton Strachey was a most unlikely love-object. He was the eleventh of thirteen children of a distinguished Anglo-Indian family, and the dominating figure during his childhood and adolescence had been his mother. He was brought up in a dark cliff-like nineteenth-century house just north of Kensington Gardens in London—a portentous building which, he believed, had a profound effect on him. "Its physical size was no doubt the most obviously remarkable thing about it," he later wrote, "but it was not mere size, it was size gone wrong, size pathological; it was a house afflicted with elephantiasis."

A sequence of illnesses beginning in Lytton's eighth year, after the birth of his younger brother James, may have been a means of regaining his mother's attention. Lytton was the most brilliant of all the Strachey children: but James, born when his mother was in her forty-eighth year, was the most adored, the most miraculous of her children.

Because of his ill-health Lytton received an eccentric education. In the early 1890s, he was sent to Abbotsholme, presided over by the notorious Dr. Cecil Reddie, a dynamic figure with stern eyes and a thundering flow of talk, whose fierce idealism blinded people to the crankiness of his schemes for regenerating national life from the Abbotsholme gymnasium. This Spartan regime for (I quote from the prospectus) "boys belonging to the directing classes . . . who are in all respects normal" had a devastating effect on Lytton, whose health eventually collapsed.

He did not gain his emotional and intellectual equilibrium until he went up to Trinity College Cambridge late in 1899. Here he was elected into a famously secret society known as the Apostles. The Apostles placed self-fulfillment above self-advancement, preferred philosophy to politics, valued thought over action.

The chief Apostolic influence on Strachey was that of the philosopher G. E. Moore. "I date from October 1903 the beginning of the age of reason," Strachey wrote to Moore after the publication

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of his *Principia Ethica*. From this book he extracted the equation that personal relationships plus aesthetic experience equaled the good life. By this time Strachey knew he was homosexual. *Principia Ethica* helped him to find a method of taking the nineteenth-century cult of aesthetics (recently made notorious by the trial, imprisonment, and exile of Oscar Wilde) and making it into a twentieth-century weapon against Victorian values. "We repudiated entirely customary morals, conventions and traditional wisdom," Strachey's friend Maynard Keynes later wrote. "We were, that is to say, in the strict sense of the term, immoralists."

Cambridge altered the tenor of Strachey's life. Out of his physical deficiencies, his falsetto voice and languid figure, his owl-like face, he fashioned a personality of compelling force. At Cambridge he met the novelist E. M. Forster, the economist Maynard Keynes, the political writer Leonard Woolf, who would later marry Virginia Stephen, and the art critic Clive Bell, who married Virginia's sister Vanessa, the painter. These, with one or two others (including Duncan Grant and Roger Fry) were to form the nucleus of the Bloomsbury Group.

Strachey's sexual and emotional life after coming down from Cambridge had been turbulent and often unhappy. He had a tendency to fall in love with the sort of people he would have liked to have been—young Old Etonians or blue-eyed rowing Blues. In the years before the First World War he wanted above all things to be an artist—a literary artist it would have to be. It was not surprising that he should fall in love with his cousin, the handsome painter Duncan Grant. When he was in love, Strachey liked to make one of his friends his special confidant. "I feel it is a great mercy to have *you* as Brother Confessor," he wrote to Maynard Keynes. But in the summer of 1908 it had come as a terrible shock to him to discover that Maynard and Duncan were secret lovers.

It was a dark period in his life, and in order to try and escape he made his way across London, and on 17 February 1909, proposed marriage to Virginia Stephen. To his alarm she accepted him, but the next day they managed to extricate themselves without too much harm. They did have a loving relationship with each other, Lytton and Virginia, but it was not a physical or domestic love: it was a peculiar intertwining of sympathy, or imaginative sympathy, arising perhaps from

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their loneliness and unconventionality—that and something more.

Shortly afterwards Strachey became involved with the heterosexual artist Henry Lamb, whose famous surreal portrait was to make Strachey a Bloomsbury icon. Lamb was then carrying on an affair with that legendary patron of the arts, Lady Ottoline Morrell, who, characteristically, Strachey made his confidant.

All this was brought to an end by the outbreak of war, and by the meeting with Carrington, which dramatically changed Strachey's life. She knew little of his previous life when she met him, and she was not shocked or dismayed apparently when she did get to know of it. For one of the strengths of this relationship was its honesty. Carrington had learnt the habit of dissimulation—the half-lies, the white lies, the evasions and alibis—when quite young, learnt it from the need to evade her mother's inquisitions. But Strachey, she acknowledged at the end of her life, was the only person to whom she had "no need to lie."

Perhaps Carrington's state of hypnosis after leaning over Strachey with the scissors as he lay in bed would not have persisted had there not been a most ironic turn of the plot. Mark Gertler had long wanted to make her his mistress or his wife. He beseeched her and he bullied her; she become his inspiration and his obsession—and she *almost* submitted, but never quite. "You are the sort of person with whom one never gets beyond a certain point of intimacy," he complained, "or if one for a moment oversteps the boundary line, one finds that you have immediately rushed back. . . ." Despairing of ever overcoming her "virginity complex" himself, he now appealed to Strachey, as a well-known apostle of sexual freedom, to help. He knew he had nothing to fear from a homosexual, and so he encouraged the two of them to see as much of each other as possible. Surely Strachey's readings from Keats's letters and Marvell's poem "To his Coy Mistress" would do the trick. And if Strachey, who had bought one of Gertler's drawings, could throw in the fact that he was a great artist, he should be home and dry (if that is the right word).

In a sense this did do the trick. For Carrington fell profoundly in love, but with Strachey, and by the end of 1917, set up house with him at Pangbourne in Berkshire. To Gertler

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she prevaricated as long as possible. She was terrified by the violence of his moods.

But inevitably of course he found out, felt cheated, and reacted explosively, attacking Strachey as he was leaving a party in London one February night in 1918. "Anything more cinematographic can hardly be imagined," Strachey remarked after he had recovered. Now indeed it may be seen in cinemas, as Rufus Sewell (playing Gertler) fells Jonathan Pryce (playing Strachey) to the ground and Emma Thompson (as Carrington) rushes to the rescue in Christopher Hampton's film *Carrington*, adapted from my biography.

As Gertler fades from the story another good-looking young man enters it. Ralph Partridge rowed for Oxford University and had won the Military Cross in the war. His vitality and adventurousness delighted Carrington. But "I wonder if *you* will like him" she rather nervously asked Strachey. She had met him through her brother Noël, who was anxious for her to see someone conventional, and perhaps regulate her life, make it more normal. "Noël said he would probably like to come to Tidmarsh very much if we asked him" she suggested. Strachey certainly seems to have felt a flutter of interest. "The existence of Partridge sounds exciting," he answered.

Partridge's first visit to the Mill House at Pangbourne did not appear to be a success. As someone who had risked his life in the trenches, he could hardly have been expected to look sympathetically on an effete pacifist like Strachey. Carrington felt mortified by what seemed to be his insensitivity. He simply wasn't interested in books or poetry or painting at all.

But in fact Partridge appealed very much to Strachey. He was broad-shouldered, athletic and "immensely big," with incredible blue eyes and a Rabelaisian laugh. He also had an extraordinary competence at dealing with the everyday practical matters that, it is alleged, alarm intellectuals. In short, he filled Strachey with a kind of hero-worship. Despite his conventional opinions, he was by nature something of a rebel; despite being aggressive in argument, he was not ambitious in any worldly sense: Strachey thought he saw in him the workings of a strong, as yet undeveloped mind. So he set about educating this young man, instilling in him and in Carrington some of his own tastes in literature and views on sexual ethics. As he fell under Strachey's spell (his gentleness of spirit, his sharpness of

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mind), Partridge was gradually transformed from a robust and breezy character into a cultivated man of letters who was to work for Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press. This transformation was dramatic. The hero of the First World War later became a pacifist in the Second World War, the Hitler war. The irony of this was that Strachey slowly fell out of love with the man he had created. It was the *Pygmalion* myth in reverse. There were plenty of cultivated men among his friends, and he preferred the "mad bull" of an Englishman, as Virginia Woolf once called Partridge.

It wasn't long before Ralph Partridge, who was wholly heterosexual, fell deeply in love with Carrington. She enjoyed going away on holidays with him, but she still did not want to give up her independence. Some thought she had already done so in her attachment to Strachey. Had she made herself indispensable to Strachey? She could not tell. Was Strachey indispensable to her? She believed he was. Did he *want* to be? She doubted it.

Partridge was used to what were called "quick conquests" over women. Carrington, who was so responsive yet so elusive, was something different. He tried everything he knew to make her his property. But she was like mercury. He wanted her to marry him. She strongly resisted, while Strachey looked on anxiously. "What I always feel," Carrington had written, "is that we are meant to persevere through this somewhat awkward time because later things will be better for us." But things got more awkward rather than better. "The secret of happiness," Strachey wrote, "is to want neither too much or too little." Was it too much then, with such a surplus of affection for so many human beings, to want the combined happiness of more than two people at a time? Was it too little, this avoiding of the marriage commitment? They tried various experiments between London and the country so as to steer between the rocks of too much and too little. But the strain between them all grew worse, and it was Partridge who finally brought matters to a head by saying that if Carrington did not marry him he would go and live abroad. Was he bluffing? He sounded desperately serious. To Virginia Woolf he poured out his accumulation of grievances. "He was very shrewd & bitter about Carrington," she wrote in her diary, ". . . So people in love always turn & rend the loved, with considerable foresight too."

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When unhappy, Partridge was "a bit of an ogre & tyrant," Virginia Woolf observed. "*I* wouldn't marry Ralph," she added. But she had decided that it would be a good thing for Carrington to marry him. Partly this was her novelist's curiosity over how it would work out; partly a reflection of the fact that she herself was married. Also Leonard Woolf advised Ralph to—and this was his phrase—"put a pistol" to Carrington's head. How else could he recover from his "hysterical craziness" over her?

The truth was that Partridge was having a sort of breakdown. The terrible deterioration in his appearance appalled Carrington, and she felt fonder of him than ever she had done in his more aggressive moods. That, and the fear of her stubbornness getting on Strachey's nerves until it ended their relationship, finally persuaded her to marry Partridge.

The letter to Strachey in which Carrington explained the agony of her decision, and his honest, sensitive reply, are among the great love letters in the English language.

The "triangular trinity of happiness" they formed at the Mill House at Pangbourne, and later at Ham Spray House, was subject to many dramatic complications over the next ten years. "The country is certainly the place for peaceful happiness—if that's what one wants," Strachey wrote. "I think one wants it about half the time; and the other half *un*peaceful happiness. But happiness *all* the time." They had more unpeaceful than peaceful happiness, and there was some unhappiness too. But they did not regret it. "All decent people remain young for an incredible length of time and suffer accordingly," wrote Strachey in his fiftieth year. And Carrington agreed. "In spite of all my miseries," she told him, "I would not have had anything different."

It is impossible to summarize the complex events of their lives—and about as useful as conflating the plots of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* with *The School for Scandal*. "Do you think there is no end to love affaires," Carrington cried out at one moment, "and one can never say 'C'est fini'?" There was no end to their affaires until both their deaths in 1932. "What is love?" Strachey had asked one of his friends in the manner of Pontius Pilate asking after truth. Perhaps Carrington had displaced her love for her father on to Strachey and saw his homosexuality like her father's paralysis. Something of her love for Strachey may be seen in her pictures—especially the mesmeric portrait of Strachey with elongated hands raised as if in prayer; and the

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haunting image of the Mill House where they lived. The glowing orange roofs and mottled blue sky are mirrored in the millstream on which she has placed two black swans. The painting has the surreal quality of a dream which conveys both enchantment and danger.

Did the enchantment justify the danger? Was the story of their lives, which I had begun piecing together from the vast debris of papers in James and Alix Strachey's house all those years ago—was that story a cautionary or an exemplary tale? There were moments, moments of premonition and anxiety, when Strachey himself had doubts. Perhaps after all, he remarked to Virginia Woolf, one oughtn't to allow these attachments. "Our parents may have been right," he said to her.

But on the whole Strachey's life was at one with his work. His *Eminent Victorians*, for example, was a parental attack on nineteenth-century values, on religious credulity and sexual repression, on materialism at home and imperialism abroad, on philistinism and the displacement of energy from private into public activity: on everything which, he believed, had laid a powder trail to the Great War.

In his biography of Queen Victoria, Strachey presented Britain as having been in mourning for forty years since the death of the Prince Consort in 1861. Everything was at a standstill, except for military developments overseas. It had been a terrible time in which to grow up. It was against this dark "*indoorness*" of Victorian life that the Bloomsbury Group rebelled. Finally, in *Elizabeth and Essex*, Strachey raised the question of gender as Virginia Woolf did at the same time in *Orlando*. Using Freudian theories of infant sexuality he smuggled sexual experiment, deviant behavior, and unorthodoxy into the national heritage of Britain, smuggled them in under his irresistibly readable narrative.

And not content with re-writing history, he went on to reenact it. Having campaigned for greater tolerance in a repressive age, he tests our own powers of tolerance in more relaxed times. He is a deeply provocative figure who continues to enrage and engage us today. Reading *Elizabeth and Essex* when it was first published in 1928, Maynard Keynes wrote to Strachey: "You seem, on the whole, to imagine yourself as Elizabeth, but I see from the pictures that it is Essex whom you have got up as yourself." There was much fantasy in his non-fiction—as there

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is in all our lives. And this element of fantasy enabled me, as his biographer, to make connections between his life and his writing: to create a parallel narrative to the work. From that narrative I learnt that there is no simple guide to success and failure, that many people pass long periods as if they are waiting for a train that never seems to arrive, which gives them the sense of what I call hovering in a vacuum. Then the train arrives. In my case it arrived with this book on Strachey. As for Strachey himself, what with his illnesses, his loneliness, his conviction that he was irremediably ugly, he seemed to have been dealt a very bad hand: in fact a losing hand. The story of his life, with all its curiosity and surprise, its paradoxical skill at turning disadvantages into assets, gives hope for us all.

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Autobiography

Edward Seidensticker

There seems to be a notion that biography and autobiography are the same thing. The two most recent Pulitzer Prizes for biography went to writers of autobiography. Or maybe it is just that awarders of prizes are free and loose with their categories.

I have had a try at biography, and now am having a try at memoirs. I did a life of the famous Japanese novelist Nagai Kafū, and am now deep in the tangle and confusion of trying to write a life of myself. The two are closely related, it is obvious, since both are compilations of facts about someone who actually lived or is living. Yet they seem to me very different. I suppose the chief difference is that the writer of an autobiography knows far more about his subject than anyone else does, and knows more about his own life than he can know of the life of anyone else.

There are different kinds of autobiographical writing. The difference between an autobiography and a memoir or set of memoirs is a complex and confusing one. I would have thought the latter to be the broader expression of the two, and the former to be one of its varieties. A memoir is almost any record of facts, set down either for itself or for use in a larger composition, and an autobiography is a memoir about the life of the writer.

Gore Vidal has a different notion. I do not much like Gore Vidal, but his notions about memoir and autobiography set one thinking. In the former, he says, one sets down things as remembered. A memoir may sometimes, by virtue of this fact, be somewhat inaccurate, but it has the advantage of conveying the life with some immediacy. The autobiographer, on the other hand, checks carefully on all his details.

I am by no means sure that I am up to the ideal of perfect accuracy in every detail, and by no means sure either that I fully accept the distinction. I think that the idea of the memoir as distinct from the autobiography rather than the larger genre

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into which the autobiography falls is liable to misuse. I can just hear good old Gore saying: "Oh, don't be fussy, old fellow. I'm writing a *memoir*." He does have a point, however, and if we may for the moment accept it I think I wish to be more an autobiographer than a memorialist.

For me the big problem tends to be consistency. Back in the days when I was translating I would put together high-minded sets of principles and quickly find myself being unfaithful to them. At work on the autobiography, I hear myself whispering to myself something that is less than high-minded: "I cannot think of a single way to check on that, but I'm sure of it beyond what seems to me to be reasonable doubt. No one else will be able to think of a way either, and probably no one will feel like trying, and anyway, what difference does it make?" This is particularly the case with amusing little incidents.

As there are many kinds of memoir, so too there is more than one kind of autobiography. Autobiographies were not common in the West, Europe and America, before modern times. They were commoner in the East, and perhaps commonest, if a rather broad definition is given to the word, in Japan. This is a matter on which I have already offered certain thoughts to the Biography Center. The two great Western specimens of autobiography in the eighteenth century are very different from each other. Rousseau's is very private. Franklin's is rather public.

It may be, though we are here on badly charted ground, that these are the two poles, and other kinds of autobiography lie along the way between. Rousseau is very confessional, but it is quite possible to be confessional without having anything to say about one's career as a masturbator and a philanderer, and indeed with little reference to sex at all. It is possible to bring private matters into what is essentially the recounting of a public career, but few are likely to accuse an autobiographer of cheating if he limits himself entirely to his times at peace conferences and cabinet meetings and the like.

There is another kind of self-centered writing, the diary, different from both autobiography and memoir. Like memoir and autobiography, a diary can be more or less confessional, as the keeper of it chooses. In at least one important respect it is obviously different from either. It is more detailed. Whether or not this means that it comes nearer to being complete autobiography, telling all about the writer, is difficult to say. By virtue

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of being a record of daily events it is obviously more detailed. Much of it is by nature trivial, and there may be a certain tendency to leave the really important things for a later day, when they can be lingered over, dissected, commented upon.

I know, because I have kept a diary for a long time. It is now a half century since I started keeping a sporadic personal record, a sometime log or ledger of things that happened to me and in my vicinity. Until the end of the decade of the Fifties it was very irregular, and when I read it over now I am astonished at things I did not mention. Early in the decade I spent my last summer ("my most recent summer" is the intended significance of this expression, but it may well prove to be absolutely my last) in Colorado, my native place, as the Japanese describe the entity in their brand of English. I say nothing about Colorado in the log, though I have many things to say about the ship voyages between Japan and California.

Nor do I have much to say about the "progressive intellectuals" who dominated the media through those years. I hated them, thinking their view of the world and its problems dangerously simplistic. I spent several summers on a beach east of Tokyo, and was fascinated with the life of the village in which I stayed, and especially with its agrarian festivals. That I should have allowed it to figure so prominently in the log is quite understandable. That I should have had much to say especially about the voyage eastwards across the Pacific is equally understandable. It was a most interesting voyage, on a Japanese whaler being used as a tanker during the off-season for whaling. Yet I wish very much, now that I am seeking to put together an autobiography, that I had found time to say more about the media, and about Colorado, of which I was not again to have so leisurely a view.

I began keeping a diary or journal, which is to say a chronicle with daily entries, from New Year's Day, 1959. New Year's Day 1999 thus marked the end of its fourth decade. There are breaks, sometimes brief ones for which the cause is unclear, though I suspect that hangovers may have had something to do with the matter. The longer ones have been mostly caused by mishaps while on the road. Generally they are explained in the diary when it resumes. I left a volume on an airplane and calls to the airline were unavailing—that sort of thing. I doubt that more than one day a year, on the average, has thus been lost. Whatever

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may be the precise statistics, it is a rather monstrous document, a six-foot-shelf of a diary. It fills about a hundred notebooks.

Obviously it is far more detailed than the autobiography can possibly be. Yet not even it tells everything. I have been dutifully going over it, because I will make use of it in the autobiography, and I become aware from time to time of incidents which are vivid in memory but not mentioned. I actually broke down and wept as a freighter bore me down Tokyo Bay on a summer evening in 1962 on my way back to the United States to start a teaching career. There is no mention of the fact in my diary. Perhaps I was embarrassed, and did not want perusers of the diary to come upon so intimate a revelation.

I am glad to have gone through it, even though I doubt that more than one entry in a hundred will receive attention in the autobiography. The work has been interesting, and it has made me very much aware that autobiography and diary are not the same thing. A document made up entirely of diary entries would not be an autobiography. It would be shapeless. I have published considerable numbers of entries from the years when I was at work translating *The Tale of Genji*, but they do not make a fragment of an autobiography.

It took me rather a while to persuade myself that it would be necessary to read through the whole diary, at least down to my sixtieth birthday, February 11, 1981, the date I had long before decided upon to bring the autobiography to a conclusion. The task was a daunting one, and of it perhaps only one thing can be said with complete confidence, that I will be nearer the end of my life after reading the diary and finishing the autobiography than I would otherwise have been.

When at length I concluded that perusal of the diary was a necessity, I had already proceeded with the autobiography to my return to the United States and my years at Stanford, which is to say that such selections from the diary as I proposed to use in the autobiography would, from 1959 down through the Stanford years, have to be interlarded among passages from the autobiography already completed in rough draft. This proved to be surprisingly difficult work, and the difficulty would seem to demonstrate that diary and autobiography are not compatible genres.

I still am not wholly able to define the difference. What I can say is that too frequent quotation from the diary gives the

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autobiography a scrappy, diffuse quality. It comes to look more like a miscellany than a narrative. I might borrow Japanese terminology and say that it comes to look like a *zuihitsu*, a following along in whatever direction the calligraphic brush chooses to lead.

The two most highly esteemed pieces of Japanese prose, both from the Heian Period, are a *zuihitsu*, *The Pillow Book*, and a very long piece of prose fiction, *The Tale of Genji*. I am among those inclined to think that the former is a charming but slight work compared with the latter. So, though the logic is far from impeccable, it may be that diary is a lesser genre than autobiography. So it may be more than coincidence that only one specimen of the diary has made its way into the canon of classics in the English language. This is a somewhat discouraging thought for us who have spent large amounts of time composing diaries. I suppose the essential fact is that most of the events in a human life are inconsequential, and so it is inconsequentialities that make up most of a diary. It may be that one in a hundred is a too generous estimate of the number of entries in my own diary that are worth preserving in the autobiography.

I have numbers of reasons for not wanting my autobiography to be strongly confessional, and the most important of them, as I see the matter, derives from precisely this fact: I do not want it to be too much centered upon myself, for that could well have the effect of making it trivial and inconsequential.

I am coming to think that the kind of writing that provides the best example and advice for the autobiographer is autobiographical fiction. I have read a good deal of this, because modern Japanese literature runs very strongly towards the autobiographical. Many reasons have been adduced for this undeniable fact. Among the more persuasive ones is that autobiography has for a millennium or so been more important to the Japanese than biography. Another is that, faced with an apprehended need to raise fiction to a place of honor it had not held for a very long time, the Japanese decided that the hard, indestructible core of reality lay in personal experience.

Be that as it may, I have disliked perhaps three-quarters of the Japanese autobiographical fiction I have read, and liked the remainder well enough to undertake translating sizable specimens of it. I clearly saw what I disliked in the huge bulk of rejected material. I am of the persuasion, an old-fashioned

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one, perhaps, that the heart of the novel is characterization. It explains why a good piece of fiction holds the attention even though not much of anything is present by way of striking incident. When the writer himself is the principal character, the risk is high of not being far enough away from him or her to produce a convincing character. There is a gaping hole at the center of much modern Japanese autobiographical fiction. The author should be everything and is nothing. We are asked to be interested in his insights into the nature of life and reality, and find them to be merely episodes in the not very interesting daily life of a not very interesting person.

An autobiographic novel has a good chance of succeeding, on the other hand, if it does what I like to call the Jack Benny thing. The golden age of the radio comedians, for maybe two decades down to the advent of television, is probably not clear in many memories these days, and even those who were, as I was, avid Benny fans were probably not aware what a very reticent comedian he was. He never took a gag line for himself. He always gave the side-splitters to his supporting cast. The result was to make him the butt of all the good lines, and a wonderfully successful comedian. It is better too for the autobiographical novelist to stand aside and let others do the acting.

This is true of the two autobiographical novels I have translated from Japanese into English, Kawabata Yasunari's *Snow Country* and Tanizaki Jun-ichirō's *The Makioka Sisters*. I give them in the order in which I translated them. It is also somewhat the order in which they were written, although the years of writing for the first, which was long in getting finished, encompass those for the second. Both are clearly about events of great importance to the author, but in neither is he the dominant presence. Neither is a first-person novel, or an I-novel. These two are not exactly the same, although sometimes autobiographic fiction is in the first person, and although both terms indicate the central importance of the author.

Snow Country is a slight, delicate work which contains only three characters of any importance. Two of them are women. One of the two is known to have existed, in the setting and with the calling assigned her in the novel. Although the time sequence is complex and even at times a touch confusing, virtually all the action occurs at a hot spring resort in the "snow

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country" of the title, the heavily snowed-upon western slope of the main Japanese island.

The woman is a mountain geisha. The expression "geisha" is one of the more elusive ones in a language with a rich vocabulary of elusive words. It ought literally to indicate an artistic person, the arts being the chamber ones, music and the dance, but often the geisha is adept at other chamber practices as well, and of easy virtue. So is it with this woman.

We have Kawabata's assurance that there was no model for the other woman. She is entirely fictitious. The characterization of both, the woman who existed and the one who did not, is very skillful. They are most vivid fictional characters, and very adequate foils for each other. Without them the work would be a lyrical evocation of the seasons in a remote, lonely outpost. I think I would not have been inclined to translate such a work.

The third character, a man, is the interesting one technically, and intrinsically he is of no interest at all. He is the surrogate for Kawabata, who, for a span of years as he approached middle age, paid irregular visits to the snow country, where he was more than friendly with a geisha. There is little attempt at characterization of the man, and indeed the whole endeavor is to make of him a blank.

He must be a man of means, although in that regard we are told nothing, for otherwise it is hard to see where he finds the money for his philandering. He is a useless aesthete, a connoisseur of Western ballet, of which he has no practical, immediate knowledge. He reads about it, and scrupulously avoids going to see it. We are sure that, when he leaves snow country and geisha for the last time, the event will be of great importance to the geisha, a passionate woman, but of no importance to him, because nothing really is.

The device of making him a nonentity is a brilliant success. If we were asked to take him seriously we could not. We are only asked to take the women seriously, and no effort at all is required in doing so. Therefore, slight though it is, the novel teems with life. If the man were of any importance there would be that awful dead spot at the center, as there is in so much Japanese autobiographical fiction.

The ending is very uncertain. There is a fire. Maybe the second woman dies in it and maybe she does not. This sort of thing makes many people impatient, but for me it serves a

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purpose. It emphasizes an important fact. The man is about to return again to Tokyo, where he has a family, membership unspecified. And will he come to the snow country again? Well, maybe he will and maybe he will not. He is not the person to ask.

The Makioka Sisters is said on the dust jacket of the original edition to be about the decline of a great Osaka merchant family. It is hardly a great family, but the characterization will do. The Makiokas are a well-established middle-class family. Like most such families they are intensely committed to old proprieties. One of these demands that all the daughters marry, and that they marry in the order of age. So most of the action in the novel revolves around the fact that the third of four sisters has trouble finding a husband and the youngest is impatient.

The Makiokas are clearly modeled on the family, Morita by name, of the third and last Mrs. Tanizaki. Like the Makiokas, the Moritas had four daughters, the third one went too long unmarried by Morita standards, and the youngest was an impatient, impetuous sort, capable of misbehavior, as the term was understood in old Osaka. The second sister is the real center of the family, the oldest being somewhat remote spiritually all along and presently geographically remote as well when she moves to Tokyo.

The second sister is clearly Mrs. Tanizaki. She has a husband, who ought to be Tanizaki. There is no indication that she had been previously married, although Mrs. Tanizaki had. Tanizaki was her husband during the years covered by the novel, which ends on the eve of Pearl Harbor. In fact not much is clear about the husband. He is in some respects not Tanizaki. He is the father of Sachiko's daughter (for her name in the novel is Sachiko), whereas in Mrs. Tanizaki's case it was the first husband. He is Osakan, and Tanizaki was a Tokyo man who moved to the Osaka region after the great earthquake of 1923.

Otherwise we learn little about him except that he is an accountant and a kindly and cultivated man. His main role in the plot is to step forward as a trouble-shooter when the family is having a bad time. He has none of the quirks of the non-hero of *Snow Country*, but he is an inconspicuous hero, and the novel cannot really be said to have a hero. *Snow Country* has two heroines, and *The Makioka Sisters* has three. (The Makioka name, incidentally, does not appear in the original title. It is a convenience for translation.)

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So the two novels, though their subject matter is very different, have something deeply in common. Both are about occurrences to which the authors were witness, and in both cases the authors are unobtrusive. So I hope it will be with my autobiography. I think that both novels succeed because, though both are autobiographical, the autobiographer is not pushed forward. I would not wish to suggest that confessional autobiography is inferior to the more public kind. I am not at all sure that this is true, and I do not know how, if it is, the truth could be established. What I do know is that I wish my own not to be too much about me.

The above has suggested theoretical reasons for not wanting it to be, but there is at least one compelling practical reason. I think that the people I have known are on the whole more interesting than I am. So an autobiography centered on them should be more interesting than one centered on me. They have included most of the men and women who have dominated Japanese literature of the last half of the twentieth century, and other eminences as well, more on the Japanese side of the water than on the American.

It is still lamentably true that Americans cannot tell one Japanese name from another, but maybe with interesting performances to attach the names to they can be persuaded to go to a little trouble and assign achievements to names. If so an account of associations with eminent Japanese might be of some use in that magical endeavor, international understanding. Who knows, I might even be one of those bridges between East and West we keep hearing about, if only a fragile footbridge.

Is it easier to get by with a fib in an autobiography than in a biography? Off hand one might be inclined to say that it is, but I am not sure. It is certainly true that the author of an autobiography knows more about this material than anyone else in the world, and so is in a good position to dissemble. But it is also true, I think, that the chances of being found out are greater, and the penalties for being found out are more severe.

I think of a recent instance of what I believe to be fibbing in a biography. The eminent critic Muramatsu Takeshi, shortly before his death a few years ago, did a widely read biography (which is also a critical study) of his friend Mishima Yukio. In it he flatly denies the assertions always being made that Mishima was homosexual. I do not know what his motives were, though

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I think friendship to be high among them. Homosexuality was widespread and not dishonorable in the pre-modern warrior class, but today, largely under the influence of the West, it is socially unacceptable.

I am certain that the Muramatsu statement about Mishima's homosexuality is untrue, and I am certain as well that homosexuality is important in understanding Mishima, and especially the dramatic circumstances of his death. Muramatsu, a friend of mine too, never asked for advice in the matter, but if he had I would have told him either to ignore it or to tell the truth. A doubt that is more than a doubt in one important matter casts doubt over many other matters.

And what if Muramatsu had been writing an autobiography? Suppose for a moment that Muramatsu had been homosexual but denied it. Doubt about his reliability would become certainty. Enough people would be around who know that he was in fact homosexual. I do not wish to be understood as saying that he was. I am as certain that he was not as I am certain that Mishima was. My point is that the truth would have come out. Again Muramatsu would have had the option, a valid one, of saying nothing about the matter.

But he would have aroused more doubts about the autobiography, had he written one, than he did arouse about the biography. There are always people who know the truth, and I think that they would be more disapproving of someone who writes falsely about himself than of someone who writes falsely about a friend.

If one must be selective about the incidents in an autobiography, one must also be selective about the cast of characters, so to speak. To mention everyone would lead to confusion and give rise to charges of name-dropping. Not to mention everyone is certain to produce injured feelings. It is like a short sojourn in a town in which one has many friends. It would not be possible to call them all, but there is always someone who must be called. So word gets around, and all the ones who were not called are offended.

Everyone looks in the index of the autobiography of an acquaintance, and those who find their names in it look further, and those who do not do not, and may well come away holding a grudge. The Japanese are among the more tenacious holders of grudges in the world. It is in the nature of a people that

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glorifies revenge. My cast of characters is largely Japanese. So I may look forward to many an evening eloquent with silent thoughts.

One might think autobiography among the easier of narrative endeavors. Just tell it like it was. There are difficulties, however, most of them arising from the basic fact that it is not possible to tell everything.

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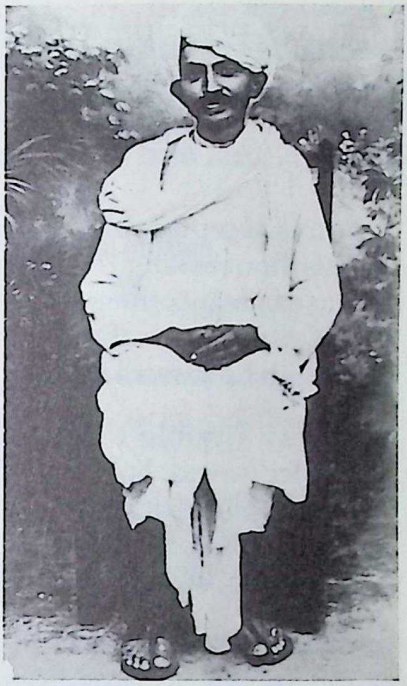
Gandhi as Leader: A Plutarchan Perspective

Glenn D. Paige



If Plutarch (40?–120? C.E.), the foremost Graeco-Roman writer on political leadership, had lived to commemorate the 130th anniversary of Gandhi's birth, how would he have evaluated Gandhi as leader? And if he had done so, why would his evaluations be of interest in thinking about Gandhi and the future of nonviolent political leadership throughout the world? For answers to the first question we can look to the standards of evaluation revealed in Plutarch's brief comparative judgments of Greek and Roman leaders contained in his parallel *Lives*.[1] Of the fifty extant biographies, all of men, thirty-eight are paired and are followed by brief comparative evaluative sections; eight are paired but not formally compared; and four are neither paired nor compared. The thirty-eight formal comparisons are of special interest because the method requires Plutarch to judge each subject by common standards of evaluation.

Although Plutarch was a Greek writing in Greek during a period of Roman Imperial rule, his comparisons reveal biases neither for nor against Greeks or Romans. In part or whole, sometimes he awards the laurel to one or to the other, sometimes he declares his inability to choose, and sometimes he calls upon the reader to decide. He evaluates Greeks and Romans as members of a common moral community, reminiscent of Gandhi's approach to Hindus and Muslims.

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An answer to the second question is suggested by the Jain concept of non-absolutism (*anekānta vāda*), or alternative approaches to truth, illustrated by the reports of six blind men feeling parts of an elephant. For in order to achieve a nonviolent world community, it will be necessary to cultivate multicultural approaches to knowledge, judgment, and action.

Of Virtue and Power

Plutarch's principal concern is examining the relationship between virtue and power as revealed in the lives of leaders. This is illustrated in the comparison of two lawgivers, the Roman Numa and the Greek Lycurgus:

> Numa accepted, but Lycurgus resigned, a kingdom. One got it without asking for it, the other had it and gave it up. One was made by others their sovereign, though a private person and a stranger; the other made himself a private person, though he was a king.
>
> It was a noble thing, of course, to win a kingdom by righteousness; but it was also a noble thing to set righteousness above a kingdom. For it was virtue which rendered the one so famous as to be judged worthy of a kingdom, and virtue, too, which made the other so great as to scorn a kingdom. (1: 385)

Again, in comparing the orators Cicero and Demosthenes, Plutarch observes that Cicero "bore witness to the truth of Plato's prophecy that states would have respite from evil, when in one and the same person, by some happy fortune, great power and wisdom should be conjoined with justice" (7: 217). Plutarch's ideal is the *politicus*, as contrasted with the tyrant or demagogue. As Alan Wardman explains in his incomparable study, *Plutarch's Lives*, the politicus contributes to the moral well-being of the whole community; expresses virtue in both public and private life; seeks harmony, order, and justice in society; respects the divine but rejects superstition; sees love as a force for political unity; bases actions on reasoned choice versus ill-considered emotion; restrains ambition and greed; guards against envy; and demonstrates courage in peace and war. Thus, "The political life, in Plutarch's view, is a form of philosophy in action" (246). We can imagine, therefore, that Gandhi's view of the indivisibility of politics and the spiritual ethics of love and

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nonviolence would commend him as a fit subject for Plutarch's evaluative scrutiny.

Although Plutarch follows no exact formula, in general he directs attention to the social origins of his leaders, their civil and military achievements, their treatment of wealth and women, the objective circumstances of their rise and decline, the role of "fortune" in their lives, the manner of their death, and their legacy. If we may be permitted to add a modern social science approach to Plutarch's comparisons, in a previous work I have identified some factors which might be considered important for describing, explaining, and evaluating political leadership behavior. These can be summarized as

personality—personal characteristics,
role—socially defined rights and responsibilities,
organization—social interaction influences,
tasks—problems to be solved,
values—conceptions of desirable ends and means,
setting—the objective political-economic-social-cultural-physical context of action, and
error—factors unaccounted for in the foregoing, unexplained variance in statistical inference, somewhat akin to Plutarch's interest in the workings of fortune.

Thus political leadership is taken to be the product of reciprocal relations of influence among personalities, roles, organizations, tasks, values, and settings—plus the unexpected.

Taking each of these in turn, let us consider some examples of Plutarch's evaluative criteria and question how Gandhi's leadership might be judged in relation to them. In this inquiry the reader is invited actively to engage, for such a task requires the knowledge and wisdom of all.

Personality

Plutarch asks us to consider the relative advantages and disadvantages of a leader's "starting point" of family origins and social conditions. In general, those leaders who have arisen from less favorable circumstances, who have overcome greater difficulties, and who have made greater contributions to public good are to be taken as more commendable. Although not severely economically or culturally impoverished, that Gandhi

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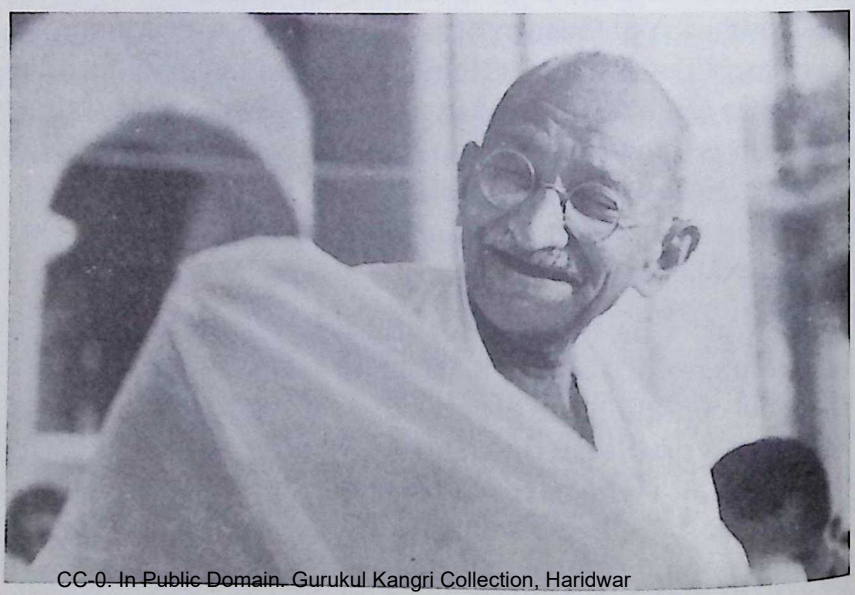
rose from Bania (grocer) caste origins as the youngest son of a chief minister in Porbandar, Gujarat, to respected national and international prominence would likely gain Plutarch's approbation.

Plutarch, moreover, commended a leader who, although not personally disadvantaged, acted on behalf of those who are: the weak, poor, landless, and oppressed, the debtors, captives, and victims of tyranny. In Plutarch's eyes Gandhi would be held in high esteem for his efforts to benefit the impoverished masses, peasants, workers, untouchables, minorities, women, prisoners, and other victims of direct and structural violence. Although victimized himself by racism and colonialism, Gandhi's defense of sufferers in every sector of society can be recognized as extending far beyond the bounds of self-interest.

Plutarch asks us to consider whether a leader's accomplishments are attributable to his own initiatives or are the results of initiatives taken by others. The legendary, "walk alone," independent tenacity of Gandhi, often in response to his "inner voice," leaves little doubt in this regard. The childhood roots of this characteristic have been detected by B. R. Nanda as Gandhi's "burning passion for self-improvement" beneath a "cold unprepossessing exterior" (19–20), which was melted often in adulthood by impish good humor. And as Nehru's autobiographical reflections attest, the zigs and zags of Gandhi's policies on the long walk to Independence often bewildered and irritated his closest companions.[2]



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Plutarch praises foresight: "It is a part of a good general not only to improve the present but also to judge correctly of the future." Pericles, for example, advised against war, but the Athenians "undertook too much and lost their empire." Fabius, on the other hand, also advised against war, but the Romans won: "Therefore the very disasters of his country bear witness to the sagacity of Pericles; while the successes of the Romans proved that Fabius was completely in the wrong" (3: 203).

Although Plutarch wrote in a war-accepting era, perhaps he would commend such things as Gandhi's insight into the inability of violence-based industrial civilization (either communist or capitalist) to respond adequately to human needs—and his prescience that Partition based upon the threat of violence and civil war would be followed by continuing violence. On the other hand, Plutarch might fault him for an insufficient appreciation of the extreme nature of murderous communal hostility that would erupt as the departure of the British became reality.

Plutarch then asks, does the leader die with dignity? In the end, Plutarch concludes "that the way in which men died makes manifest a difference in their high excellence" (10: 247). The death of a warrior speared in the back while running from a battle is ignominious if he is seeking to escape out of cowardice, but it is virtuous if he is speared in the back while attempting to warn distant others of danger. Death resulting from cowardice, passions, or unreasonable acts is not commendable. But a dignified death, especially one honored by one's former enemies, is virtuous.

Commenting upon the deaths of Demetrius and Antony—the former from gluttony and drunkenness in pampered captivity, the latter by suicide—Plutarch observes that "neither is to be commended" (9: 341). But he approves of the death of Sertorius, which "resulted from the man's goodness of heart, since he appeared to trust his friends," over that of Eumenes, which derived "from weakness, since he wished to fly, but was arrested" (8: 141).

Without doubt Plutarch would commend Gandhi's courageous last days, and his attempts to quell communal bloodshed, culminating in his "He Rama" (Oh, God) response to Hindu Godse's bullets (Nanda 264). Plutarch might recall the final words of the unjustly executed young Greek king Agis,

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who en route to the death chamber noticed one of the officers shedding sympathetic tears for him:

> "My man," said he, "cease weeping; for even though I am put to death in this lawless and unjust manner, I have the better of my murderers." And saying these words he offered his neck to the noose without hesitation. (10: 47)

Role

Plutarch directs attention to the powers accorded positions of authority and to the manner in which incumbents exercise them: "What is thought and said most of all to reveal and test the character of a man [is] power and authority, which arouses every passion and uncovers every baseness" (7: 217). Thus Plutarch precedes Lord Acton in observing that "power corrupts," but recognizes too that power "tests character." Furthermore, in Plutarch's judgment, where needs for virtue are great, role powers should also be great. For example,

> Pericles had greater influence and power than Fabius. For this reason he did not suffer any other general to bring misfortune upon the city by his evil counsels. . . . Fabius, on the other hand, though sure and unerring in his own conduct of affairs, seems to have fallen short through his inability to restrain others. Surely the Romans would not have suffered so many disasters if Fabius had been as influential with them as Pericles was at Athens. (3: 205)

Whatever his role powers, the politicus should exercise them in democratic moderation—eschewing despotism, demagoguery, and greed—and be ready to relinquish them, as required by virtue, for the common good.

Although in mass satyagraha (steadfast adherence to truth and nonviolence) Gandhi demanded obedience equivalent to that accorded to a general in time of war, and although he sometimes signed letters good humoredly as "Tyrant," it is the voluntary basis of Gandhi's power and his restraint in aggressively expanding it that Plutarch could be expected to commend. Whilst regarded as a Mahatma (Great Soul) if not an avatar by a multitude, as a skillful politician by many, and as a villain by a few, Gandhi's influence in Indian society was freely accorded. He could neither coerce nor purchase it. His insistence that each satyagrahi should define truth for himself or herself was

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profoundly democratic, although bewildering to questioners who failed to appreciate the distinction between anarchy rooted in readiness to kill, and freedom founded on ahimsa (nonviolence).

Gandhi's refusal to sanction mass actions deemed prone to produce bloodshed in violent seizure of power would surely be noted by Plutarch as commendable role restraint. On the other hand, perhaps Plutarch might question Gandhi and others who professed respect for him for not seeking greater formal authority to ensure nonviolent transition to Independence and success in other matters. But at the same time, Plutarch undoubtedly would praise Gandhi for his persistent expression of virtue outside any formal role when, defeated in the councils of power, he risked his life for peace and reconciliation in Noakhali, Calcutta, Bihar, and Delhi (Prasad 74–75).

Organization

By organization is meant salient social relationships, from dyads to vast collectivities, which affect or are affected by a leader's actions. Plutarch evidences principal concern for the quality and mutual responsiveness of this relationship, as shown in his comparison of Demetrius and Antony. Beloved of his soldiers, Antony "ran away in chase of Cleopatra and threw away the victory" (9: 339). But Demetrius, when the time for battle came, although hated by his soldiers, and himself drunken and debauched, "quieting down and stopping the revels and orgies of Bacchus," became the Greek war-god Ares incarnate (9: 337). Nevertheless, at the critical battle against Pyrrhus in 288 B.C.E., he was abandoned by his Macedonian troops and lost his kingdom. Plutarch observes:

> Demetrius was deserted by others, for the Macedonians went away from him; whereas Antony deserted others, for he ran away from those who were risking their lives for him. Demetrius may therefore be blamed for making his soldiers so hostile to him, and Antony for abandoning a goodwill and confidence which was so much in evidence. (9: 341)

Surely Plutarch would remark upon the complex chemistry of love and respect that catalyzed the relationship between Gandhi, his followers, and sometimes even his opponents—while not ignoring, as Gandhi did not, the views of those for whom he was anathema. And perhaps Plutarch would observe

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that Gandhi's unique ability to move masses was first disparaged and then posthumously acknowledged by the scientific specialists of class struggle.[3]

Then too, Plutarch might note the sense of abandonment experienced by his followers when Gandhi periodically suspended mass campaigns, according to his reading of conditions and the prompting of his "inner voice." On the other hand, it can be argued that Gandhi himself was no stranger to abandonment, as when he failed to carry the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in prevention of Partition. Although not motivated by malice, the post-Partition abandonment by the Congress of Gandhi's village-centered vision, and of his call to place constructive service before striving for power, might remind Plutarch of the desertion of Demetrius by the Macedonians.

In Plutarch's view, a leader's successes and failures are to be judged not only on the basis of the leader's achievements alone, but in light of the abilities of competitors and opponents. Concerned mainly with generals and statesmen, he tended to favor leaders who prevailed over adversaries of great ability, as opposed to victories over those of lesser competence.

From this perspective, Gandhi's emergence to preeminent leadership in India's Independence movement is all the more remarkable. Not only did he stand forth and gain respect among the talented elite of modern India, but faced formidable opponents ranging from London-linked colonial administrators to Indian advocates of revolutionary violence. To prevail peacefully over the heirs of Britain's global empire was no mean accomplishment. Neither was the creation of common purpose among proponents of a myriad of political, class, caste, communal, ethnic, gender, and linguistic interests. Defeat by the forces favoring Partition, and death at the hands of Hindu fanaticism, testify to the awesome opposition against which, sometimes seemingly alone, Gandhi sought to prevail.

Tasks

Tasks are problems to be solved, decisions to be made, goals to be attained, and obstacles to be overcome. They may be subjectively defined by, or objectively imposed upon, a leader. Plutarch evaluates task diversity and versatility in task accomplishment. Overall he lauds the more "complete commander," one who fights effectively on both land and sea, and who excels

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in civil as well as military affairs. The greater the versatility in coping with diverse tasks, the more commendable the leader.

Plutarch's perspective heightens our awareness of the wide range of tasks in which Gandhi chose to engage, or found thrust upon him. Some indication of their variety is provided by K. P. Goswami's compilation of the day-by-day events in Gandhi's life. Rarely were his efforts superficial or inconsequential, although not all were successful. Customarily Gandhi combined intuition, inquiry, reason, and experiment, where possible, to demonstrate plausible solutions for India's most pressing problems. His repertoire of skills was wide, encompassing earthy mastery of rural life, lawyerly analysis and argumentation, speeches and silence, conflict resolution and diplomacy, multi-channel mass communication, and moral suasion up to his means of last resort: the fast.

Thus did Gandhi devote himself to the international tasks of detachment from empire; the political tasks of building a nonviolent movement for national liberation; the socio-spiritual tasks of communal coexistence, abolition of untouchability, and emancipation of women; and the socio-economic work of the constructive program to lift the village masses from poverty. Above all, he faced the integrative task of combining all these to realize an independent, unified India with spiritually and materially satisfying lives for all—as symbolized by intercommunal prayers, by the charkha (spinning wheel), by the talisman of service to "the hungry and spiritually starving millions," and by the call for conscientious "trusteeship" by the rich.

It was Gandhi's awesome aspiration to move the vast complexity of modern India toward swaraj (freedom) and sarvodaya (well-being of all) through satyagraha and swadeshi (use of local products), inspired by the spirit of ahimsa, truth, and love.

For Plutarch, leaders are to be judged in relation to task difficulty. Great leadership can be seen in great failure as well as great success. Near success but

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ultimate failure in accomplishing a task of immense difficulty can be commended over consistent success in easier endeavors. This is seen in the comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus:

> Marcellus, it is true, took Syracuse, while Pelopidas failed to take Sparta. But I think to have reached Sparta, and to have been the first of men to cross the Eurota in war, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily. (5: 527)

Plutarch might have commended Gandhi for both success and failure as well. Surely it was worthy to guide a colonized people by nonviolent means to national independence from domination by a skillful military-industrial overlord—even though an agonized Gandhi subsequently denied it to be truly nonviolent (Tendulkar 220–21). But it was also commendable to attempt to prevent and to try to heal the wounds of the bloody India-Pakistan, Hindu-Muslim schism, and to make the well-being of the impoverished village masses the measure of India's greatness.

Values

Values are standards of right and wrong that affect a leader's behavior. Plutarch examines the values exhibited in the lives of political leaders, and in the process of comparison reveals his own ideals. Although by no means a pacifist, Plutarch would surely commend Gandhi's commitment to nonviolence. As he observes in his two-fold comparison of the Roman brothers Gracchi with the Greeks Agis and Cleomenes, "A resort to the knife, except under the extremest necessity, is not the mark of either a good physician or statesman, but in both cases shows a lack of skill, and in the case of the statesman, there is added both injustice and cruelty." Plutarch further explains:

> Neither of the Gracchi . . . initiated civil slaughter, and Caius, we are told, would not resort to self-defence even when his life was threatened, but though he was a most brilliant soldier in the field, he showed himself most inactive in civil strife. For he went forth from his house unarmed and withdrew when the battle began, and in a word was seen to be more intent upon not doing any harm to others than upon not suffering harm himself. (10: 249)

Might not Plutarch recall Caius Gracchus, on seeing Gandhi stepping forth unarmed at Birla House?

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Plutarch's praise of the Greek Nicias, in whom he found "no chicanery, nor injustice, no violence or harshness," as compared with the Roman Crassus, also predicts esteem for Gandhi. To Plutarch, Nicias's "love of peace, indeed, had something godlike about it":

> and his putting a stop to the war [with Sparta in 421 B.C.E.] was a political achievement most Hellenic in its scope. And because Nicias did this, Crassus is not worthy of comparison with him, nor would he have been even though in his [military] ardour he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean a boundary of the Roman empire. (3: 429)

Through Plutarch's eyes we can appreciate Gandhi's victories of nonviolence, however few, as excelling many triumphs of the knife.

An oft-affirmed Plutarchan value is that a leader should not exploit public position and power for private economic gain: the politicus should not become a plutocrat. A leader should follow a simple lifestyle, show selflessness in sharing, and yet provide adequately for family needs. Plutarch praises Pericles for "freedom from mercenary views," noting that he "displayed it by not taking any gifts at all":

> Pericles, though he had opportunities, owing to his authority and influence, to enrich himself from obsequious allies and kings beyond all possible estimates, nevertheless kept himself pre-eminently superior to bribes and free of corruption. (3: 205)

In the same vein, Plutarch lauds Cicero, who "gave many proofs of his contempt for wealth and many of his humanity and goodness" (7: 217).

The gap between Gandhi's prominence and the paucity of his possessions would claim Plutarchan approbation. So would Gandhi's identification with and commitment to improving the conditions of the impoverished. Like Gandhi, Plutarch understands that poverty obstructs the realization of all other social values. Praising Solon for remission of debts, he observes that "equality under the laws is of no avail if the poor are robbed of it for their debts" (1: 571).

Plutarch places special emphasis upon how leaders treat women. Whether mothers, wives, and daughters; the relatives of vanquished enemies; or captives and slaves, women must

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be treated with dignity. There must be no rape, no exploitation, no physical or psychological abuse. Approvingly Plutarch cites the otherwise bellicose Marcus Cato, who "used to say that he who struck his wife or child, laid violent hands on the holiest of holy things. Also that he thought it more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator" (2: 361).

In Plutarchan eyes, Gandhi's reverence for, identification with, and championing of women would surely be esteemed. Plutarch might note such things as Gandhi's idolization of his mother; his education in nonviolent resistance by Kasturbhai, his wife; his striving to overcome lust for women as sexual objects; his efforts to abolish child marriages, dowries, prostitution, and forced widowhood; his advocacy of full legal equality with men; and his all encompassing respect for women as the embodiment of ahimsa, the strength of satyagraha, and the source of sarvodaya (Singh 145–47).[4]

Setting

In assessing the merits of leaders, Plutarch considers the general conditions of the society in which they rose to prominence; the nature of their contribution to its progress, stagnation, or decline; and the durability of their accomplishments. A leader who arises under conditions of adversity but contributes to restoration of social well-being is favored over one who appears in advantageous circumstances but departs when they are in the same or worse condition. "Pericles," for example, "was at the head of his people when its prosperity was its greatest, when its own strength was at the full, and its imperial power culminating." But "Fabius . . . took charge of his city at the time

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of the greatest disgrace and misfortune [and] lifted her out of disaster into a better state." Plutarch comments that "the magnitude and multitude of evils which afflicted the Romans revealed the steadfast purpose and greatness of the man who was not confounded by them, and would not abandon his own principles of action" (3: 199, 201).

Setting conditions do not operate deterministically to produce only one type of leader: "It appears to be truly said of that city [Athens] that the good men whom she breeds are of highest excellence, and the bad men of the most despicable baseness, just as her soil produces sweetest honey and deadliest hemlock" (6: 121). Also, people as well as politicians may be corrupt: "So in Rome at that time [of Sulla], since the people were corrupt and their government in a distempered state, men of various origins rose to power" (4: 445).

Plutarch might weigh the conditions confronting Gandhi as mostly unfavorable but also somewhat advantageous, with greatness revealed in courageously persistent efforts to transform the liabilities. For Gandhi emerged in an age of imperialism, war, racism, castism, classism, communalism, patriarchism, poverty, and revolution—all produced and protected by violence. Against these conditions Gandhi offered the swaraj of independence, equality, communal harmony, abolishment of untouchability, elevation of women, and economic emancipation—all pursued by self-disciplined commitment to nonviolence. He sought to change the structures of violent domination and violence-prone fragmentation into a village-based community of nonviolent well-being for all.

Among favorable conditions, Plutarch might note Indian respect for reverence and renunciation, the readiness of the dispossessed and even parts of the elite to respond to a credible champion, and the restraint of the British not to kill a respectfully recalcitrant leader. For them, Gandhi's legitimacy credentials rested in part upon London legal studies and supportive assistance to British forces during the Boer War and World War I. Thus Plutarch might hold that the harshness of the obstacles confronting Gandhi commands our respect for his courage and perseverance, while the favorable factors testify to the skill by which he combined them to seek swaraj and sarvodaya.

Plutarch particularly questions the durability of a leader's accomplishments. Do they persist, or disappear after the leader's

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death? He credits the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus because "for more than five hundred years the sovereign and fundamental features of his legislation remained in force, like a strong and penetrating dye" (1: 399). By contrast, the accomplishments of the religious-minded reformer Numa "to change [Rome's] harsh and warlike temper into one of greater gentleness and justice," and to establish "peace and friendship between Rome and other nations, straightway vanished from the earth with him. . . . And Italy was filled with the blood of the slain" (1: 331, 399).

Plutarch attributes the longevity of the laws of Lycurgus and the ephemerality of those of Numa to the different emphasis each leader placed upon education. Whereas Lycurgus stressed the inculcation of laws and loyalty to government by means of disciplined community training of youth, Numa left the upbringing of boys to the "wishes or necessities of their fathers." Thus Numa's reforms failed because they "lacked the cement of education" (1: 397, 399).

Another perspective upon durability is provided by Plutarch's comparison of Solon and Publicola, for "Solon lived to see the dissolution of his polity, while that of Publicola preserved order in his city down to the civil wars":

> Solon, as soon as he made his laws, left them inscribed on wooden tablets and destitute of a defender, and departed from Athens; whereas Publicola, by remaining in the city, serving as consul, and busying himself with public affairs, firmly and safely established his form of government. (1: 571, 573)

What would Plutarch say of Gandhi? Would he accept Gandhi's self-definition of failure before his death? Or the view of many Gandhians afterwards that the unresponsiveness of the Congress and others to his nonviolent legacy rendered it almost immediately empty of substance? If so, recalling Numa, might Plutarch attribute the lack of durability to the failure of Gandhian educational reforms to penetrate every level of Indian society, despite the efforts of inspired disciples such as the late G. Ramachandran and Marjorie Sykes, continuing even now in the work of N. Radhakrishnan and others?

Moreover, recalling Solon, might not Plutarch also attribute the limited influence of the Gandhian program upon India to Gandhi's own example and late admonition to his most dedicated followers to distance themselves from direct engagement in

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positions of political authority? As Gandhi advised construction workers in mid-December 1947: "Today politics has become corrupt. Anybody who goes into politics gets contaminated. Let us keep out of it altogether. Our influence will grow thereby" (*Works* 217). Having held neither formal membership in the Indian National Congress nor paid dues to it since 1934, Gandhi further explained that "if the united construction workers sangh [association] tried to go into power politics, it would spell its ruin":

> Or else why should I myself not have gone into politics and tried to run the Government my way? Those who are holding the reins of power today would easily have stepped aside and made room for me, but whilst they are in charge, they can carry on only according to their own lights. But I do not want to take power into my own hands. By abjuring power and by devoting ourselves to pure and selfless service of the voters, we can guide and influence them. It would give us far more real power than we shall have by going into the Government. But a stage may come, when the people themselves may feel and say that they want us and no one else to wield the power. The question could then be considered. I shall most probably not be alive then. But when that time comes, the Sanghs will produce from amongst them someone who will take over the reins of administration. By that time, India shall have become an ideal state. (*Works* 223)

When Dr. Zakir Husain then asked whether the direct participation of nonviolent leaders in politics might not be necessary to effect transition to such an ideal state, Gandhi replied, "We can send men of our choice, without going into Government ourselves. . . . It is my firm view, that we should keep altogether aloof from power politics and its contagion" (*Works* 223–24).

Would Plutarch praise Gandhi for valuing virtue over direct political power, or would he censure him for proposing to send others into positions of authority deemed to be inescapably corrupting, while holding himself and his virtuous band aloof? Might Plutarch recall that political roles not only can corrupt but also "test character" through opportunities to serve the common good? Would he cite Gandhi's own view that "a stage might come" when direct engagement of nonviolent virtue in politics would be welcomed by the people?

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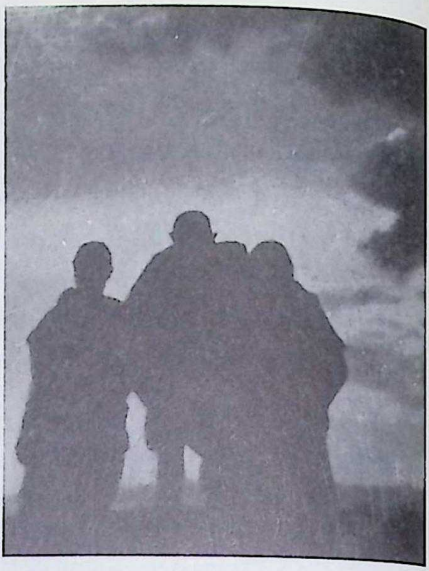

In further consideration of durability of achievements, Plutarch might accept Gandhi's last judgment of short-term failure amidst the bloodshed of Partition, but add that Gandhi uniquely bequeathed indispensable foundations for long-term success. Noting Gandhi's declaration that "my life is my message," Plutarch might add that the message did not end with his life. Partly recorded in a hundred volumes of *Collected Works*, interpreted in innumerable commentaries in dozens of languages, imprinted upon countless Indian hearts, and slowly but inexorably impressing itself upon the reason of violence-plagued humanity, the unfulfilled Gandhian promise of ahimsa in action for sarvodaya has been indelibly placed upon the agenda of humankind. As evidence, Plutarch might cite the posthumous Gandhian influence upon leaders such as Vinoba Bhave, J. P. Narayan, Martin Luther King, Jr., and recent Nobel peace laureates, as well as upon the growing number of individuals and organizations throughout the world who are beginning to take nonviolence seriously (see Iyer). Despite the gods of war that many have evoked from religions, Plutarch might observe that the Gandhian message of nonviolence in action is likely to endure as long as the spiritual sources of respect for life from which he drew courage continue to inspire.

Fortune

Plutarch asks how "fortune"—events and circumstances perhaps unforeseen and beyond control—favor or frustrate leaders (Wardman 179–89). Virtue can be demonstrated whether fortune is good or ill, and clues to character can be found in how a leader responds. The Roman Publicola, for example, "enjoyed a good fortune and efficacious power which supplemented his virtues" (1: 573). Crassus, on the other hand, "made so many blunders that he gave fortune no chance to favor him. . . . His imbecility . . . prevailed over the usual good fortune of the Romans" (3: 437). Furthermore, the politicus, like the karmayogi

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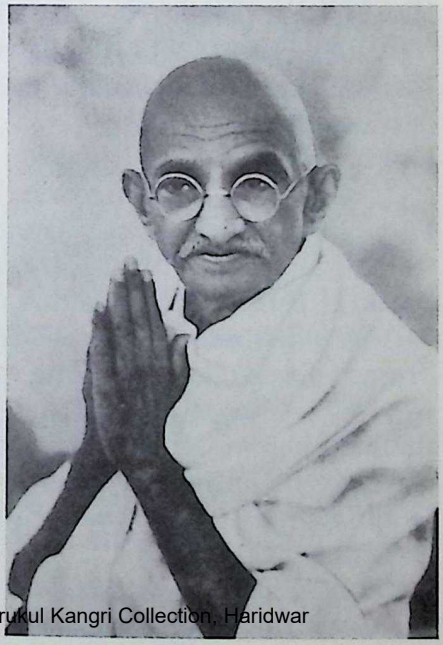
(worshipper through selfless action) in Gandhi's beloved *Bhagavad Gita* should maintain equanimity whether fortune is good or bad.

Although Gandhi and his long-suffering Congress comrades, recently released from imprisonment, understandably may not have fully appreciated it, Plutarch might note that the final struggle for Independence was favored by far-away good fortune in war-weary Britain, when the victory of Labour in the 1945 elections brought to power a Government receptive to ending the colonial Raj. As Lord Pethick-Lawrence has explained, "There is no doubt that there was an overwhelming majority of opinion in Britain in favour of handing over to Indians the governance of their country under a constitution of their choice," adding that any Labour Government that opposed it "would have been given short shrift" (Polak et al. 297).

While rejecting superstition, Plutarch was respectful of the possibility of divine intervention amidst otherwise mundane happenstance. Thus he might remark that Gandhi on occasion seemed favored by a combination of spiritual and secular good fortune, as evidenced by survival from his life-threatening fasts. He put his life in the hands of God, and luckily the people of India refused to let him die. In matters of health, Gandhi habitually revealed readiness to rest his fate on the will of the divine: "The real doctor is Rama. As long as Rama needs service from me, He will keep me alive. When He does not, He will call me back to Himself" (*Prayer* 195).

In Gandhi's response to the final ill-fortune of assassination, Plutarch surely would find cause to celebrate Gandhi's virtue and to lament the lack of it in the assassin and his accomplices. For in a flash was revealed the power of nonviolence (else why kill him?) and the uninformed impotence of those who fear to engage in nonviolent political processes to seek fulfillment of their needs.



In some such manner might Plutarch reflect upon Gandhi as leader 130 years after the Mahatma's birth.

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NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: An earlier version of this article was invited to commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of Gandhi, and appeared in *Mahatma Gandhi 125 Years*, ed. Manmohan Choudhuri and Ramjee Singh (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sang Prakashan, 1995). I would like to thank N. Radhakrishnan, director of the Gandhi Smrti and Darshan Samiti, for the gracious gift of the photos which accompany the present article.

1. I am using the Loeb Classical Library edition of *Plutarch's Lives*, because it excels in comprehensiveness and in the clarity of Bernadotte Perrin's translation. Single-volume, partial compilations of the *Lives* customarily omit the comparative passages.
2. See for example pages 81, 185, 253–59, 267, 368, and 558.
3. For a Marxist interpretation of Gandhi as leader, see Dange et al.
4. For another interpretation of Gandhi's identification with women, see Parekh.

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Writing George Eliot's Biography

Frederick R. Karl

It is fitting that I should write about George Eliot and biography in this most welcome *Festschrift* for George Simson. For it was while I was visiting Citizens' Professor of English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Professor Simson's home base, that I wrote almost the entire first draft of my Eliot biography (*George Eliot: Voice of a Century*, Norton, 1995). With a quite manageable teaching schedule and with few acquaintances, I found myself with a great deal of free time, most of it in large chunks conducive to steady work. I had already sent on from New York some twenty cartons of books and also found the university library well stocked with Eliot material. Without any major interruptions, I was able to put together almost a thousand pages of my first draft in that year, 1990–91.

My archival research would wait until later, when I could use the British Library, where the manuscripts of all but one of Eliot's books are located. The exception, her first book, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, three novellas, was in the manuscript archive of the Morgan Library in New York City. But I had in hand in Hawai'i nearly everything else that I needed. The most fundamental material was the nine volume edition of Eliot's letters edited by Gordon Haight. The editing is meticulous, although when I returned home, I checked everything that I used against the manuscripts of the letters at Yale's Beinecke Library. Each day, as I arose in the morning, I planned on writing four or five pages; so that by the time I left in early May I would have an almost complete first draft of 350,000 words. So with palm trees swaying in the distance, I catapulted myself back to Warwickshire and to the English countryside not too distant from Robin Hood's Sherwood Forest.

But before I detail my quest for Eliot, I should point out that I had thought long and hard about a subject for a new

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biography before settling on her. My oldest daughter, in fact, encouraged me to try Eliot, since the sole full biography extant was the one by Gordon Haight. The Haight biography was considered a monument, something like, at the time of its writing, Gordon Ray's *Thackeray* or Edgar Johnson's *Dickens*, or, later, Richard Ellmann's *Joyce* and Leon Edel's *Henry James*. Haight was a meticulous scholar, and one could trust he had gotten most of the facts right. He, too, depended heavily on Eliot's letters; and he had in fact devoted most of his scholarly energies and his career to work on the writer. If I were to write another biography of Eliot, I would always have Haight in my line of vision, a considerable landmark in biographical studies. I had no quarrel with him and did not wish to challenge or compete with him. Yet from the first, I saw Eliot differently.

Some of the difference was that I was from another generation, and biographical writing itself—as Leon Edel observed in his own one-volume revision of his five-volume James—had altered. Not only had it opened in terms of what could be revealed; it now sent out tentacles in several directions, into psychology, cultural and social studies, history, even politics. Biography also had to take into account that it had been hit hard by the critical theorists, who like Roland Barthes emphasized the texts, not the life—and serious biographers, I felt, should not proceed as if literary criticism did not exist, or as if it had stood still. My aim, as I contemplated the Eliot biography—after having written three others—was not only to write "biography" but to acknowledge what was occurring in other critical discourse. I wanted both to defend biography and also to lead it in new directions. I wondered if this would be possible with a subject seemingly as traditional as Eliot, someone so solidly placed in the pantheon of nineteenth-century novelists.

In all my previous biographies, I had situated my figure—Conrad, Faulkner, Kafka—in a broad and extensive cultural context. I used historical data, cultural events, and related material as much as I did biographical detail. For Conrad, I had to recreate three separate cultures in which he moved: the Poland of his birthplace and adolescence; the France of his later teen years; the England of his growth as a writer and as an Englishman. Such a choice on my part—what I called the "three lives" of Conrad—involved a broad use of historical contextualization, plus a good deal of larger, cultural matters, as Conrad

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moved fairly smoothly from one language group and society to another.

With Faulkner, my problem was to situate him securely and firmly in the South which so infused all of his work: that is, to make it possible for the non-Southern reader to understand how Faulkner was who he was; and this involved the recreation of Southern politics, culture, society, religious atmosphere. I dug deeply into some of the most unpleasant episodes in our history; I needed to try to think of the Civil War from a Mississippean's point of view, and race was, of course, paramount in my account. I had to show that while Faulkner was a decent man in racial matters, he was caught up in enormous peer pressure and historical accounting, so that he was torn; and that it was this tearing that gave his fiction so much texture.

Finally, in my biography of Kafka, I had an even more difficult task of recreating the Austro-Hungarian Empire in its dying phase, the very subject matter of so much of Kafka's fiction. This involved historical work of an extensive kind, since the Empire was not merely Kafka's Czechoslovakia, but vast parts of Poland, Austria, Hungary, a large segment of what we call Eastern Europe. The social, political, and religious ramifications of the Empire were extraordinary; and in religious terms, I found myself concerned with the extent of Kafka's own ambiguous Judaism. There was also his tortured relationship with his parents, both his mother and father; his tuberculosis, which eventually killed him at forty; his circle of friends in Prague, many of whom like Franz Werfel and, to a lesser degree, Max Brod, also became well known.

For both Conrad and Kafka (but not for Faulkner) their letters proved invaluable. In Conrad's case, I had many years earlier started to collect them for an eight-volume edition which Cambridge University Press was to publish (five volumes have so far appeared); and so I had a bonanza. For Kafka, I had several volumes, the most valuable proving to be his letters to members of his family (including the never-sent Letter to His Father) and the large group he wrote to his on-again, off-again fiancée Felice Bauer. The latter are a treasure trove of Kafka lore, inasmuch as he kept her alive at the other end of his letters so that personally he would not have to be with her.

For Eliot, the letter trail proved almost equally significant. When Haight wrote his book, in 1968, he could not use fully

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some of the letters that Eliot had written to Herbert Spencer, the economist, evolutionist, and the man who, at one time, she thought might marry her. This is a batch that was locked up until well into the 1980s, and the reason why is clear; they are plaintive, demeaning, sad, not at all what one might expect from Eliot, almost desperate as she ages and begins to fear she will never attract a husband. All of this occurred before she started to write fiction, and the "affair" with Spencer helps us to understand what Eliot discovered fictionally in disappointment, frustration, and loneliness. But the inaccessible cache of letters, available finally to me but not to Haight for quotation, was also accompanied by thousands of letters in which Eliot revealed her intellectual development as a person and as a writer.

But letters, as we know, are devious missives. While we tend to depend on them for data, they all reveal the unreliability of the writer when he or she chronicles a personal or professional life. Letters that might seem more fruitful turn out to be fanciful—in the way that Eliot's letters in and around the ones she wrote to Spencer give no sense of what strain and disappointment she suffered. It is difficult to measure tone, attitude, angles in a letter, especially if the biographer uses only the printed version. The manuscript letter may contain more—a wobble, an uncertainty, a blotting, a hesitation, or something that gives that particular letter more meaning than just the face value.

Letters often—perhaps always—are part of the author's fictional output, texts in their own right. Letters must be approached on several levels, as my work with Eliot revealed—and here I departed from Haight, who tended to take the letters as data. For unless we understand Eliot's letters as layered and textured, we cannot enter into her creative or imaginative processes, except in the detailing of hard fact. We may say she read this or that, researched in this or that library, walked the streets in one town or city or another; but we cannot account for how she transformed this material into fictional texts of a very different kind.

We start by agreeing that we, as biographers or as readers, cannot hope to enter into the context of a given letter. There is no way we can relocate ourselves into another era; the new historicism cannot work its magic here. Except for the specific data—events, dates, relocations—the letter must be read as an unreliable narrator. Eliot's letters, which seem so solid and so

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rooted in reality, are in fact misleading, to the extent that she leaves out her creative or imaginative processes when she is composing her major works. She slides in and around them, emphasizing instead terms of contracts, advances, publication dates, the physical look of the novel; but in the light of what we want to know most—where her creative abilities cross with her life—we must proceed guardedly.

In most instances, we stake out our own narrative and subsume the narrative of the letter. Take for example a letter Eliot wrote to her publisher, John Blackwood, on July 30, 1859, where the subject is apparently the receipt of a pug, a gift from Blackwood. Eliot uses the occasion, the coming of the dog—an expensive thirty guineas—to comment on life. The pug has come "to fill up the void left by false and narrow-hearted friends. I see that he is without envy, hatred, or malice—that he will betray no secrets, and feel neither pain at my success nor pleasure in my chagrin." The remainder of the letter concerns the dog. But interwoven into her gratitude for such a thoughtful and expensive gift is an entire world of feelings and attitudes. In the near background is what she still considers the perfidy of Spencer; she feels she had been led on, and then dropped. Spencer always said he was drawn only to physically attractive women. More to the point, Eliot's lack of physical attractiveness was not the issue—Spencer was; he remained a bachelor for his entire long life, and probably a virgin. But also in the background are all the people who considered her not much better than a kept woman for having run away with George Henry Lewes, a married family man, although separated from his wife.

Eliot thinks of all those desertions, all that backbiting, all the gossip that trailed her around London, and only ended at the continent. But further than that, she was feeling out her own mixed emotions as she was poised between her first book, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, and her first novel, *Adam Bede*. She was suffering a failure of confidence, as she almost always did when she was completing or contemplating a book; and she wondered if what she wrote was close to what she hoped to achieve. She was unusually divided at this time, as her career as a fiction writer was about to begin, and she was still unknown as Mary Anne Evans, still hiding behind the name George Eliot as a male writer, a cleric, a retiring gentleman—as Lewes presented her image to Blackwood. Rejected by her family because of the

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relationship with Lewes, pretending to be a man of the cloth, unsure of her own abilities in this new medium, and suffering from emotional debilitation because of Spencer's rejection and the consequences of the Lewes attachment, she uses the dog as a way of commenting more on herself than on the pug. If we can maximize one letter this way, the path through thousands of pieces of correspondence will be thorny indeed.

One of the difficulties with Eliot biography was, paradoxically, an excess of material about the details of her life—especially her researches and travels—but too little about how her life and work connected. She was introspective at the level of intellectual life, but not forthcoming at the deepest level of her craft. We rarely catch any glimpses of transformation, of how research and reading became imaginatively conceived. In a novel such as *Romola*, we recognize that the research overwhelmed the fictional element, so eager was Eliot to get the details of the Savonarola period correct. Also, in parts of *Daniel Deronda*, her research into Jewish matters shows, as she parades historical detail at the expense of creative development. But other parts of *Deronda*, as well as *Middlemarch* and *The Mill on the Floss*, to mention only those, involved transformational qualities which Eliot did not put into her letters.

The breadth of detail along with the lack of artistic introspection is only one problematical area in the writing of Eliot's biography. There was, as noted before, the solid presence of the Haight volume, and the fact that the succeeding biographer had to find ways in which Haight either lacked material or else interpreted it according to an earlier, more guarded time. Haight is clearly uncomfortable with sexual matters, and yet it was surely a cornerstone of Eliot's successful relationship with Lewes that it rested on a mutually satisfactory sexual life. The raking, profligate Lewes found an accommodating mate in the seemingly opposite Eliot; we have enough hints here and there and sufficient intimations to female friends from Eliot to make that statement. But other than that, it became necessary to examine Eliot's attraction to her own sex; that while she was clearly heterosexual—and expressed that—she drew to her a number of women who worshipped her and who, apparently, excluded men from their lives. All of this is shrouded and veiled, a gray area, but it bears interpretation as part of Eliot biography—although not perhaps a major element.

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In other areas as well, Haight could be found, not wanting, but hesitant. He did not choose to discuss Eliot's fiction in detail, skipping over the ambiguities which they reveal. His is a "true" biography in the sense of an earlier time, when the work was separated. We recall how in Edgar Johnson's biography of Dickens the fiction was located in chapters disconnected from its place in the life. Once I made a decision that Eliot's body of work was also biographical, as much a part of her life—and perhaps more—as the chronological life itself, then I found numerous problematical areas. It was impossible to blend life and works without a strong psychological strain; old-fashioned American biographers and contemporary English biographers (although not the much-maligned Peter Ackroyd in his splendid *Dickens*) are wary of psychological interpretation and usually skirt the work of their subject. They provide chronological sequencing, which is often not the way the life was at all. I wanted much more, and that involved not only a strong psychological base, but also frequent interruption of narrative flow. If the work was to be integrated into the life, there was simply no way to keep up a sequential narrative flow; prolepsis and other literary strategies were necessary. Chronological sequencing was almost impossible, since works might be incubated at one time in the life, then worked on at another, finally produced at a third time.

But that was only the beginning of the problems. The question arose of what kind of criticism to apply: social? political? broadly cultural? deconstructive, where possible? reader-response? Lacanian? Was a close reading too subjective, even while the method posed as objective? Weren't all critical methods subjective and, therefore, a matter of personal distortion? Did I feel transference or countertransference with my subject? How does one explain Eliot's very ambiguous attitude toward women?—a feminist in her work, not keen about it in her life, and yet unconventional enough to "live in sin."

While not my sole area of critical attack, I decided on an eclectic psychological reading of Eliot's life and work. I did not construe her life as needing analysis in the typical way—no couch, no strict Freudianism, Lacanian or other discipline, no theoretical paradigm that would squeeze her into this or that meaning. I wanted something open to alternate discourse, that liberated rather than constrained Eliot, and that allowed me,

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somehow, to enter both her life and work with a kind of balance. I turned to ideas of transference and countertransference, and here I immediately ran into several choices, none of them really resolvable. There was, of course, the gender difference, and while I dismissed an essentialism based on maleness or femaleness, I nevertheless had difficulty in re-imagining what it was like to grow up as a girl and a young woman. In any biography that attempts a psychological approach, such a problem is evident.

Second, there was the obvious disparity between eras—my contemporary America, her pre-Victorian England. Third, there was geography, her country life and its presence in her fiction, my views based mainly on an urban existence. There were, additionally, religious differences, even though by her twenties she had ceased to be a believer; but her early life was infused with religious fervor, whereas I had never felt either fervor or belief. Most of all, and possibly the most difficult problem of difference, was the fact she knew a lot more than I did; she was both intelligent and creative, intellectual and imaginative. She simply read more and knew more than anyone else in the century among fiction writers, and perhaps overall among writers except for John Stuart Mill. She knew foreign languages, seven of them to read, some to speak; she had read deeply in philosophy, theology, literature, history; she was aware of most developments in the hard sciences; she kept up with evolutionary theories and with developments in mathematics. She could understand any idea or text put before her. In these respects, she was a daunting subject, clearly my intellectual superior.

Withal these difficulties, I went ahead with my psychological approach, as something that could reduce the distance between me and Eliot. Speaking generally, all biographers in writing about a significant figure seek some way to lessen the distance between them and their subject. In nearly all cases, the subject is a far greater figure than the biographer. The point is how to bridge this difference, or how to avoid letting it become a visible issue. By using transference and countertransference, I threaded Eliot into my own world, and, conversely, threaded myself into hers; thus erasing the fact that we were so dissimilar, or at least creating the illusion that such differences could be overridden.

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We are all familiar with transference, since it is central to biography; and, one might add, to the critical analysis of nearly any text. But less well-known is countertransference, whereby an emotional tie between biographer and subject is so intense that it often leads to the former placing a subjective template on the latter. In such instances, whether we use Freudian terms or Erikson's "idealization" and "unconscious identification," the clear danger was that I would seek formative dimensions in my subject's life that validated my own experiences as well as hers. We can illustrate this with Eliot's response to her father, whom she venerated as a young woman and who, it seems, she came to resent later on.

The resentment derived from her own intellectual expansiveness, which enabled her to observe the narrowness and provincialism of her father, especially in religious matters. As she drifted from any formal belief, he insisted on his Church of England bearings, and demanded that as long as she lived at home she must also toe the line. When her father, Robert Evans, fell ill, it was Eliot's job to take care of him, since she was unattached. His illness was, as her letters reveal, a kind of imprisonment for her; her time was taken up with chores in the very years she considered precious. Now moving past her mid-twenties, she was close to middle age for a Victorian woman, still single, still unfulfilled, still aware of huge intellectual potentiality without any avenue of escape.

Here was my problem. If I read her situation along the lines of how I would have felt, I would have found her short-sighted indeed for wasting year after year; but in taking that position, I would have neglected to see how her devotion to her father transcended such anger and created a far greater ambiguity than I would have found for myself. Since I had a father with whom I was not emotionally engaged, and who was a passive, shadowy, almost invisible figure in my life, I could easily have concluded that Mary Anne Evans—who would, after all, become George Eliot—was losing her life. She owed this man only so much; she owed herself much more. My reading of this very important area would be countertransferential, and it could possibly have trapped me in a reading that, on one hand, was valid, but on another was well off the mark.

I determined, in fact, that because of my own feelings I underestimated Eliot's devotion to her father; further, that I was

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theorizing about father-daughter relationships based more on American ideas of separation of the generations than on the Victorian sense of coming together. I was in danger of misreading on two levels, that of the individual case and that of the more generalized view of familial attachments. Here, countertransference, while useful in some aspects of Eliot's life—in my reading of her depressive moods, for instance, or in her desire for reclusiveness—would be overreaching in others.

But my caution in matters of countertransference should not, I felt, subvert my belief that such a psychological relationship with my subject is necessarily a faulty one. Studies with a strong psychobiographical or psychohistorical emphasis have recently been hit hard by critics and reviewers; but a psychological approach need not be exclusive, no more than a deconstructive or hermeneutic one need be. What is emerging increasingly in biography is an eclectic approach, and with this in mind my attempt to put Eliot under a psychological lens was not to narrow responses, but to broaden them. Even in what is usually considered to be a lesser work (by far), *Silas Marner*, I discovered a great deal of compelling matter, not only in the text itself but in ways the text patterned itself after elements in Eliot's life: her feelings of isolation, her sense of herself as a pariah once she had eloped with Lewes, her somewhat contradictory desire for money as a means of power and yet her recognition of its limitations, her age itself when she wrote the novel, an age when she was past childbearing and what that meant to a woman in her time. Finally, we must take into account an interesting piece of transference on her own part, when she became stepmother, as it were, to Lewes's three sons: less than blood mother, not even a legally recognized stepmother, and yet still a mother figure, at a time when she is writing about Silas as a "stepmother" to Eppie, a maternal man.

Aspects of Eliot's life—and the way her life rubbed off on her work—turned out to be far more complicated than I had originally considered. Teaching the novels in the classroom and applying critical methods to them is quite a different matter from assimilating the life and work in a biographical study. One need not give up critical tools, but one must range into areas of self-understanding which critical method by itself might ignore—although in some perfect world, we would recognize that criticism is itself a subjective procedure with many of the

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biases and prejudices we associate with biographical writing. With psychological tools, the probing of a biographical figure reverberates not only into social and political areas, but into the symbiotic relationship of the subject to the biographer, frequently in unforeseen ways. The Eliot I started out with in Hawai'i had deepened and broadened by the time I took her back to New York.

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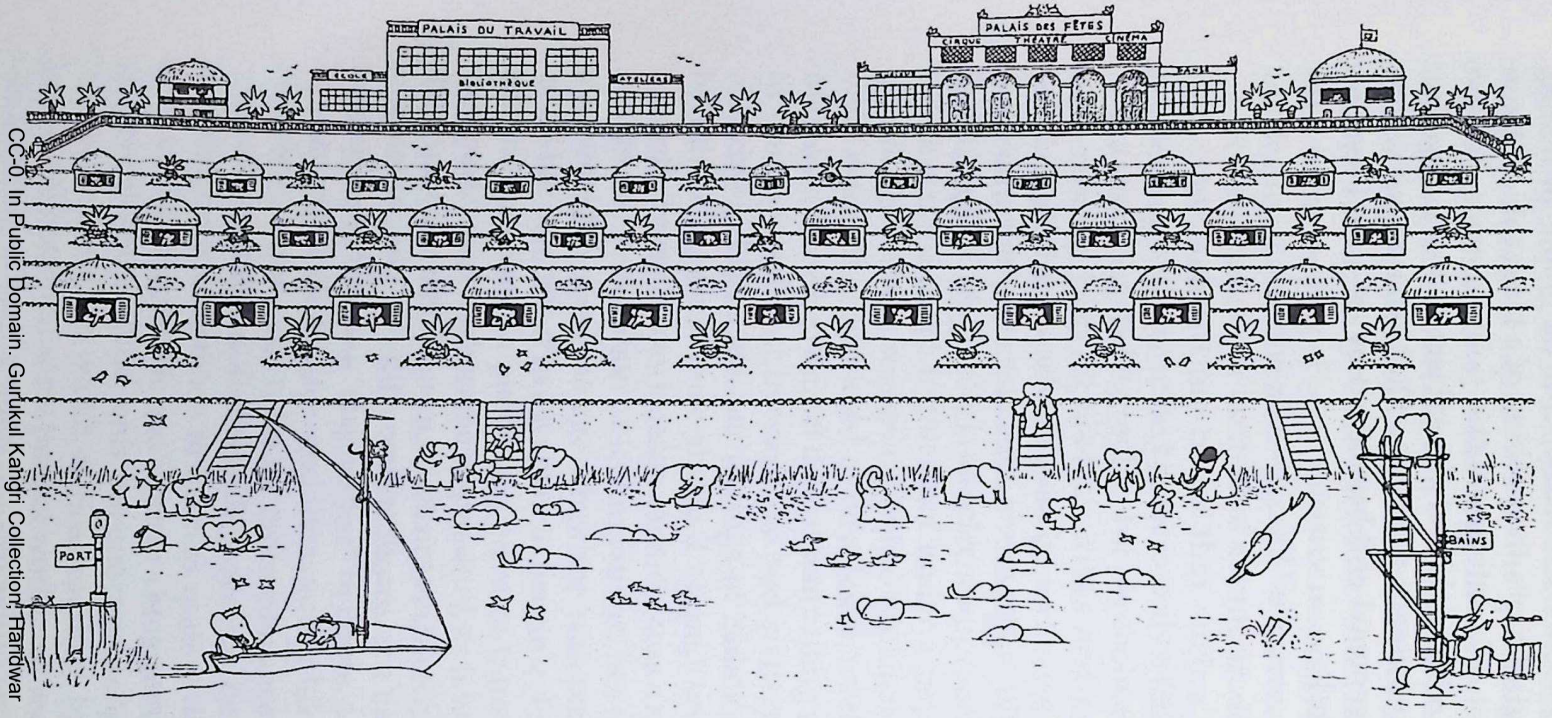

Celesteville, from Le Roi Babar. © *Heirs of Jean de Brunhoff.*
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Babar and the *Mission Civilisatrice*: Colonialism and the Biography of a Mythical Elephant

Stephen O'Harrow

Babar inspires an autobiographical note: I have three children, two grown and one still at the age of wonder. I have read the *Babar* stories with all of my children and all of my children, as I did, found *Babar* wonderful, although each child reacted to the stories in a different way. Some of the things I find I need to say about the stories may lead the reader to construe this article as an attack on the work of Babar's creator, Jean de Brunhoff.[1] This is far from the case. De Brunhoff was an artist. His *Babar* books are works of art (in the genre of Milne and Winnie-the-Pooh), rather more fireproof, or at least critic-proof, than run-of-the-mill children's books. Doubtless, Babar's popularity will endure as long as children anywhere can take delight in the adventures of a friendly elephant who can ride a bicycle dressed as a *boulevardier*. Who could fail to be charmed?

* * * * *

And a note on method: life writing implies, above all, a series of choices. One must choose what to include and what to leave out. Even assuming one has access to all the facts, which one never does (not even in autobiography), and that certain choices are not imposed by the material itself, which they almost always are, one can never tell all, nor would one wish to, for to tell all would produce chaos. So some things are left in and some things are cut out. What one chooses to include is literary capital, even more elementary than one's interpretation of events, and it is this inventory of inclusion that should be at the root of biographical criticism. The proposition applies to all life stories, whether fictitious or not. It denotes a process crucial to every philological inquiry, for instance Biblical exegesis, where understanding of

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the synoptic Gospels turns on what they have all chosen to include—knowing what value to place on events included in some and not others is the essence of the enterprise.

At any point in history, the life writer's choices, whether conscious or unconscious, are affected by many things, but none so subtle and pervasive as the zeitgeist, the spirit of the times. It is this spirit which allows us to swim like fish in a river—we may think that we are making some headway, and compared to the other fish, perhaps we are, but if the river is flowing in the opposite direction faster than any fish can swim, in reality we are going backwards.

By all accounts, Jean de Brunhoff (1899–1937) himself was *parfaitement charmant*. His photos are striking: slim, handsome and well-dressed, with an undeniably aristocratic *air*.[2] We know from the few biographical notes available that he was a somewhat shy, well-educated man, from a family with professional connections in the Paris art world, and that he was married into a *bon bourgeois* family of similar social standing.[3] It is said that he and his wife Cécile (née Sabouraud), their families, and their circle of friends considered themselves social progressives, and like many French people of the day who had witnessed the Great War, basically pacifistic. In other words, they were swimming upstream at a faster rate than a number of their contemporaries.[4]

But what of the zeitgeist, in which direction was it flowing? Cécile de Brunhoff first invented Babar the elephant in a story to read to her children sometime around 1930/31.[5] Her husband, Jean, was an artist by profession but unable to live on his earnings from the arts—he and Cécile and their children received an allowance from their parents. When Jean thereupon created the illustrations, he still intended them as a treat destined for his own children alone. At this point (1931), family friends in the publishing business prevailed upon de Brunhoff to put the Babar book in print, and its success was both immediate and surprising. In the short period from 1931 until his death from tuberculosis in 1937, Jean made his lasting mark as the creator of five more Babar books, text as well as illustration.[6] Thus, if we wish to know the spirit of the times that enveloped the process of creating Babar's universe, we must look at the France of the period of Jean de Brunhoff's life, and especially the France of the early and mid-1930s.

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As film critics have often noted, nearly everywhere in the Western world, the financial malaise of the post-1929 era created a vast new audience wishing to make their escape from depressing reality by entering the cinema.[7] Publishers, too, found the book-buying public would respond favorably to works that could paint a world with some reassurance. What could possibly reassure the potential purchaser of children's books in the France of the early thirties more than confirmation of the warmth and safety of the traditional foyer and a rehearsal of France as the light of the civilized world? Apart from the intrinsic appeal of anthropomorphic animals, elephants oh-so-light-on-their-feet, happy endings, and de Brunhoff's ingenious illustrations, there was the actual content of the stories to be considered, and this content was in harmony with the times.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, France ruled an empire second only to that of Great Britain. French possessions could be found in Africa, Asia, North and South America, and in the islands of the Atlantic, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific. Something on the order of fifty nations, states (independent and semi-independent), and colonial entities used French as an official language. The supposed virtues, both economic and moral, of the French colonial system and its contribution to national defense had been the subject of frequent reiteration in both French schools and the French press for the several decades leading up to the early postwar period, but the Parisian public's (indeed the whole nation's) awareness of France as a colonial power was (re)awakened on a scale never seen before by the 12,000 exhibitors at the Exposition Coloniale Internationale of 1931, a vast event which took over almost a square mile of the Bois de Vincennes and officially attracted some 33,489,902 visitors—a figure equal to more than three-quarters of the national population of the period.[8] The exotic animals alone, elephants head and shoulders above the rest, formed the basis and the bulk of what was to become the great Paris Zoo, the Jardin Zoologique du Bois de Vincennes.

Speaking of a malaise in the body politic in general and especially among the French intellectual elite, Janet Horne notes a "high level of national anxiety" in the years just following the Great War, an anxiety which gripped even those with the most firmly republican sensibilities (people of Jean de Brunhoff's circle). One surmises from her investigations that the colonial

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exhibition itself, not unlike the Babar books, should be viewed largely as an act of reassurance, even as the republican establishment sought to "avert the specter of national decline by embarking on a quest to secure a Greater France." This "Greater France" was a "renaissance of the colonial ideal." It denoted a "figurative geography," which "implied that campaigns for domestic reform and colonial expansion were part of the same overarching quest for the national renewal of France" (Horne 21 *et seq.*).

Reassuring as it was to various aspects of the French psyche, republican as well as imperial, the Exposition Coloniale Internationale not only presented a live experience of exoticism to the visitor, offering an assortment of publications emphasizing the flora and fauna of France's colonial territories, but it also proffered a huge array of edifying pamphlets with titles such as *La pénétration scolaire en pays Cambodgien et Laotien* and *L'œuvre civilisatrice et scientifique des missionnaires catholiques dans les colonies françaises*. One could say with little fear of contradiction that extolling exoticism and the benefits of French control of exotic places was at the heart of the exhibition. The impact was undeniable. Whether the de Brunhoff family itself, resident in the Paris region in 1931, was taken up with the spirit of the exhibition one cannot yet affirm, but it would be fair to surmise that a large number of Jean's future readers were so engaged.[9]

Thus, it is clear that two seminal ideas were floating freely in the Paris atmosphere by the end of the year 1931. The first notion was that under the tutelage of France were many lands full of wondrous beings. The second idea was that, in the presence of the French civilizing genius, the fact that France was in control of a goodly portion of the exotic world was, doubtless, a "good thing"—good for France, but even more importantly, good for the future of the exotic places of the world and their many inhabitants.

And there was a third "big idea" which had already attained widespread acceptance in official scientific circles and had also gained some measure of respectability in other French epistemic communities before the end of the nineteenth century: "acclimatizationism," the repertory of theories and practices that underpinned the effort willfully to imprint on any particular organism, in the words of the noted French naturalist Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, "modifications which render it able to

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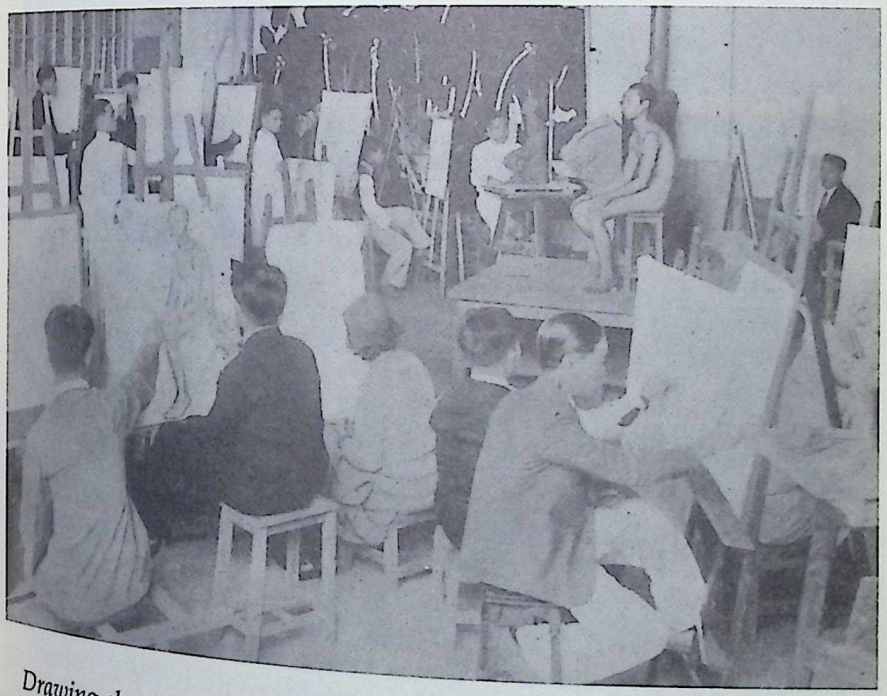
live and to perpetuate its species under new conditions of existence" (Osborne 2). In fact, it was in the environs of that Vatican of acclimatizationism, the Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation in the Bois de Boulogne, much older than the zoological gardens at Vincennes,[10] that wild animals such as elephants could first be viewed by the Parisian public on a regular if somewhat limited basis. And in spite of the spread of more modern genetic theories, the basic mind set that could be labeled acclimatizationism could still be detected in quantity in the French zeitgeist by the first third of the twentieth century.

Since the Gallicization of colonial peoples, or at least of colonial elites through education (the practical application in life of what happened to Babar in fiction), was basic to the French colonial *œuvre*, it can be said that notions of the ultimate feasibility of acclimatizationism summed up what many saw as the prospects for the "*Mission Civalisatrice*." As Osborne observes:

> Lamarckian, near-Lamarckian and neo-Lamarckian ideas were firmly rooted in France. For these reasons, France and its empire, and not the empires of Great Britain and Germany, formed the international epicenter of the acclimatization movement. (174)[11]



Drawing class, late 1920s, Université Indochinoise de Hanoi, École des Beaux Arts (Indochine Française, Section des Services 130).

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But one need not have subscribed wholeheartedly to all aspects of these ideas to have been subtly invaded by them, and one need not have been wholly conscious of their influence for one to have created works of fiction that resonated to such notions pervading one's reading public.

How did Babar's appeal "resonate" and what has it to do with life writing? To answer these questions, we must look at the content and technique of the early Babar books, the ones which first created the character and his milieu for the children of France, and eventually the children of the world.

As noted by Ann Hildebrand:

> The first flush of Jean's genius vitalizes the three stories that establish Babar's character, his physical world, and the themes both de Brunhoffs will sound. In fact these stories are the heart of the Babars, the most interesting to thoughtful readers and students of the elephant utopia, and basic to an appreciation of the saga. (23)

The titles in question are *The Story of Babar*, *The Travels of Babar*, and *Babar the King*. In addition, there is much to be drawn from *Babar and His Children*.[12] Let us review each of the first "foundational" three in enough detail to permit further discussion; even readers familiar with the texts may wish to refresh their memories with the details.

> *The Story of Babar* (1931)—a baby elephant (Babar) is born to a loving mother in a tropical forest (location unspecified). After he has grown a bit, his idyllic childhood among other elephant children is brutally cut short by human hunters who shoot Babar's mother. Babar runs to escape from the forest and happens upon a city which is much like Paris. In the city, he sees well-dressed humans and wishes he could partake. A patroness (*La Vieille Dame*, "The Old Lady") takes kindly to him and gives him her purse. He buys clothes (including spats and a bowler hat), has his picture taken in them, eats *patisserie*, is taken to her home, learns to sleep in a bed (in pajamas!), is schooled, holds forth conversationally in her *salon*, drives about in a small red roadster (she "gives him anything he wants"), and generally lives the life of a well-kept Parisian man-about-town. But he pines for his forest homeland. One day, two of his elephant cousins, Céleste and Arthur, somehow make it to town looking for him. Overjoyed to see them, Babar passes on to them the urban(e) French virtues of *couture* and *cuisine*. Properly fed and dressed, they are happy together at

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the patroness's home when their elephant mothers suddenly appear at the door, looking cross. It is time to go home. Babar and The Old Lady will miss each other—who knows what the future will bring? Babar and his now civilized (*i.e.*, dressed) cousins drive upright in the roadster down the Gallic tree-lined route home, their naked mothers running along behind on all fours. When they arrive home, it transpires that the old King of the Elephants has died and the elders are looking for a new king. Since Babar has returned an educated almost-man from the metropole, he is acclaimed King. He announces that, on the drive home, he and Céleste have become engaged and if he is to be King, then she must be Queen. Again the crowd proclaims its assent. There is organized a gala coronation-cum-wedding, after which, Babar and Céleste hold hands in neo-marital bliss under a starry sky and look to the future.

The Travels of Babar (1932)—Babar and Céleste are off on their honeymoon in a balloon. They drift over a town which looks for all the world like Biarritz as seen from the air by St. Exupéry. Then they drift out to sea where they are downed in a storm and land on a sizable desert isle. They hang their wet clothes up to dry. Babar, with his boy-scout talents, sets up camp, and Céleste sees to the meal. While Babar is away on a reconnoiter, Céleste goes to sleep. Dark, woolly-headed cannibals appear, tie her up, and ignorantly try on articles of the elephants' clothing. Babar returns, routs the savages, and saves his bride. It is time to leave. Babar and Céleste hail a passing whale and she gives them a ride on her back. She then deposits them on a tiny rock island while she goes off to forage in the deep, promising to return. She is unreliable, and Babar and Céleste are stuck. Fortunately, a passing three-funneled *paquebot*, looking for all the world like the *Normandie*, comes to their rescue (see also Hildebrand 32), but, now divested and sans regalia, they are taken for mere animals and stowed in the hold in a straw-lined quasi-cell. Once ashore they are turned over to a circus, from which they escape back to the home of The Old Lady, who joyfully takes them in and provides all that is needed. Once again in proper surroundings, they even go skiing in a place that cannot be far from Mont Blanc. But the time eventually comes to go home to the Land of the Elephants. Babar and Céleste invite The Old Lady to return with them. When their aeroplane lands, they find a devastated country without flowers and birds. It transpires that the (Germanic-looking) rhinoceroses led by Rataxes have declared war and invaded. Céleste and The Old Lady take care of the wounded. Babar decides upon a ruse (disguising his soldiers to look like monsters) and defeats the rhinoceroses bloodlessly. Victory

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is declared, The Old Lady is rewarded with honors for her assistance, and the story closes as Babar invites her to remain with them to help him establish happiness in the kingdom.

Babar the King[13]—Peace is at hand and The Old Lady is in residence as royal advisor. Babar wanders by a large lake and dreams of building his city—up to this point there are no buildings in the Land of the Elephants, only the occasional temporary Africanesque royal enclosure. Then we see coming a caravan of dromedaries, carrying the returning baggage from Babar's and Céleste's turbulent honeymoon: crates filled with clothes and tools, things needed for the new lifestyle of the civitas, records, hats, and trumpets, dresses, suits, materials, paint boxes, drums, fishing tackle and rods, ostrich feathers, tennis rackets, and the like. Everyone pitches in joyfully in the construction of "Célesteville," while The Old Lady plays edifying Victrola recordings. The result is an elephantine metropolis, a quintessential colonial capital dominated at the top of the page by a Palais du Travail (with school, studios, and library) and a Palais des Fêtes (with facilities for music, dance, theater, cinema, and the circus), flanked on either side by Babar's royal dwelling and the residence of his chief advisor, The Old Lady. In three tiers descending the page come the individual but totally identical houses of his subjects—"chaque éléphant a sa maison." Babar also distributes gifts, including serviceable work apparel and beautiful rich garments for holidays. Babar decrees a reunion in the gardens of the Palais des Fêtes, where every elephant will dress up. The gardeners are hard about their task of arranging nature *à la Versaillaise;* the schoolchildren practice the ancient chant of the Mammoths.[14] The Sunday fête goes very well, with magnificent costumes, delicious cakes, and children's songs. The next day the elephant children are back to school under the tutelage of The Old Lady. Elephants too old to go to school chose a trade, from farmer, cobbler, street cleaner, or mechanic, through musician and clown, to doctor, sculptor, and academician. It is explained that each person has a role in this well-ordered society and each serves the other in some way. The old male elephants play bowls, the children play with the clown, and the King and Queen play tennis with an officer and his wife. All elephants attend the theater, themselves outfitted in gowns, tiaras, and evening dress, where they watch elephantine players in Molièresque attire. Naughty children play in the wake of the street-cleaner but redeem themselves by playing cello and violin and so earn a trip to the pastry shop. There is a distribution of school prizes. The talents and virtues of the mechanic, the sculptor,

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and the painter are featured in the king's mechanical horse, which he will mount the next day on the anniversary of the foundation of the capital. Reviewing the great procession Babar, surrounded by dignitaries and boy scouts, watches as the honor guard and then the other estates parade by—workers grouped in allied trades, mechanics and chauffeurs, painters and sculptors, clowns and actors, gardeners and farmers, pastry cooks and chefs, followed by a sign reading "UN pour tous/ TOUS pour un." Pachyderm military units are represented by uniforms such as those of the Macedonian Phalanx, a cross between the Guarde Républicaine and Buckingham Palace units in busbys; a troop of Czarist Hussars; a group of French Equatorial African Infantry; and, in the dim background, what appears to be members of the Greek Orthodox clergy. It is a glorious day but soon thereafter misfortune befalls The Old Lady in the form of a snakebite, and Babar's dear old friend Cornélius loses his house to a conflagration. Babar tries to sleep and falls into a nightmare in which the demons of fear, indolence, anger, ignorance, laziness, cowardice, sickness, discouragement, anger, despair, and stupidity assail him. They are driven off by the angels of virtue, courage, patience, learning, labor, goodness, intelligence, hope, love, health, joy, happiness, and perseverance. In the end, his sick friends recover, and Babar and his elephant elite are instructed by The Old Lady: "Do you see how in this life one must never be discouraged? . . . Let's work hard and cheerfully and we'll continue to be happy." And since that day, "over in the elephant's country, everyone has been happy and contented."

The qualities which have endeared Jean de Brunhoff's work to the international public for some years, the attractiveness of his illustrations as well as the obvious tenderness and good will of the Babar stories, go a long way towards obscuring some of its inherent basic contradictions. The chief contradiction centers on a confluence of attitudes. De Brunhoff's elephants may be animals *de jure*, but they are people *de facto*. As the elephants are presented to their readers,[15] their behavior is to be judged by the same standards as human behavior. The elephants are, as such, the real central human focus.

On the rare occasions that non-Western human figures do appear in de Brunhoff's early stories, they are woolly-headed savages with walk-on parts.[16] Both from the structural and representational points of view, these characters are entirely incidental. The real "other" in the Babar stories is then the elephant; the elephant exists in contrast to humans not in the

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way that animals really contrast with *homo sapiens*, but as certain groups of people contrast with other groups of people.

Apart from incidental savages, among *homo sapiens* in the Babar stories there is but one group: clothed, presumably-educated, presumably-civilized Caucasoid beings, who walk upright in a Gallic setting and manipulate human artifacts. Among elephants there are two sub-groups: educated, clothed, civilized beings, walking upright and manipulating human artifacts; and uneducated, naked, less-than-civilized elephant/animal beings, apt to be instructed in walking upright and manipulating human artifacts.[17] Further, those elephants who are already civilized have become so through human intervention, and these now superior elephants have as their mission the civilizing of the others. The beneficence of the situation is clear as long as the reader shares the notion that civilization as here defined is a "good thing," which any benighted tropical group who did not enjoy its fruits would desire.

What does "civilization" look like in 1931? It looks French. Technology, couture, cuisine, and enlightened order is imposed on what would otherwise be chaos. It is a quintessentially French civilization we see in the Babar books, one herewith imposed on the delightfully exotic world of the same kind depicted at the Exposition Coloniale Internationale. Further, it is the civilization of republican France, bringing to its recipients not only the delights of arts refined and mechanical, of attire and the properly laid table, but also the social virtues of opportunity and order, nothing less than the justice of an ideal polity, the one which so many longed to see emerge after the horrible sacrifices of the Great War.

* * * * *

King Babar, Masculine Hero. Any child exposed to the nationally decreed history curriculum of the republican schools in the first part of the twentieth century will be familiar with stories from the exemplary lives of men who were both figures of contemplation and of action, often surprisingly (and safely distant) royal figures. Typical of those portrayed were Charlemagne, the warrior king, secretly learning to write on the *ardoise* he kept under his pillow; Philippe-Auguste, fathering the great institutions of Paris; and Bonaparte, doing what he did so well to further the military and centralized institutional glory of France—*passons sur le reste*. Many of these were stories

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wherein the schoolchild could witness the *ipsissima verba* (real or imagined) of Great Kings, men to whose personal acts, apart from warfare and diplomacy, were attributed profound effects on the formation of the national consciousness and every Frenchman's mortal self-apprehension.

However, and perhaps unlike their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, paradigmatic French schoolbook heroes were often noted as well for their royal frailties, qualities which rendered them all the more human and believable, in essence *plus cherisable*.[18] One thinks immediately not only of Charlemagne's shy attempts to overcome his own unlettered condition, but also the popular portrayal of the ease of conscience shown by Henri IV in 1593, as he converted to Catholicism in order to consummate his coronation ("*Paris vault bien une messe*"). One is witnessing here the kind of historical construction comfortable to modern republican eyes; who else but an Henri IV, the king who wore his religion so lightly, could have had the generosity of spirit to have promulgated the Edit de Nantes?

Therefore, if one is to begin a series of stories for children based on the life of an original hero, that hero must hold within his heart an ideal, but he cannot be perfect; he must at the same time be human (even if he is an elephant) as well as humane. In *The Story of Babar*, Babar studies to better himself but also succumbs to luxury and is torn between the comforts of the city and the call of home. In *The Travels of Babar*, he must humble himself in a silly costume, unable to prevent his wife from being exhibited as a danseuse; while in his circus captivity, he begins to lay his plans for escape. In *Babar the King*, he must cope with fire in the capital and other apparent failures, leading him to toss and turn with nightmares. And in *Babar and his Children*, the King of the Elephants is assailed with doubts as he awaits the arrival of his firstborn.

Nevertheless, decisiveness in the face of danger should win out. Early in his exemplary reign, Babar successfully fends off the evil, Germanic-looking rhinos led by Rataxes. And if we turn to the A-list in the catalogue of French heroes, we find it filled with the names of the people who defended the nation against foreign menace, starting from the earliest conceivable moment. The very first "Frenchman" in schoolbook histories, the epitome of "*nos ancêtres, les Gaulois*," is invariably Vercingétorix, who in 52 B.C.E. battled Julius Caesar at Alésia.

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There is Clovis in 486 at Soissons against the Romans. Then Charles Martel ("the Hammer") fends off the Saracens in 732 at Tours. The latter, of course, is followed by Charlemagne, who conquers barbarians of various stripes, seconded by Count Roland holding the pass against the Basques at Roncesvalles in 778. And this is only the beginning.

Just as Babar does, the leaders of exemplary lives, in French tales as elsewhere, often found cities.[19] Babar names his new Jerusalem "Célesteville" after Céleste, who nursed the wounded while the rhino hordes threatened. The association of women with cities in French myth-making is evident: French school children have always learned of Geneviève, patron saint of Paris, who warned the city when Attila and the Hunnish hordes threatened; and of Jeanne d'Arc, who lifted the siege of Orléans when the unwashed English threatened the city.

So we can affirm that any number of elements which de Brunhoff chooses to include in the exemplary life of Babar—the occasionally weak "humanity" which accompanies his heroics, his founding of a city in association with a female character, his fighting off an enemy clearly foreign—would not be unfamiliar to either a schoolchild or his parents, who by 1931 had been exposed to such tales drawn from his own nation's glorious past.

King Babar, Urban Civilizer. Without rehearsing the many Gallic benefits which Babar brings to the elephants, we are struck by the fact that most, if not all, are illustrated in his establishment of Célesteville, with its education, arts, and parades, its hierarchical yet peaceful social order, its useful labor, its regular gardens and pleasant public spaces. Rural elephant life is left largely unmentioned and presumably unchanged. The few glimpses we see of it in royal trips to the countryside help confirm this view. One can only suppose that de Brunhoff was unconscious of how closely the Land of the Elephants, with its gleaming capital and undeveloped hinterland, paralleled the actual growth of the French colonies, or would foreshadow that of the independent Third World nations which succeeded them. And yet, one cannot contrast the Hanois and Dakars of either yesterday or today with their respective rural surroundings and not find a convincing mirror of the Land of the Elephants.

From Babar's own earliest experience in the metropole, his mentor and patroness was The Old Lady. She finances his education and his acculturation, as well as his boyish whims.

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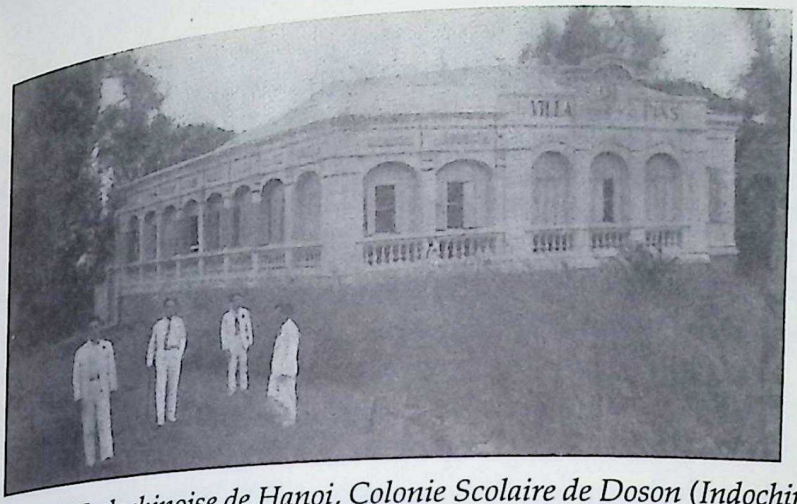

Université Indochinoise de Hanoi, Colonie Scolaire de Doson (*Indochine Française, Section des Services 129). Note the resemblance to Célesteville's Palais de Fêtes.*

When the time comes for him to return to his country and establish his elephantine utopia, he brings The Old Lady back. Reminiscent of saintly nurses behind the lines at the Somme, she along with Céleste acts at first as a nurse to the elephants wounded in their clash with the Germanic-looking rhinos. Peace re-established, The Old Lady plays soothing music on the phonograph for the elephants as they labor at the construction of the new capital. Finally she is ensconced in Célesteville as the grand advisor to the king, with her own residence, close to his and much larger than that of the run-of-the-mill elephant citizen. Once Babar's queen delivers her first children, The Old Lady doubles as nursemaid to the royal children.

Janet Horne's observations regarding the relationships between the feminine, the colonial, and republican reformism are brought to mind.

> From the 1889 International Exposition to the 1931 Colonial Exhibition . . . France's empire formed a pervasive subtext of the reform discourse . . . of the metropole. Practical efforts to promote both colonial expansion and metropolitan reform were also linked in fundamental ways. Republican campaigns for social betterment and the impulse to consolidate the empire constituted two primary and recurrent vectors of the national renewal of France, expressed in a variety of guises. Both reformers and colonialists used gendered discourse to justify their policies by grounding them in broad, essentialist norms that portrayed women primarily as mothers but also as messengers of social mediation and modernity. (42)

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In sum, de Brunhoff's Babar, this elegant creation, charms and delights and his stories will endure, not unlike the greats of French literature, because of the basic "humanity" of his elephant characters. The life de Brunhoff has offered us is that of a boy who, with a generous measure of assistance, overcomes hardship. He shows innate strength of character, but a character well-shaped and enhanced by a civilized education, graced by a feminine muse. And so he can grow to be a king.

Because Babar is both a visual work and a work of words, the elements which de Brunhoff chooses to include can be apprehended in ways spoken and seen, but in whichever medium they appear, they conspire to illustrate a life most easily measured by a reader familiar with other lives drawn from the mythos and the cultural reservoirs of French history, lives similarly constructed, and the elements of Babar's life are put together in a way uniquely consonant with the sprit of the times and congenial to the social and political surroundings of his biographer.

A man's (an elephant's) goodness may be innate, yet it can only flower in the proper social surroundings. Where these surroundings are lacking, in places yet benighted, they must be introduced.

NOTES

1. The Brunhoff family name seems to be of Swedish-Baltic origin, and the particle "de," if it is indeed original, may not actually be "noble" in the French sense and thus merit use of the lower case. But the author here prefers giving the house of Brunhoff the benefit of the doubt, so in this article the particle is not capitalized.
2. See the photograph of the dapper young Jean de Brunhoff in Weber 12.
3. Particularly Weber 13–31 and Hildebrand 1–22.
4. Contemporaries like Céline, whose rantings against the "debased" social order of post World War France were made flesh during the Vichy, and which continued to resonate widely in anti-republican quarters for at least four decades; they are best illustrated in *Voyage au bout de la nuit.*
5. Where Madame de Brunhoff got the name "Babar" is anyone's guess —it was probably chosen for its lumpy, pachydermal sonority— but there was in point of fact an historical Babar or Babur whose name may have inspired her choice; he was the great Mogul Emperor, 1483–1530.

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6. After the war, his legacy was taken up by his highly talented artist son, Laurent de Brunhoff, who has given the world approximately thirty more Babar titles to date.
7. Unfortunately for artists like de Brunhoff, museums and art galleries did not cater to a mass audience, and those art collectors who were still buying did not come from situations from which they sought escape.
8. The exhibition was not without its critics. The Surrealists Breton, Aragon, Eluard, and Char, among others, circulated a pamphlet entitled "Ne visitez pas l'Exposition Coloniale."
9. A brief list of twentieth century French and francophone colonial expositions and exhibitions with colonial displays suggests how pervasive this spirit was:
   Exposition Universelle d'Hanoi * 1902–1903
   Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Liège * 1905
   Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille * 1906
   Exposition Internationale Aéronautique (Paris) * 1908
   Franco-British Exhibition (London) * 1908
   Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles (Brussels) * 1910
   Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille * 1922
   Exposition des Arts Décoratifs (Paris) * 1925
   Exposition Internationale Maritime et Coloniale d'Anvers (Antwerp) * 1930
   Exposition Internationale Industrielle de Liége * 1930
   Exposition Coloniale Internationale (Paris) * 1931
   Exposition de Bruxelles (Brussels) * 1935.
10. The Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation was founded in 1854, while the Jardin Zoologique du Bois de Vincennes really only became the major attraction it is today three-quarters of a century later.
11. Osborne's book contains undoubtedly the fullest and best discussion of these issues in print today.
12. Originally *Histoire de Babar* (1931), *Le Voyage de Babar* (1932), *Le Roi Babar* (1933), and *Babar en Famille* (1938, *opus posthumous*). For the original French and U.S. publishing information, see the Bibliography.
13. As Hildebrand notes, *Babar the King* is "the philosophical center of the Babar saga" (36).
14. The doubtlessly facetious assertions of August A. Imholtz, Jr., notwithstanding, the lyrics are nonsense, or at the very least, not Sanskrit (see also Hildebrand 159).
15. It might be noted that as in all commercial children's literature, Babar's real readers, in the first instance, were the parents of the children for whom the stories were theoretically written.

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16. It must be said that in the most recent editions of the original stories available from Hachette Jeunesse in France, most such egregious references have been deleted. But so have many of de Brunhoff's more memorable renderings, such as the dream diptych from *Le Roi Babar*, leading the reader to wonder whether these editorial decisions were not rendered more palatable to the publishers by the very fact of their making the productions considerably more economical.
17. As noted by Hildebrand (39), hats are among the most important articles of clothing, conferring dignity of rank upon the pachyderm in question. The civilization of the rhinoceri, it might be noted, displays Teutonic gear.
18. Royal names of less-than-heroic dimension abound; French children were most familiar with Pepin the Short, Louis the Stammerer, Charles the Bald (also Charles the Fat), Louis the Hard-Headed (the throne of France also rejoiced in a Fat Louis), and the like.
19. But these exemplary lives needn't be absolutely "historical" as we normally construe that term. In many ways, the greatest of all mythic lives in the Western tradition, the mythic life of Christ, is usually portrayed as the greatest of all exemplary lives. One can make a strong case for His "Kingdom of Heaven" to have been modeled if not foreshadowed on earth by the ideal community built among His followers. And on down throughout the Western tradition, both secular and sacred, a legion of new Jerusalems is scattered as the result of the activity of heroes.

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A Multicultural Global Culture: Not a Question of When, But How

Some Roads to Cultural Integration for Peace

Johan Galtung

Let me start with two stories from everyday life, even from my own life—one as a husband in a multicultural, Norwegian-Japanese, Eurasian marriage raising our two children, and one as a resident in a spot on earth that has realized a very high level of multiculturalism: Hawai'i, in the center of the Pacific.

The first story starts with our son, approaching three years of age, screaming "Don't talk English to me! Talk Norwegian!" I had committed what I now see as a major, and frequent mistake: I had said something in Norwegian, and then repeated it in English, thinking that he should have the best, and the best would be in two languages. What turned out was a little discovery: he had not much concept of "Norwegian" and "English" as such, but he responded to either as "Father's language" or "Mother's language." (Japanese requires more of a setting to be communicated effectively to children.) I learnt my lesson. Father talks Father's language, and that's it—and so does Mother.

Then, in come friends and other "significant others" as we traveled around the world for various tasks. They talked French, German, Spanish, whatever. Children pick up languages easily. But the rule was the same: for one more language, one more deep bond—a friend, a beloved teacher—is needed. The language is part of that person. Learning becomes a question of tuning into the right person for the right language, till you master the tongue and can converse freely with anybody. Upper and middle classes used the "gouvernante" (maid, au pair) that way.

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Out of this came a polyglot son who at the age of twenty-two could conduct negotiations for an important NGO in five languages. (He has some Italian on the side, but more rudimentary, being the outcome of a summer school rather than early-age bonding.) And a daughter, who in addition went to Japan to pick up Japanese in the "natural" setting (quote-unquote), also in summer school rather than through early-age significant others. But summer schools are filled with joy and affection; with friends they learnt.

What language did the two talk with each other? They took the color of the environment, like chameleons: they talked French in France, German in Germany, and so on, making family breakfast conversations a little confusing for friends who stopped by. They needed the polishing only schools and hard work can offer, but the groundwork was laid as described. Some general theses:

> [1] Children and adolescents have a very high capacity for learning, even mastering languages, with no clear upper limit;
>
> [2] Languages flow along the bonding, making learning from significant others easier than school learning, except when there is bonding to the teacher or to classmates of that language;
>
> [3] Each significant other should talk the same language to the child—unity of person, unity of language, no ambiguity;
>
> [4] Do not worry too much about mistakes, repeat sentences slowly and correctly, without too much focus on what was wrong;
>
> [5] Give the child the chance to come back to significant others for refresher courses, for such roots are deep.

To be multiglot or polyglot is not only possible, it is even simple in a world where nations increasingly intermarry and live around each other. And there are always significant others.

The second experience is from Hawai'i, a place with an extraordinary cultural diversity and symbiosis, all at the expense of the Hawaiians. There were 800,000 when the white man came (1778), down to 8,000 two hundred years later, after their land had been taken away, the diseases they got from the white man had been defined as "Acts of God," and English and Christianity

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had been imposed upon them. But the last twenty years have witnessed an upsurge in Hawaiian consciousness, and also increased interest in genuine (as opposed to commercialized) Hawaiian culture.

So here is that island with Hawaiian culture, US mainland culture (with the usual mix of first and second generation Europeans, but a higher percentage of people of Portuguese descent), Pacific peoples (particularly Samoans), East Asians, particularly Koreans, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Chinese, and Filipinos. The telephone book can serve as a guide to the most frequent family names in a high number of cultures.

Even if many no longer talk their languages of origin, they have preserved cultural competence to a considerable extent, for instance with regard to the rites of naming, marriage, and burial. All kinds of culinary languages are spoken in public restaurants as well as in private homes, and they dish up a linguistic competence which, if not perfect, is impressive. There is harmony in the sense that violence rarely, if at all, seems to be rooted in inter-nation sentiments. It would be hard not to find patterns of prejudice and discrimination in such a complex society. But one thing is certain: relative to other societies around the world, the cases are few and far between. And the Hawaiian sovereignty movement is devoted to nonviolence.

Hawai'i was not designed that way. The takeover in 1893, and the annexation in 1898, were brutal acts of US imperialism, for commercial and military purposes. East Asians and others were brought in as indentured labor. At the top of it all was a handful of white, mainland US families. But as time passed on, those laborers used trade unions, the Democratic Party, and education (including the University of Hawai'i) as their stepping stones; and soon found themselves in a comfortable majority. There may be something to the thesis that "on a small island we all have to learn to live together." But if that is true it should also have been true for those first hundred years, and it definitely was not. A whole people was passing away, with its structure and culture, before the eyes of the white conquerors; others were treated not much better than slaves. A better point is probably that Hawai'i is one of the few places on earth where no national group can claim to be the dominant group, numerically or in terms of cultural and/or economic power (though militarily there is no doubt as to who runs the game). All are minorities.

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But then there is another factor—partly as a cause, partly as a consequence: the way people treat each other on these islands (which incidentally is also the reason why my little multinational family has lived so much of our lives there). We are not talking of "tolerance," which certainly is better than intolerance, but far from good enough, in spite of the UN choice of 1995 as the "Year of Tolerance." Tolerance means "you may continue to exist, because I am so generous, even magnanimous, given that I could have unleashed a whole battery of prejudice, discrimination, and violence upon you." Passive coexistence.

Hawai'i is beyond that pattern, with many people broadening their cultural competence. The general theses can be summarized:

> [1] People at any age have a high capacity for learning and mastering the essence of other cultures if they want to do so;
>
> [2] Culture flows along ties of vicinity and affinity, neighbors and friends, much better than through school learning;
>
> [3] Each neighbor/friend should be reasonably monocultural for the purpose of communication, avoiding too much ambiguity;
>
> [4] Do not worry too much about mistakes, but rather, repeat the action correctly without too much focus on what was wrong;
>
> [5] Create the chance to come back to that neighbor/friend once in a while for a refresher course.

Basic codes are transmitted and compared to homologous elements in other cultures: we pray with folded hands to the Lord, they meditate in the position of the Lord Buddha. As with languages the competence does not have to be active, in speech and writing; passive competence, understanding spoken and written language, is also very useful. Absolutely basic is curiosity and respect—seeing the cultural dialogues as a source of mutual growth. A little competence is much better than no competence at all; and the perfect easily becomes the enemy of the good.

In Hawai'i you are supposed to know this minimum: pronounce proper names by and large correctly, have respect for the sacred times and places of Other, know how to eat and enjoy major dishes in other cultures, handle fork/knife and chopsticks correctly (and ketchup vs. soy), know how to enter (or not enter)

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the rooms of Other, and how to sit (or not to sit). Above all be soft, do not push your own idiom too hard, and be open to Other voices and ways.

So, my own experience is positive: it is entirely possible to be reasonably polyglot and polycultural at the individual level and at the community level. It is immensely enriching, like living several parallel lives. Some immersion is needed in the significant other and the neighbor/friend. Schooling is a pure substitute for those, but certainly has a role to fill.

However, one point cannot be stressed enough: competence is not the same as knowledge. Competence means that you can enter a dialogue with Other, as when for the first time you ask "what time is it?" in a foreign language, and you get the precise hour! Knowledge is to know that phrase—a good beginning, but not more.

Numerous implications can be drawn from such experiences, shared by millions, for the global citizenship of today and tomorrow. I would like to focus on ten, formulated as theses.

[1] Like parents, like children? We have tended to take it for granted that parents have a right to raise their children in their own national culture, including their own language and religion, and in the myths of their own nation—glories as well as traumas. Nobody will deny parents their right to do so. But they will in the future have no right to do only this, given that raising their children only into their own nation is totalitarian and even constitutes a major form of brainwashing. Of the parents of tomorrow we would expect not only that they do the task of handing over their own culture, but also that they open the windows and doors to other cultures. A foreign movie, a book about a religion not their own, inviting foreign tourists home—whatever form of exposure is better than none at all. To be locked up in one's own idiom is simply not good enough.

[2] We increasingly live multiculturally. With little contact with other nations and their cultures, unicultural education could be excused, chances being that most contact would be with people from the same culture, and even from the same local community. In the past, even teaching the national (usually meaning dominant) culture was going far, literally speaking. No longer so today.

Unicultural education is insufficient preparation for life in a multicultural reality, not only at the world level but also in

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the local social practice of an increasing number of people. In the field of language this has been recognized. The foreigner among us, as tourist, worker, or refugee, has to learn our culture. We do not have to learn his, but if we don't we miss a fabulous opportunity. And one day we may be that tourist, worker, or refugee.

This is what I so often experience in East Asia: a complete stranger comes up to me and says, usually in English: "May I talk some English with you?" He is testing out his book/class knowledge, and you can see the delight in his eyes when it works, when I look at my watch and give the answer to his question.

[3] Time has now come to share religion and other aspects of cultures, not only languages. Just as parents and schools will have to give children and students knowledge of other languages than their own, the task will also be to give them insight into other cultures than their own, including religions (cultures of the spirit) and ways of behaving (cultures of the body). The methods include media, meetings with people from other cultures in the local community, and travel to other parts of one's own country and beyond. Just as we appreciate the polyglot person, we should appreciate the multicultural person.

[4] What is demanded is not a greater belief in other cultures than in one's own. As with languages, what is demanded is competence, respect, and understanding—a sense of being familiar with, and at home in, other cultures. Just as we borrow words and expressions from other languages, we shall borrow from other cultures, and have always done so, in a spirit of exchange. A good example, and a very good beginning, is the culture of food—eating. We go out to eat other nations' food, we learn dishes and mix them with our own, we become eclectic, multi-gusto. We may have norms against mixing cultures in the same meal, but not against mixing during the same week. Switzerland has actually been doing so for generations; even if the staples are unmistakably German, French, or Italian, there are often elements of the other two. We can only gain from such practices, sharing the delights of human creativity.

[5] In this process of multiculturation tolerance is not good enough. Curiosity should be encouraged, and above all respect: How wonderful that you are different from me; let's learn from each other! That is precisely the message from the Hawaiian experience: don't just tolerate, enjoy! Feel how you become

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another person when you talk another language, feel how sharing the meal of another culture makes you a part of that culture, that culture a part of you, we parts of each other.

The point is to leave the old mind-set that some cultures are better than others and enter a new mind-set of seeing all cultures as depositories of human experience. Human beings are similar, so there is something to learn from all depositories. But the condition is contact, respect, curiosity, knowledge.

[6] Ideally, cultural exchange should be mutual: not only X learning about Y but also Y about X (for instance, do French Swiss learn as much about German Switzerland as vice versa?). I always think of a story I heard the first day I was in Japan as a UNESCO consultant in 1968. St. Francis Xavier, the great missionary, had come to Southern Japan, and the Japanese were enchanted with his stories of the life and death of Christ. They wanted to hear the stories a second day, a third day. But in the end St. Francis felt time had come for the appropriate response, for the Japanese to be baptized. The Japanese, however, were of the opinion that now time had come for the tables to be turned around: for the Japanese to tell their stories, and for the foreigners to listen.

Big cultural powers often see no need for major cultures to master minor cultures. While they find it entirely appropriate that others master their idioms, reciprocity is not called for. Succumbing to this rationale for their own grandeur and laziness, they deprive themselves of sources of their own enrichment. They could study a minor culture within their own lands, another major culture, or a foreign minor culture. The reward is obvious: not eternal life, but parallel lives, reincarnation in another culture.

[7] In years to come, the unicultural person will be regarded like the monoglot person today: human, but unfit for this world. In ever-widening circles in the world, to be monoglot is like being illiterate, a condition to do something about. So my guess is that this attitude will generalize to culture. To be not only disrespectful but without any knowledge of the basics of other cultures will simply be regarded as "bad manners," as something to be corrected, starting with knowledge of religions.

[8] Teaching other cultures, like other languages, can be done best by those who have the culture as their mother culture: the culture as seen by them, not by "our people," who will tend to teach foreign cultures like foreign languages, with an accent.

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This is basic in the field of religion. Nobody except the true believers will demand, or even hope for, a convert when somebody studies another religion. But what can be demanded is the effort to understand that other religion as believers in that religion do themselves. This is not a question of what is good or what is bad, and everybody is entitled to make comparisons; indeed, that is one of the many purposes of multiculturalism. The problem is how to make sure that one has really understood, and the guideline suggested here is to start by understanding the way they themselves understand, and to then build your own understanding

[9] The best way to learn foreign languages is through conversation; the best way to learn foreign cultures is to engage in action dialogue. As mentioned several times, through conversation theoretical knowledge becomes practical knowledge, being tested out at every turn of the dialogue. The same applies to culture in a general sense. "When in a Buddhist temple do as the Buddhists do," and having done that several times, Buddhism creeps into the mind and the body, supplementing the knowledge derived from reading and conversation. "Learning by doing" is the general rule, as applicable to culture as to anything else. And this is where museums can be dangerous: they encourage an observer, Peeping-Tom attitude to other cultures. From there a path *may* lead via participant observer to participant. But food should preferably be enjoyed, not preserved in a glass monster.

[10] The goal is not one single, but softer cultures, for world peace. So far the discourse chosen here has been very neutral: all cultures are equally good, all cultures have something to offer, all cultures give us food for thought (and thoughts about food), all cultures can be a source of enrichment, with dialogues for mutual enrichment.

This may hold for cultures as a whole. But not all aspects of all cultures are worth learning. Rationalizations of violence, repression, and exploitation are also parts of cultures. Have perhaps those who dwell in these cultures become so used to these aspects that they no longer sense them? And perhaps may the foreigner with a fresh look have an important task in asking questions unasked in and by the culture itself? Do you really mean that?, the outsider may ask about the more violent parts of the Torah, the New Testament, the Qur'an. And the believer

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may be hard pressed for an answer that convinces himself, let alone the outsider.

Underlying this is an attitude to culture very different from that of classical students of culture, be they cultural anthropologist, theologian, historian (of ideas), or philosopher: the attitude that culture is something static, to know and understand up till today, and not something dynamic that can be shaped, also by studying and mastering it. Again, the key word is dialogue, the "dialogue des civilizations," not as something carried out for mutual information, or once and for all by some key spokespersons, but by everybody on earth, participating in shaping cultures fit for active coexistence. Asking not only what cultures do we have, but also what cultures do we want, cultures adequate for environment, for development, and peace. In a multicultural global culture.

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George Simson: A Grateful Summary

Anthony M. Friedson

George Simson has had many acquaintances and quite a few friends. Those involved in the competitive frisks of academe and publication know that, in both enterprises, acquaintances are as many as friends are few. I have known George since we both migrated to Hawai'i in the sixties. We immediately became colleagues, and then, friends.

By the time I retired to the Mainland, in 1992, our friendship had become joyfully close. In fact, one of the strongest arguments against my leaving the Islands was my abandoning George and his wife, Marguerite, in the Mānoa valley. George has many friends, but few of these friendships have transcended so many jovial contentions as have ours.

I am a full-fledged Brit. I like to think that my humanity transcends my nationality. Nonetheless, I was born and remain an Englishman. This presents a problem with George, who is still throwing tea into the harbor. Marguerite will verify that our friendship is loudly and frequently cemented by patronizing arguments. I mention this matter because one of George's most interesting qualities is his fascination with argument—a fascination which is as intense as it is objective. Those familiar with Dr. Johnson will remember that this almost schizoid aspect of his intellect was one of his most vital qualities. George Simson's commitment to biography may in part derive from his sharing Johnson's resolute determination to see his subjects' many sides. Not that George lacked principles and commitment. I am even more careful than George not to see matters through my own polemic. Yet George was sometimes baffled by my reluctance to take a "firm stand." He once ragged me about this, saying that I would be a good person to write a group biography of the guards at Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. In spite of my being a Fabian Socialist when he was still in grade school, he would jovially term me his token Tory.

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So much for his biographical objectivity. He was equally skilled in his treatment of policies and personnel. The latter is often especially difficult for editors. The tensions of bringing out a poorly funded quarterly are sometimes ruinous for academic publications. And certainly there were differences—some of them ardent—within our staff. Yet I would venture to guess that few periodicals similar to *Biography* have had so contented and stable a group of workers.

And the same detachment governed *Biography*'s policies. Some of the staff would have liked to see the journal give more space to Pacific subjects, for example. George was wary of the journal lapsing into a "local" periodical. This is not to say that we did not give space to subjects West of the other Mainlands. Readers may look through the issues and find articles which pertain to the Pacific area. But George wished those to be chosen with care, rather than patronization. And there were a number of matters which had to be so considered by the editorial committee. "Local" biographical essays or reviews must transcend provincial concerns. A review of an essay on Patton's treatment of the Japanese in Hawai'i, for example, evoked differing degrees of approval among committee members. Some felt it important, others failed to see its universal and biographical significance. But the committee, including George, would sit on the piece with firm care until a rational decision had been achieved.

In fact, whether George was dealing with colleagues, articles submitted for publication, or subjects for his own writing, he usually showed an almost puzzling intermixture of firm principles and kindness. In our cross-ragging, I have sometimes called him a Prussian hat. I hope that I have mentioned that he often alternates that metaphorical apparel with a delicate Emily Dickinson chapeau.

Some have wondered how George could initiate an international journal in Hawai'i at a time when one had to work and wangle to even achieve an editorial position. The answer was, we noticed, that George had the courage to work and wangle with the best of them. All of us hope and believe that *Biography* has inherited such qualities and will perpetuate the paradoxical mixture of insight and courage which George Simson has bequeathed this fine quarterly.

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Reviews

G. Thomas Couser and Joseph Fichtelberg, eds. *True Relations: Essays on Autobiography and the Postmodern.* Westport: Greenwood, 1998. 184 pp. ISBN 0-313-30509-9, $55.00.

To begin with a mechanistic metaphor, as I read Joseph Fichtelberg's introduction to this collection on autobiography the "error light" somewhere in the back of my mind began to flicker. What made me a little nervous was the dichotomous way in which the editors frame the debate on postmodernism and autobiography. Pitting Kant as the "internist," upholder of the hermetically-contained subject, against Foucault the "marginalist," whose notion of the subject disappears into its materials and practices, if only for the sake of developing a clear context or even an ideological position for the preeminence of postmodernity, would seem to me to be wrong. Such a move does not survive careful readings of either Kant or Foucault and appears to be based on a common misrepresentation of the term subject as one evolving idea rather than several.

The central problem here lies in not having made a distinction between subjectivity and individualism; indeed, in either glossing the difference between the two or else conflating them for ideological purposes. By placing Kant in a Leibnitzian tradition of the autonomous subject (one that Alain Renaut, for example, quite convincingly rejects), one can trace a simple tradition of the subject as "monad" which then postmodernist thinking (enter Foucault) succeeds in undoing. Certainly Kant's readings on the radical finitude of the subject and on its delineation as an active and imaginary agency offer us a more complex version of subjectivity than Fichtelberg represents. Moreover, there is ample evidence of Foucault's indebtedness to Kantian notions of subjectivity via Nietzsche and Heidegger, even if Foucault's focus is oriented toward the external manifestations of the subject in practices or as negotiated relations of power. The point is that Kantian thinking has crucially influenced contemporary theoretical complications of the idea of subjectivity which bear on central themes developed in this text, but which are not even to be located in the footnotes.

The essays that follow are a testimony to the complication rather than the abandonment of the subject. This complication underscores the necessity of a clear distinction between subjectivity and individualism —what is not accomplished in the introduction. Indeed, if anything is being abandoned, it is the monadistic notion of the modern individual as subject in favor of a relational activity that can only be understood within the multiform range of its associations and material effects. What this book does accomplish—and the editors' selections and

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organization do this well—is to resituate the subject in a post-monadistic tradition, one that quite possibly leads to new "post modern" rereadings of the Kantian "subjectum" through theories that bridge the "inner" and "outer" dimensions of subjectivity in areas as diverse as ethnicity, gender, and cultural construction.

Timothy Dow Adams's essay—"Photography and Ventriloquy in Paul Auster's *The Invention of Solitude*"—presents the essential features of how postmodern thinking problematizes the autobiographical subject both in terms of its relations to the Other and in terms of the connection between imago and text. Auster's work exemplifies a mode of autobiography in which the "I" manifests itself through an archeology of the Other, in this case Auster's father and his son. Although alluding to insights developed by Paul de Man on autobiography and the specular image, Adams does not pursue further theoretical developments on specularity and identity in Lacanian intersubjective logic. The deafening silence throughout the book regarding Lacan in particular calls for a considerable act of reinvention of categories to circumnavigate such notions as the imaginary and symbolic, self/Other, the "fragmented body," and so on.

Marie Lovrod's essay on sexual abuse survivor narratives also demonstrates the need for a more precise theoretical vocabulary for the fragmentation of identity that occurs when violation of the body undermines the narratives that structure and authorize the self. Although the essay collects powerful evidence for the latter in the works of several autobiographical narratives, Lovrod does not rise above the level of annotation precisely because the essay lacks a sufficiently-worked-out theory of subjectivity with which to develop these issues.

The relational nature of identity is further explored in the two essays that follow. Richard K. Sanderson's discussion of the narratives of suicide survivors demonstrates the underlying autobiographical impulse to reconstitute and justify the self in the face of irremediable and potentially recriminating loss. The central issue is how the body gets caught up in the signifying structure, producing an ultimate form of presence and absence against which writing itself falls short. Although the author claims that suicide narratives resist deconstruction and "affirm the coherence of the authorial self," I agree with the editors' readings that suicide itself becomes the deconstructive figure that uncovers these narratives, revealing and invalidating their underlying drives for coherence.

George Newtown's exploration of the use of the conversion narrative in the autobiographies of AIDS sufferers reveals the reverse side of the autobiographer's quest for absolutes. In this case the Augustinian transcendental subject is replaced by the finality of AIDS, producing a relation of authenticity, of being toward death, with a Heideggerian ring to it. At the same time it reminds me of De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* which inverts the conversion process from that of recovery to that of acquiescence to an interminable

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addiction in which opium, like AIDS, becomes the center around which the narrative eventually revolves.

Paul John Eakin's study of the relational aspect of autobiography, beginning with the poignant story of Christopher McCandless's death by starvation in an abandoned school bus in Alaska, is pivotal in delineating the death of the romantic, individualist subject and refocusing on the "relationality" (Eakin's term) of subjective life. Eakin's insights on "relationality" are a central motif in several essays in this volume, and for good reason, since Eakin *does* make a distinction between subjectivity and individualism. Moreover, it is no coincidence that he develops his ideas about relationality with the help of bridging theories such as those of psychoanalyst Jessica Benjamin and Marxist historian Caroline Steedman.

Such relational identity is especially visible in intercultural texts of immigrants, who must negotiate between different, often contradictory cultural narratives in order to produce a satisfying form of identity. Referring to this autobiographical grafting of different cultural narratives as "contact autobiography," Joseph and Rebecca Hogan's essay on Jane Tapsubei Creider's *Two Lives: My Spirit and I* demonstrates the extent to which Creider's identity must take on the role of "trickster" in order to successfully balance the contradictions between Western individualism and her traditional African heritage.

The essays that follow explore the extent and limits of the freedom of the subject to determine itself through the adoption of cultural forms and practices. Larry Sisson's discussion of spiritual autobiography argues for the fundamentally exegetic nature of the religious self, its performative relation to a textually-induced Other, which he extends, by implication, to autobiography as a genre. Autobiography, he argues, (and I agree) must be defined as a hermeneutic activity: it is an interpretation of the mirage of self through the signifying materiality it inhabits insofar as its presence can be discerned through the irremediable tensions inherent in its mode of existence.

Katherine Gerstenberg's fine essay on Charlotte von Mahlsdorf, the East German gay cross-dresser and collector of period furniture, demonstrates the magnificent freedom of subjectivity to reconfigure and invest itself in the materiality of existence. The world that von Mahlsdorf inhabits (in Hausfrau dress, surrounded by Wilhelminian décor) becomes a fascinating metaphor (which, as Ricoeur would have it, "participates in that which it symbolizes") of the production of his own life. It demonstrates how radicality co-opts domestic ideology in order to open up a space for itself that simultaneously reveals its reliance on and resistance to that ideology.

Judith Lutge Coullie presents the reverse side of the subjective adoption of cultural narratives in order to determine oneself within a dominant, oppressive ideology. Focusing on black South African Godfrey Moloi's *My Life: Volume One*, Coullie shows how the gangster rhetoric of individualism in American film has provided a signifying

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medium for black South Africans in the Soweto to imbed themselves in a socially-regressive cult of the individual hero that harks back to Eakin's cautionary tale but which plays itself out in social violence, misogyny, and crime. The lesson learned: although subjectivity can adopt a discourse of freedom to liberate itself from its own oppressed state, this does not guarantee its ethical validity.

This recognition of the failure of the individual subject to ground its own existence is reaffirmed in Gerald Silk's work on "Piero Manzoni's Autobiographical Use of His Body, Its Parts and Its Products." While the essay traverses somewhat too superficially the terrain of post modern debate on the subject as artist of him/herself, the example is instructive. If, on the one hand, it can only be celebrated in its ultimate sense (as Eakin has shown) in the culmination of a romantic, but misguided and pathetic death, in life it can only end in the emergence of the artist from his W.C. holding a can of his own excrement.

Postmodernity, whether it will be seen as an acutely self-conscious form of modernity, or a productive new mode of understanding, must by its own definition remain problematic. And one of the most troublesome notions from the postmodern perspective is that of the subject, which it can neither fully endorse nor completely dispense with. What the essays in this volume attest to is the magnificent range of possibility for subjective expression. What is needed is for the theory of autobiography to catch up with its manifold practices.

Gerald Peters

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. 304 pp. ISBN 0-674-29266-9, $22.00.

Family Frames consists mainly of eight essays on aspects of families and family photography, written in "the personal voice" (xiii). That phrase connotes more than most of the chapters containing autobiographical accounts, or even the last two being largely, emotionally, autobiographical. The expositions that take up most of the pages of the book—"close readings" of aspects of the theories of Barthes, Lacan, Benjamin, Lüthi, Mulvey, Petcheski (on fetal imagery), Kaniuk, etc.; accounts of the pictures or "imagetexts" of Spiegelman's *Maus*, Boltanski, Sherman, Meatyard, Jo Spence, Weems, Mann, Billops; discussions of the novels and stories of Duras, Sue Miller, Kincaid, Raczymow, etc.; explorations of the photos of Zachmann, Gellert, Novak, and others; as well as criticisms of *The Family of Man*, child photos of boxer Riddick Bowe, and an autobiographical account by Eva Hoffman—are all scouting for tools for understanding why family photographs—notably old ones—should mean so much to some—and notably to the author, given her particular biography, details of

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which emerge gradually (xii). This motive leads Hirsch to wide-ranging reflections on the causal place family photos have not only in the preservation, but in the construction, of family memories, and thereby family narratives, histories, and mythologies—or as she puts it, "ideologies" (12), family albums being "instruments of ideology" (7). As in much writing from academic Literature departments in recent decades, there is recourse to the "gaze," here "the familial gaze," which somehow constitutes families in what the author usually represents as a condition of confinement, against which she would also find for us in this diversity of examples some tools of liberation. What is meant by the family gaze is never explained: the "hegemonic familial gaze, imposing rigid familial ideologies," particularly hard on mothers (154), is now allegedly transmitted through photos, back and forth, beginning with Roland Barthes' mournful perusal of one of his mother.

Thus much of Hirsch's speculation is about "postmodern" families, rather than photography. It is hardly news that the politics of the family is a complicated emotional and sociological matter. For many—perhaps even most—people, family, even family memory, is an extremely ambivalent matter. Accordingly, much of our fiction—written, acted, or on screen—deals with family as a central theme, and the sociological and psychological literature on the topic is vast. Yet all that is minuscule compared with the volume of conversation, or at least talk, on the subject. At any moment on this planet there are millions of people talking about little else. Add to this complexity the burden of coming to terms with the author's problems of immigrant displacement, Jewish history, and Holocaust memory—including, as our author experiences it, the "postmemory" of those who did not experience it directly—and a conception of "family photography" has much to bear. It is therefore no wonder that something generally called "photography" should seem to the author to fall short, that there should seem to exist a "basic tension . . . between the little a photograph reveals and all that it promises to reveal but cannot," or that "family pictures, in particular, offer conventional surfaces resistant to deeper scrutiny" (119). These sound like familiar complaints about photos, especially about nontechnical ones, complaints made more acute whenever one invests them with great personal meaning, and certainly more so if one accepts the author's implausible, and entirely unargued, broad generalizations that with Kodak "photography quickly became the family's primary instrument of self-knowledge and representation" (6), or that "the family photo is necessary for the self's constitution" (181), or that "the camera gaze of the family snapshot can be said to construct the girl as a social and familial category" (193).

Speaking of what photos "promise"—indeed of "the plenitude promised" (193)—is problematic. Of course, photos promise nothing. It is we who use them, in a variety of revealing ways that have been studied, for example, by the "social documents" approach, which entails empirical research of a kind not to be sought in a study like

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this. Whatever their defects as traces or documents, photos, no more than anything else, should be expected to carry the burden of over-interpretation that the author's problems require—a situation E. H. Gombrich reminded us of by quoting these early lines of *Great Expectations:* "As I never saw my father or my mother, and never saw any likeness of either of them (for their days were long before the days of photographs), my first fancies regarding what they were like, were unreasonably derived from their tombstones. The shape of the letters on my father's, gave me an odd idea that he was a square, dark man, with curly black hair." It is good to recall those lines, even in these "days of photographs," when our fancies regarding what things were like—including those we ourselves witnessed—may also be unreasonably derived from psychological projection. In short, it is no good following the author's encouragement to "interrogate" (she prefers "interpellate") one's family albums. Photos make no claims, and could they speak, their reply would be, "Sorry, I just work here"—which would bring us to the more relevant questions of what sorts of work *we* try to do with them, and when we are trying to do too much. These questions would have real and no doubt diverse answers, but finding answers would require learning something about photography and its many uses—and about family photography in particular—a real and potentially quite interesting project of empirical research.

There is no sign of such research in *Family Frames.* The project would seem to be rather a conceptual one—as Hirsch states, "to forge a theoretical vocabulary that will allow us to talk about specific elements of family photography," and thus to "search for a usable idiom": "a language that will allow us to see the coded and conventional nature of family pictures" and "to contest their ideological power" (10). But the handful of terms she produces are only her adjustments of Benjamin's "unconscious optics" and Lacan's "gaze," "mirror," and "image/screen"; Mitchell's "imagetext"; Lacoue-Labarthe's "alloportrait"; and her own "postmemory" (22)—nothing systematic; a short list of considerations, which one might or might not be able to apply to a given case. And whatever the vocabulary, Hirsch's actual working conceptions of photography remain, disappointingly, the standard, undeveloped, and certainly unanalyzed ones that may be found better stated in the nineteenth and twentieth century literature on the subject available in a number of historical readers. Thus we hear of the usual doubts about "the indexical nature of the photo, its status as relic, or trace, or fetish—its 'direct' connection with the material presence of the photographed person" (19), its giving "the illusion of being a simple transcription of the real" (7). Next comes the old comment on photos' alleged "intimate association with death" (175), their "deathlike fixing of one moment in time" (24). And of course, routine warnings surface about the "illusion that photographs simply record a preexisting external reality" (51), "their ambiguity . . . the reading they demand, because they do not transparently offer a

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single truth" (75), as they are but "fragments of stories" (83), especially where their "context is unspecified" (93), with the admonition that they be seen as "constructions to be taken apart, analyzed, and understood" (135); and the perception that "photography also represents the imaginary and the intangible" (90).

Neither ray of joy nor spark of humor lights the melancholy pages of *Family Frames*. There is a useful, informative discussion near the end about the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., which puts to shame the self-concerned pages that precede it, and puts to flight 'theoretical' comments about what "exposes cinema and photography for their constructedness and their dependence on convention" (180), or about how "as we read photographs, we project particular masks, particular ideological frames, onto the images" (86), or about how one may "overturn several essential elements of photography: its illusion of mimetic representation or the effect of the real" (87).

Patrick Maynard

Collison, Gary L. *Shadrach Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. 304 pp. ISBN 0-674-80298-5, $27.95.

Von Frank, Albert J. *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 431 pp. ISBN 0-674-03954-8, $27.95.

Fugitive slaves in nineteenth-century America present biographers and historians with formidable methodological and interpretive challenges. Clearly, the stories need to be told; collectively and individually, fugitive slaves played a central role in the country's sectional conflict. Yet even those famed cases that commanded the historical stage involved slaves who, thrust by circumstances into the spotlight, might not have been remembered otherwise, who likely would have left no more to posterity than any other ordinary human being, whose stories were always told for them, not by them. As a result, scholars writing their histories confront several related difficulties: the dearth of primary sources and reliable second-hand accounts, the adjustment of argumentative claims to the available material, the problems of contextualization and theoretical perspective. Gary Collison and Alfred J. Von Frank, approaching this undertaking from two quite different directions, have produced works that, considered together, illustrate the strengths and shortcomings of the biographical genre in completing a fugitive slave's journey from bondage to freedom to scholarly fame.

In *Shadrach Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen*, Collison draws on contemporary newspaper accounts, personal correspondence, census records, and court documents in order to reconstruct part of the life of the first runaway slave captured in Boston under the notorious

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1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Given the paucity of primary material, Collison extrapolates much of the rest of Minkins's life as he delves into the issues that the case embodied. Ultimately, what becomes apparent is that the importance of this biography lies less in what it has to say about Minkins himself than in what it says about African American life in the mid-nineteenth century and about the political and legal workings of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Coming at a time of deteriorating intersectional conflict, the Minkins case quickly became a cause célèbre for abolitionists, who saw an opportunity to challenge the reviled fugitive slave provision of the Compromise of 1850; for conservative Whig politicians, who wanted to reaffirm the authority of federal statute; and for proslavery southerners, who longed for an embarrassing legal defeat of the Boston radicals. Collison's biography of Minkins, which begins with his childhood and ends with his death, is the most comprehensive treament to date of the episode. We learn that the young man at the center of the case had been a domestic slave in Norfolk, Virginia, before escaping in 1850 (probably aboard a northbound ship), making his way to Boston, and beginning to integrate himself into the free black community there. Within a year, a southern slave-hunter had tracked Minkins down, arrested him, and set up a legal battle over his fate. The showdown never came to pass, however, because several members of the Boston Vigilance Committee re-captured Minkins from within the courthouse itself and spirited him away, first to Concord, and then to Montreal, where he lived out the rest of his life as a restaurateur and barber. A tactical, if not legal, success for the abolitionists, and a rebuke to those who were determined to show that the Fugitive Slave Law could be enforced, even in Boston, the Minkins case announced the increasingly polarized nature of slavery politics in the 1850s.

Collison has exerted himself to make the book readable. Its attention to detail, its vividly recreated atmosphere, and its success at illustrating how one common man was "caught up in the great currents of American history" (1), all lend the biography an engaging, novelistic feel. In addition, the intrinsic narrative cohesion of an individual life provides Collison an effective framework for grouping together, between two covers, a great variety of topics: the complexities of slave life in Norfolk, the Underground Railroad, the tactics of the Boston Vigilance Committee, the post-Civil War ambivalence of expatriate free blacks. This biography will be very helpful to anyone with an interest in the mechanics of the fugitive slave cases, in the complicated blend of personality and political calculus that drove the antebellum sectional conflict, and in African American social history.

The book has significant strengths. The author's research into the African American communities of Norfolk, Boston, and Montreal impresses, as does his insightful discussion of the motives, allegiances, and strategic maneuverings of such figures as Senator Daniel Webster, radical black activist Lewis Hayden, federal marshal Charles Devens

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and his assistant Patrick Riley, and the lawyers Richard Henry Dana and Robert Morris, among others. An example of Collison's ability to give life to his subject is the following passage describing Webster's reaction to the successful absconding of the fugitive slaves William and Ellen Craft earlier in 1850:

> If only his friends had seized the opportunity, the law might have been executed according to his conception, and Webster might have found himself lionized as the savior of the Union. Now, amid the accusations and recriminations, the excuses and criticism, he seemed like a bumbler. About the best he could do on the legal front was to try to see that prosecutions were begun against those responsible for the Crafts' escape. In this, too, he would fail. (100)

Collison is rigorous in his analysis of the legal issues involved in the fugitive slave cases. Explaining the strategy of the antislavery lawyers before Minkins's rescue, for example, he writes:

> What the abolitionist lawyers were trying to do was a classic states'-rights move, neatly stealing a page from the favorite Southern defense of the "peculiar institution." The legal instrument to accomplish this end was also classic. . . . The strategy was to present a petition of habeas corpus before state officers, who, if they accepted it, could force the U.S. marshal to bring Minkins before a Massachusetts judge in a Massachusetts court. And because Massachusetts law did not recognize slavery, the state court could declare that Minkins was unlawfully restrained and order that he be released. (119)

Finally, through close attention to the minutiae of the case, Collison succeeds at leading the reader to wonder how history might have developed if any number of a concatenation of events—the ad hoc legal rulings, the finely calibrated political decisions, the stationing of courthouse guards—had gone differently. We marvel at the interplay of individual agency and sweeping historical forces. And we see that the agency of a fugitive slave such as Minkins, severely curtailed by law already, made itself felt in the case only insofar as his escape precipitated affairs in the first place.

This question of agency, as it relates to the larger issue of historical stature, may cause readers a certain uneasiness as the work progresses. The problem involves the legitimacy of Collison's book *as biography* as opposed to intellectual or social history. As it must be for any biography of a person who left no significant monument to his or her existence, the claim to significance here is that the central figure stands as a representative for a larger phenomenon or group of people. At the outset Collison makes this case: during the author's research "Minkins emerged both as an individual and as a representative of the struggles

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of African-Americans before and after Emancipation. . . . [His story] reveals much about the frustrations and triumphs of African-Americans in the nineteenth century" (4–5). All well and good. The trouble is that much of Collison's argumentative energy flows in the other direction. That is, he frequently draws conclusions about Minkins's life based on demographic or other information about the larger community. For instance: "Where Shadrach Minkins lived during his first months in Boston is not known, but residential patterns for the city make some reasonable guesses possible" (62). Such inferential work, as it accumulates over the course of the book, tempts one to reverse Collison's thesis by concluding that "the frustrations and triumphs of African-Americans in the nineteenth century" reveal much about Minkins's story. What does his life really tell us? It is hard to know; and it is a disturbing paradox when an author's representative figure is *made so* through presumptive identification with the group "represented."

In like fashion, while good biography depends in part on the writer's ability to make imaginative leaps, Collison too often crosses the line into unwarranted speculation. The construction, "Shadrach Minkins and other" fugitive slaves or free blacks, which appears frequently, functions almost deviously to associate Minkins with his putative (because demographic) peers, whether or not the evidence supports such an association. When the author notes that conditions in Norfolk "presented Shadrach Minkins and other slaves contemplating self-purchase with powerful barriers and deterrents" (38), there is little cause for objection. But when he writes that "For Shadrach Minkins and Boston's other blacks, the Crafts case and the Union meeting gave increasing urgency to their fears" (104), a reasonable reader might object that we don't know whether Minkins was even aware of either the Crafts case or the Union meeting, or, if so, what his reaction really was. Similarly, when we read that "Shadrach Minkins and Montreal's other African-Americans clearly shared these impulses [to return to the United States]" (215), we should, while acknowledging the plausibility of the statement, also acknowledge the possibility that Minkins may have had no impulse to return at all.

These problems stem from the scantiness of the biographical record, from the fact that we are in possession of one—one!—document attributable to Minkins (a letter to a friend that was transcribed for him), and that many of the contemporary writings about him are too invested in the rhetorical and political potential of his story to be very reliable. "The story of Shadrach Minkins," as Collison observes, "offered the combination of deeply felt significance and lack of verifiable hard facts that fosters mythmaking" (162). In the end, though he is the subject of the biography, Minkins never really emerges as a fully formed individual; while Collison can use him to give history a human face, it is a face without distinctive features. About halfway through the book, this reader began to feel that Minkins was the least interesting

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figure in a fascinating cast of characters, and that the gestures toward reconstructing his life ("By 1860 he had moved southwest from Commissioners Street in the old city to the St. Antoine Ward" [204]) were but digressions from the real story. By the end of the book, I had learned a great deal about the Fugitive Slave Law and about the African American communities in three very different regions, but I hadn't learned much about Minkins. To be fair to the author, Collison appears to have told us as much as possible about the man, and the diligent historical gumshoeing he undertook in order to do that is methodologically instructive in itself. Still, valid questions remain as to the book's generic identity, which seems to hover disconcertingly somewhere between biography and history.

Four years after Minkins's capture and rescue, another fugitive slave case burst onto the national scene, again involving a man who had fled Virginia for Boston, and again encapsulating the era's tangled rivalries and emotional politics. Times were changing, though. During the 1840s and early 1850s the antislavery movement had already seen a turn away from nonresistant moral suasion toward more aggressive, more political, more violent forms of action. By mid-decade, while philosophical argument and moral conviction continued to energize antislavery figures, they had been in large measure redirected along the practical lines of electoral success, legal maneuvering, and at times, extralegal disruption. In *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston*, Albert J. Von Frank paints a remarkably vivid picture of this later phase of the antislavery movement by recreating the 1854 case of fugitive slave Anthony Burns. As the title suggests, Von Frank concerns himself with the power of ideas, particularly Transcendental thought, to effect social change, and his book is as much a biography of Boston's antebellum intellectual climate as it is of Burns himself. Two challenges confront the author: first, to demonstrate the transmission and influential force of ideas, and second, to convince the reader that the radical antislavery actions these ideas sanctioned in the Burns case amounted to a "pocket revolution," as Von Frank terms it. Since he places such a different emphasis on the material than Collison does, we can expect Von Frank's book to differ in its strengths and weaknesses—and it does so in revealing ways.

Given the relative obscurity of Burns himself (apart from his utility to both northern and southern activists and propagandists), Von Frank makes no pretense of writing a complete biography of his subject; indeed, most of the book is concerned with a one-week period during the early summer of 1854. Starting *in medias res*, Von Frank follows the response of Boston abolitionist circles to the arrest of Burns, a highly religious, partially literate man who had escaped from Virginia a few months earlier. As with previous fugitive slave cases, this one quickly became embroiled in the legal and symbolic complexities of intersectional conflict, but following on the heels of both *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, it riveted the nation's attention

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as no others had done. After an ill-planned raid on the courthouse that left one marshal dead and Burns still in custody, and a short but intense legal struggle in which antislavery lawyers unsuccessfully appealed to the "higher law" and the nation's revolutionary past in their attempts to defeat the narrow legalisms of the Fugitive Slave Law, Burns—under guard of Boston police, Massachusetts militia, and U.S. marines—was returned to slavery. Eventually, abolitionists raised enough money to purchase Burns, who went on to study at Oberlin and Fairmont Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, then worked as a pastor in Indianapolis and Ontario until his death in 1862. To his credit, Von Frank does not try to understand Burns as representative; he observes that unlike Emerson, Burns could not be "infinitely reduplicated in others" and that "his loneliness and isolation are facts to be respected." Our biographer, in short, resists the temptation to make of Burns more than he was. "To his enemies, including his owner," Von Frank writes, "he was property; to his friends and defenders . . . he was a cause" (xviii). To the author, he is an individual whose story is none the less compelling for his obscurity.

In telling this story, Von Frank's method is to interweave straight history, biographical sketches, close reading of literary texts, and ruminations on the philosophical and social issues instantiated in the Burns case. Since he limits his discussion of Burns's life to the necessary and relevant, Von Frank is more free than Collison to explore the contexts of the case, to provide his reader with Geertzian thick description of the cultural moment. Depending on his immediate needs and impulses, Von Frank dons variously the style of the sober historian ("Both sides in the Catholic-Protestant controversy at this time . . . agreed that the main line of division ran through this question of the right of private judgment" [247]), the English professor ("In the exasperated inarticulateness of the lines, language is represented as exceeded" [222]), the theoretically savvy cultural critic ("the ensuing recrimination became in itself an imaginative, boldly stylized revolutionary art form . . . whereby the moral landscape was enduringly reconfigured by new allocations of social and political value" [110]), and the engaging story teller ("The light of this cloudy day was falling for a second time as the conspirators milled about the exterior of the building" [66]). While this eclectic method entails the risk of rendering the book a hodgepodge, Von Frank proves adept at managing his materials. Although his digressions upon such figures as Charlotte Forten and Moncure Daniel Conway can be distracting at first, they finally form a fascinating kaleidoscope of ethnic, economic, intellectual, legal, and religious colors. Scholarly eclecticism also enables Von Frank to make observations that are often quite striking:

> from an ideological point of view, [fugitive slave cases] presented the black man as on his knees before white power, in the position iconographically caught in the famous

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> antislavery medallion, with manacled hands uplifted in supplicatory prayer. Though it may well be true that the beleaguered fugitive's most dependable allies were to be found in the Northern black community, that community had inevitably to contend with various subtle and not-so-subtle ideological resentments at the public display of black helplessness and dependence. (39)

Such passages reflect an ability to combine historical rigor with interpretive sophistication that allows the author to extract the most from the Burns case.

In Von Frank's view, the events of that dramatic week in early summer constituted a "pocket revolution," by which he means a local outburst of a broader revolution that was "bent on sacrificing the Constitution to achieve its antislavery aims, and that required in the end a civil war, a series of constitutional amendments, and the reconstruction of the American body politic fully to work its will" (xiii). This ambitious claim rests partly on the willingness of some abolitionists to use violent means to try to rescue Burns and partly on a much larger pattern of events that enables an historian to see such things as unintended consequences and underlying affinities. Surely, it is a claim that raises the bar for Von Frank's argument; a skeptical reader might ask whether the term "pocket revolution" is not simply overstatement for "civil disobedience," or why this episode should be called revolutionary any more than Thoreau's willingness to spend a night in jail as a protest of the war against Mexico. After all, setting aside the raid on the courthouse, the abolitionists worked mainly within the system, limiting themselves to speeches and a legal tussle, and in the end watched helplessly as the government enforced the law.

But taking issue with the term "pocket revolution" is semantics, and Von Frank is after bigger game: the culture of reform as it was energized by philosophy. His belief in the power of reform, in the efficacy of words and ideas in the amelioration of social ills, aligns him with other recent scholars seeking to avoid the tendency of New Historicism and deconstruction to regard texts as intractably compromised by the reticulations of power and hegemonic ideology. Acknowledging that Transcendental idealism can seem naive and outdated to modern scholars, he nonetheless argues for its contemporary relevance, particularly as articulated by Emerson:

> What these men [members of the Boston Vigilance Committee] show themselves as responding to, in statement and in action, is the liberating, progressive quality of Emerson's thought, the way its opposition to conservative formalism in particular seems to remove proscriptions on (and so to authorize) a bolder, more lively engagement with the world, opening up for them a further range of novel and authentic action. (101)

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In Von Frank's account, this intellectual sanctioning of aggressive action proves to be as equally powerful as the streams of emotional sympathy released by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other "sentimental" antislavery literature. Most important was the belief, given sacred force by Transcendental doctrine, that obedience to a higher law superseded one's allegiance to civil law. On this point, Von Frank's argument is quite insightful. He distinguishes, for instance, between an "instrumental application of the concept" of higher law and the concept "in the broadest possible sense of freeing slaves or (what is the same thing) producing a free point of view" (282). As a practical matter, of course, the instrumental potential of thought is what produced the assault on the Boston courthouse in 1854 and the raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859. Von Frank really describes a paradox: philosophy effected change in the Burns case by leading away from philosophizing. Ideas were not change in and of themselves; rather, they lay the groundwork for change.

To cavil briefly. Von Frank at times relies on a shaky "Zeitgeist" model of intellectual influence when the actual channels or mechanisms of influence are hard to show. The young activist Martin Stowell, for instance, who "may not have read" Thoreau, who "may not have attended" his lectures, "was surely encouraged by that progressive climate of opinion of which a fracturing Transcendentalism still formed the active, articulate core" (106). Or: "Operating from a Transcendental construction of the law . . . [Charles] Ellis now urged on [Commissioner] Loring the duty to reject the extrinsic political contamination" (145). A graver objection concerns Von Frank's representation of Emerson. Apart from the fact that Emerson appears only rarely in a book titled after him, Von Frank seems not to account sufficiently for the evolution of Emerson's thought over time, and at one crucial point offers what I consider an overly rigid characterization of Emerson's "various neighbor-induced pronouncements on slavery," in which he sees the Concord sage as "self-conscious and apologetic, feeling that circumstances have betrayed him into approaching the question from the wrong end" (99). Von Frank could have built more effectively on research into Emerson's antislavery activism, especially Len Gougeon's *Virtue's Hero: Emerson, Antislavery, and Reform* (U of Georgia P, 1990), and made clear that many of Emerson's antislavery addresses were far from apologetic and that he came to see abolitionist agitation as the right approach to confronting slavery. But these are not fatal flaws by any stretch. The point to reiterate is that *The Trials of Anthony Burns* epitomizes the kind of scholarship that ably balances a skeptical, theoretical sophistication regarding the politically implicated nature of texts with a spirited inquisitiveness into the capacity of philosophy and language to bring about social change.

Taken together, *Shadrach Minkins* and *The Trials of Anthony Burns* span a wide range of interpretive territory. They are educational on

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two levels—that of raw information and that of methodological technique—which promise to be of genuine assistance to students and scholars of America's past. The books' significance, however, extends beyond matters of slavery and reform, of religion and philosophy, of politics and law. They help us to understand the epistemological and hermeneutic limits facing any biographer who has assumed the challenge of recreating the life of an ordinary person caught in the whorl of history.

Ian Finseth

Oliver S. Buckton. *Secret Selves: Confession and Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Autobiography.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998. 270 pp. ISBN 0-8078-4235-6, $49.95.

Oliver Buckton's new study focuses on life writing by four Victorian literary figures—John Henry Newman, John Addington Symonds, Oscar Wilde, and Edward Carpenter—with an epilogue on E. M. Forster. Buckton defines his subject as "the intersection between secrecy as a narrative strategy deployed in Victorian autobiographical writing, and the emergence of same-sex desire as a particular site, or 'subject,' of secrecy in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British culture."

Although Buckton is quick to present his postmodernist credentials by quoting Paul de Man on the non-referentiality of the text, it is clear that his primary interest is neither in the theory of autobiography nor in the consideration of autobiography as a formal literary genre but rather in the rhetorical and interpretive strategies of writers and readers as they relate to same-sex desire in specific historical and cultural circumstances. This approach is understandable and has its advantages, but it leads to an awkward unevenness in Buckton's treatment of the various texts.

The first chapter, on "secrecy and 'perversion'" in Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, has practically nothing new to say about the text of the *Apologia* and not much that is new in explaining the "mystery" of Newman's celibacy or the nature of his "intense" same-sex friendships, not to mention any issues unrelated to gender or sexuality. The chapter does, however, add to our understanding of the Newman-Kingsley *controversy*, which was the occasion for Newman's autobiography. Although it has long been recognized that Charles Kingsley associated sexual ambiguity with Newman's religious transgression in moving to Catholicism, Buckton examines the implications of Kingsley's hostility to Newman's "feminine" image, and uneasiness about his own self-image, in new depth. Here Buckton is building on the work of his mentor Richard Dellamora in *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aesthetics* (1990) and elsewhere, and on that of James Eli Adams, who in his study of Victorian

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male authors, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinities* (1995), analyzes competing constructions of normative masculinity in the Victorian era. (Although Buckton does not cite Adams' book, he refers to an earlier article in which Adams laid out many of his ideas.)

While the Newman chapter is all historical context, the chapter on Symonds' *Memoirs* to a certain extent focuses on the text, and especially, the narrative of Symonds' self-development. Of course this text (unlike Newman's tangential one) is central to Buckton's project. It is no wonder that Symonds thought his autobiography (which remained unpublished until 1984) was "a very singular book—perhaps unique": at a time when autobiographers rarely made explicit references to their own sexuality, however ordinary and conventional, Symonds centered his plot of self-development on his youthful struggle to contain his homoerotic desire, and his adult efforts to express a positive, idealized form of pederasty which he associated with classical Greek culture. Phyllis Grosskurth, Symonds' biographer, calls the *Memoirs* "unique in the history of the genre during the nineteenth century." Although Buckton curiously ignores Symonds' heterosexual misadventures and marriage (which obviously have a great deal to do with concealment and denial), his reading of Symonds' homoeroticism is insightful and nuanced, and his analysis of Symonds' strategy of self-protective secrecy usefully complicates the image of the autobiographer as "simply a victim of external Victorian authority and repression."

The resistance here to a simplistic interpretation of Symonds' book reminds the reader of Buckton's statement in the Introduction that he would not attempt to link his "series of studies in a narrative trajectory of erotic liberation." Similarly, in his chapter on Wilde's *De Profundis* (the title given to Wilde's letter to Lord Alfred Douglas from Reading Gaol, on its posthumous publication in 1905), Buckton challenges the premise held by some critics "that Wilde's sexuality, however it might be defined or understood, is the determining element of his critical responses to Victorian social and literary conventions." Buckton's sympathetic and sensitive approach to the expression of same-sex desire in "confessional" literature is tempered by a critical toughness and intellectual honesty that does not necessarily conform to a fashionable sexual politics.

In his analysis of Wilde's prison letter as an attempt "to reclaim control of his secret and to reinscribe it within a narrative of his own construction," Buckton manages to contribute new insights to a critical area that has been much worked in recent years. Further, his study of Carpenter's *My Days and Dreams* breaks new ground in its investigation of that author's concept of the "intermediate sex" and his attempt to achieve tolerance for a "normal" or "healthy" homosexuality that rejects the "effeminate" and is associated with utopian social change. Buckton's discussion of Walt Whitman's complex influence on Carpenter is also useful. In a short postscript, Buckton takes a look at

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the "inevitable deferral of sexual disclosure" in Forster's "secret" novel *Maurice*, which was published posthumously.

While accepting the (commonly held) assumption that the "selfhood" of the author is essentially a construction of the text rather than something that exists prior to it, Buckton seems to be primarily interested in the world outside the text, as is amply illustrated by his painstaking description of the Newman-Kingsley controversy, and his fascination with the simultaneous trial and theatrical productions of Oscar Wilde, with the "Vaughan affair" (Symonds, through his revelations to his father, helped to force the resignation of the pederastic Harrow headmaster Charles Vaughan), and with the "O'Brien affair" (in which Carpenter's reputation is attacked by a religious vigilante—an incident that is not even referred to in the autobiography).

I think that *Secret Selves* is a significant addition to men's studies and the study of "masculinities" as represented in Victorian literature. Buckton is in the rapidly developing tradition of Dellamora, Adams, and Herbert Sussman, whose *Victorian Masculinities* (1995), although based on Eve Sedgwick's scheme of homosocial desire (which, like much feminist and other poststructuralist criticism, ultimately derives from the history of sexuality as formulated by Michel Foucault), has important implications for the study of heterosexual as well as homosexual male experience as represented in Victorian literature.

Unfortunately, although obviously well versed in the theory of gender studies, in theoretical issues related to the representation of the self and the *construction* of the self in literary texts (*autobiographicality*), and in recent studies of homosexuality in Victorian literature, Buckton seems surprisingly naive and uninformed when he confronts important generic conventions associated with *an autobiography*—conventions familiar to Victorian writers and readers. For example, his comments regarding the (typical) *ex morte* stance of the autobiographer, as well as regarding the conventional reticence and silence about one's personal life (see the discussions of John Stuart Mill and Anthony Trollope) are vague and rely on secondary sources, even though confessional concealment and silence are central to his thesis. Why didn't he place Symonds' "revelations" about his sex life in the context of reticent heterosexual autobiographers, especially since Buckton acknowledges that secrecy and concealment have no necessary or intrinsic relationship to homosexuality? One notorious example is the absence of Effie Gray and the problematic presence of Rose La Touche in John Ruskin's *Praeterita*. Buckton missed the opportunity to discover continuities between Symonds' *Memoirs*, for example, and more obviously conventional texts, and his contribution to Victorian gender studies is more significant than his contribution to the study of Victorian autobiography.

Clinton Machann

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Philippe Lejeune. *Les Brouillons de soi.* Paris: Seuil, 1998. 430 pp. ISBN 2-02-032297-8, 120F.

In his philosophy of autobiography Philippe Lejeune echoes Montaigne in viewing the human condition as a perennial quest for self-identity achieved in and through the writing process, which, although fragmentary, bears witness to the traces of our humanity. As he stated for the first time in *Moi aussi:* "tout homme porte en lui comme un brouillon, perpétuellement remanié, du récit de sa vie" (32). If we perpetually reshape the rough drafts of the stories of our lives, we must take into account the process of revision as well. This is the goal of Lejeune's most recent study, *Les Brouillons de soi.* As he remarked in an interview in the *Magazine littéraire* 367 (juillet-août 1998): "Autrefois l'individu avait son identité garantie par une société hiérarchisée et stable. Maintenant pour chacun, l'identité est à conquérir, à reconquérir, à refaire en permanence et le geste autobiographique y contribue" (76).[1]

Lejeune has dedicated his scholarly career to the exploration of the autobiographical act, beginning with his seminal *L'Autobiographie en France,* in which he addressed a genre long neglected in his view in terms of definition and critical appraisal. As he put it then: "Pourtant il n'existe actuellement aucune étude, même succincte, de l'histoire de l'autobiographie en France. . . . La critique ne semble guère s'intéresser à l'idée qu'il existe un *genre* de l'autobiographie, ayant une tradition, un développement, auquel correspond un 'corpus' d'oeuvres qui posent des problèmes analogues" (5).[2]

What seems most innovative in *Brouillons de soi* is Lejeune's revised approach to all he has written before, including such key studies as *Le Pacte autobiographique* and *Je est un autre.* He accomplishes his new perspective through an emphasis on literary genesis, a form of genetic criticism which does not rely heavily on biography but instead is based on the premise that "books, in one sense, write themselves," as Graham Falconer insists in his discussion of genetic criticism (72). While Lejeune chooses to study certain canonized texts such as Sartre's *Les Mots* and Sarraute's *Enfance,* he also engages his reader in a sort of "autobiography" of his critical output through a type of personal encounter with the reader, accomplished at times

1. "In the past, the individual was guaranteed his/her identity by being part of a hierarchical, stable society. In the present day, however, we must reinvent ourselves anew, almost incessantly, and we make the autobiographical act an essential part of this process." [All translations are by the reviewer.]

2. "However, at the present time, there exists no real history of autobiography in France. Indeed, the critical establishment doesn't show the slightest interest in establishing a genre of autobiography which would have its own tradition, a sense of its own development, or a corpus of texts which would share a common subject." A revised edition, with an updated bibliographic section, was released in November 1998.

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through parody as well as an adherence to an Oulipian poetics reflecting in part his work on George Perec. One notes a sense of playfulness in this criticism but not to the exclusion of a seriousness regarding what is analyzed. Indeed, what we have is a type of *morceaux choisis* of his work, a "patchwork" or "work in progress" of it.

A concerted study of *Brouillons de soi* centers itself on the term *brouillon* (draft, blueprint) as a nucleus for all that radiates from this text. I have chosen to divide the work's textual body into roughly two sections: Part I, a prologue of sorts, comprising the first five chapters where Lejeune situates his reader within the realm of the *brouillon* of narrative identity, followed by the main section or Part II in which we accompany him into what he refers to as three "chantiers" or critical works in progress on Sartre, Sarraute, and Anne Frank. Thereafter, he concentrates on the *journal intime* and gives us an abbreviated look at several well-known writers, Stendhal and Constant among them, who begin the process of life writing by means of their first attempts at a journal.

Lejeune begins his study with the heading "Coulisses," and invites his reader to view the "behind the scenes" act of autobiographical creation. Almost immediately, we learn that the term *brouillon* implies the *provisoire* or temporal zone wherein the writer "'bâtit' peu à peu son identité, en suivant la mode, en cherchant son style" [builds little by little his/her identity, while following set formulas but searching for his/her unique style] (7). The key concept which will bind almost all the literary analyses together revolves around the *souvenir d'enfance*, or narrative of early childhood, which Lejeune links to the idea of the *brouillon* as early as his *Avant-propos:* "Au lieu d'observer la construction de l'identité dans les actes de langage de l'enfant ou dans son comportement, on peut essayer de la saisir dans l'écart entre les brouillons d'une autobiographie et son texte final. C'est l'objet de ce livre" (7).[3]

Some major notions treated in the first five chapters elaborate this central idea. In chapter one, entitled "L'Autobiocopie," Lejeune makes a major assumption about the nature of the self and the writing process. For him, there is no absolute, "finished" self, only one we create in and through writing, which itself is a product of a certain cultural intertextuality: "Mais bien sûr l'intertextualité fonctionne largement. On n'écrit jamais sans avoir lu ou entendu, et des textes en tout genre: car l'autobiographie ne se nourrit pas seulement d'autobiographie" (15).[4]

3. "Instead of seeking to observe the process of self-identity through a child's first speech patterns or through his/her actions, we can seek to capture it in analyzing the gap or sense of difference found between the first drafts of an autobiography and its definitive manuscript. This quest is the object of my book."

4. "But, of course, intertextuality permeates all writing. We never 'write' until we've already 'read' or listened to numerous texts of all genres. Indeed, autobiography is not a self-sufficient entity to itself; it feeds off other textual bodies."

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From the outset, we perceive how this critic seeks to dispel any earlier belief that he followed a "narrow formalist idealism," as Paul John Eakin clarifies in his foreword to *On Autobiography*, the major collection of Lejeune's work in English.

It is in the domain of childhood memory, however, that Lejeune makes his main point of departure in the present work. He connects what he refers to as the phantom of childhood ("l'enfance fantôme"), or search for childhood identity, with alternative visions the autobiographer might have of his/her past and ultimately of his/her selective memory. He shows how writers such as Robbe-Grillet go against the path of earlier ones like Rousseau in terms of a modern or postmodern "fear of signifying" (39). In an interesting account of authors as diverse as Rousseau, Stendhal, Freud, and Mary McCarthy, Lejeune reveals how ultimately "le souvenir initial s'est dissous dans l'écriture" [the initial memory dissolves itself into writing] (44); that is, the reality of the written or autobiographical self is in the last analysis a "textual" one. Thus, we must accept our responsibility as readers to avoid a monolithic view of the self and adhere to the premise that "tout se passe dans l'écriture" [everything takes place within the writing process] (99).

Hereafter, Lejeune takes on a more humanistic stance as he explores the autobiographer's creative imagination in a type of modified genetic criticism which moves and informs us at the same time. In the introductory chapter to the section entitled "Autogenèse," he alerts us to many of his past studies in the context of his present writing project. Although he does give us a brief *Note bibliographique* at the close of his study (421–22), he chooses to omit a formal bibliography like that presented in *L'Autobiographie en France*, thereby giving the present work a more personal tone. Sharing his motivation as a "généticien," Lejeune professes that all motivation resides in a multifaceted sense of curiosity, which we can attain if we penetrate the "secret" milieu of journal or autobiographical writing.

He then proceeds to analyze Sartre's *Les Mots*, where the power of language becomes Lejeune's central focus, overpowering any referential truth or memory-based knowledge. We are asked to enter into what he defined earlier as "un système littéraire où l'écriture ne prétend plus à la transparence mais peut parfaitement mimer" [a literary system where writing seeks not to transcend reality, but to mimic it] (*Moi aussi* 22). He probes Sartre's work as part of a dynamic process, an exploration of a "récit d'enfance exceptionnelle" (186) whose *avant-textes* or *brouillons* extend over a ten-year period. He then presents us with four large manuscripts for which he provides detailed charts and numerous calculations, some of which he performed as part of the research team (1985–1994) of the Bibliothèque nationale in a monumental task that terminated in the 1996 volume *Pourquoi et comment Sartre a écrit "Les Mots."*

Lejeune locates the hidden drama of Sartre's narrative in the premature death of his father and the subsequent remarriage of his

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mother. By dividing the text into five "acts," Lejeune imparts a theatrical quality to the creative process therein as he searches for a certain rhythm in Sartre's imaginary. What seems paramount is "la manière dont l'écriture de Sartre travaille sa mémoire" [the manner in which Sartre's writing dominates, so to speak, the memory process] (197), and ultimately how "à sept ans, il dut se réfugier en écriture" [at seven years old, he was forced to take refuge in writing] (200). As Lejeune views it, the "crisis" in *Les Mots* is resolved through writing. Sartre cannot accept the sadness of 1917, his mother's remarriage; therefore, the narrative "s'évanouit" [fades away] and produces instead a "delirious optimism" for purposes of closure (222).

If Sartre prefers the fixity of the *autoportrait* to the flux of autobiography, as Lejeune insists he does, Nathalie Sarraute follows the flow of language in a mysterious metamorphosis of the word. In *Enfance* Lejeune locates what might be described as the dialogue of an autobiographical narrator with her *alter ego* in a quest to penetrate the "puzzle" of memory. Psychoanalytical criticism combines with an intriguing linguistic analysis to reveal still one more aspect of Lejeune's critical personality. Much as a surrogate parent, he dwells on the abandonment of the young Natacha, particularly by her mother, and offers Sarraute the writer a type of spiritual redemption through his researching the drafts she has sent him of chapter two of *Enfance*. He joins his mentor Rousseau here in his concern for the "wronged child," and provides us with a humanist perspective which reveals an empathy long awaited in viewing modernist writing. The very obsessional structure of language, its compulsive rhythm, becomes linked to the *manque* or absence of the mother, as is keenly displayed in the treatment of the food metaphor "aussi liquide qu'une soupe"—as pulverized as soup—to which Lejeune allocates a lengthy chapter.

A further study of the familial paradigm may be located in the closing part of this section, the chapter entitled "Comment Anne Frank a réécrit le journal d'Anne Frank," where the reader notes a culmination to what has come before in still another refinement of Lejeune's treatment of the *journal intime* (331–65). We sense an abandonment of the strict divisions of genre, especially since he treats Anne's diary not only as her "secret confession" but also as a chronicle of this tragic period in history. Once again, the writing takes center stage as Lejeune divides the project between that of Anne, whose death at the hands of the Nazis causes half of her original journal to disappear, and her father, Otto Frank, whose early editing gives vent to a third author, death itself. It is a "joint" project, so to speak, to which Lejeune gives homage: "Il a restitué la richesse du journal original et rendu à sa fille le seul amour qu'elle aura connu" (355).[5]

5. "He [Otto Frank] has restored the richness to the original journal and bequeathed to his daughter the only true love she was ever to know [between Anne and Peter]."

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In Lejeune's view, Anne Frank is more than one individual writing a journal. She is an exemplary figure of all adolescents, a representative of young writers "en herbe" whose writing saves them from oblivion. Yet her fame has taken her out of the category of the "ordinary" writer, who often writes only for him/herself. The new edition of her journal, *Le Journal d'Anne Frank* (Calmann-Lévy, 1992) creates a malaise for Lejeune in terms of its composition, which he regards as "une nouvelle fabrication" (361). In order to view Anne Frank as a budding writer, he prefers to analyze the evolution of the major notebooks composed of her original writing and the rewrites of the "feuilles volantes." He insists that, like Sarraute, she becomes her own judge, the most severe one for her writing.

As a sort of follow-up to Anne's adolescent writing project, Lejeune makes us aware of other young writers; namely, those who keep what he refers to as a "journal-herbier," a personal manual accompanied by pasted-in materials and/or photos. One such journal, "Le Journal de Claire," derives itself from a previous study by Lejeune in which he offered a type of "code civil" via the writing process to an unknown "Cécile" (as he referred to Claire then).

The closing section, "Quatre débuts," reinforces Lejeune's continued quest to penetrate the autobiographical act in its incipient stages. He studies Stendhal, among others, in his first journal entry, and concludes that this author's need to write a journal seems to revolve around a compulsion to "fixer, d'enregistrer, de sauver de l'oubli, de garder trace, d'avoir avec soi des archives minimales de sa vie" (392).[6] One cannot help but view this last notion as a sort of *mise en abyme* of *Brouillons de soi*, a life history of Lejeune's autobiographical criticism.

Carol L. Kaplan

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_____. *Je est un autre.* Paris: Seuil, 1980.

_____. *Moi aussi.* Paris: Seuil, 1986.

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_____. *Le Pacte autobiographique.* Paris: Seuil, 1975.

6. "to fix in time, to register, to save from oblivion, to keep a record, to preserve for one's being an internal repertoire of one's actions."

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Philippe Lejeune, ed. L'Autobiographie en procès: Actes du colloque de Nanterre, 18–19 octobre 1996. Nanterre: Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaires sur les Textes Modernes (Université Paris X), 1997. 225 pp.

This fine collection of papers does not put autobiography on trial (if it did, I suspect it would acquit). Rather, it examines the trials that autobiography (or, more generally, autobiographical writing) has been put through—the (many) accusations and the (few) justifications it has provoked—and it explores some of their psychological, historical, and aesthetic dimensions.

Specifically, Edmond Marc, focusing on small encounter groups, studies internal resistances to self-expression which result from "communicational" defense mechanisms and the split between private self and public self. In the longest and one of the richest pieces in the volume, Jacques Lecarme isolates eight prominent forces hostile to autobiography: newspaper criticism, academe (from grade school on), politics, religion (for Catholicism, in particular, *le moi est haïssable*), philosophy and its will to abstraction, the "Holy Ghost" of literature, psychoanalysis, and autobiographers themselves (who eagerly claim that theirs is not a *mere* autobiography). Philippe Lejeune notes that, like autobiographies, private diaries have been called unhealthy, hypocritical, feminine, and worse, and he discusses two sets of responses to diary writing in order to foreground some of the pros and cons evoked by the practice. The first, published in 1938 by the right-wing and Catholic *Revue Montalembert*, includes a negative reaction signed "François Mitterrand." The second, published in 1982 by *Le Monde*, features such writers as Claude Simon, Michel Tournier, and Marguerite Yourcenar. Surveying the role of first-person discourse in academe, Marie-Françoise Chanfrault-Duchet shows how school promotes the adoption of a conventional, rhetorical "I" as opposed to the expression of a "psycho-socio-affective" subjectivity. Anne Roche explores the links between autobiography and writing workshops as well as the criticisms directed at the latter. In an elegant paper, Marie-Paule Berranger traces the desire for and deferral of the autobiographical in André Breton's work. Francis Vanoye argues that Henry Fonda and John Wayne were not only John Ford's privileged actors but also figures of the great director's self-representation. Alice Kaplan examines Paul de Man's conceptions of autobiography in the light of the "de Man affair." Claude Burgelin characterizes autobiography as a mixed genre—a *genre métis*—that gives form to the wound and the scar, the banal and the singular, the artless and the radiantly metaphorical. Finally, Régis Debray explains his (autobiographer's) uneasiness with autobiography: the latter is linked to existential failures; its increasing popularity may correspond to decreasing possibilities for individual political action; to him education is "de-biographization"; besides, he prefers imaginative literature.

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With the exception of Francis Vanoye, the contributors to the volume concentrate on the French tradition, which is undoubtedly very rich in great autobiographies—in the twentieth century alone, there is Gide, Leiris, Sartre, Perec, Sarraute—and which can boast about more than a few gigantic diaries: that of Jehan Rictus, for instance, is 34,862 pages long. Philippe Lejeune even wonders whether the denigration of autobiographical writing constitutes a French specialty (5, 62). Perhaps it does. But I suspect that Aristotle too would rank fiction higher than autobiography, just as he put poetry above history. Besides, in the United States—the land of self-expression, self-esteem, Jerry Springer, and Oprah Winfrey, where the personal is political and the private longs to be public—autobiographical writing is not universally extolled. Canons and curricula offer a good example: Fielding or Dickens rather than Pepys or Gosse; Hawthorne, Melville, and Henry James instead of Henry Adams.

Of course, from the point of view of production and sales, the autobiographical is thriving in America. All of my colleagues, I think, have committed some memoirs or diaries and these sell better than many a volume of poetry or (yes!) many a novel. But in France too, perhaps, autobiography is prospering (I even detected several bits of "personal criticism" in *L'Autobiographie en procès*) and I would be curious to learn just how well it sells just as I would like to find out more about its readers, their motivation, and their responses. Other questions suggest themselves. What is the extent of ghost-writing in (French) autobiographical production? What does ghost-writing mean in terms of the starring "I" or the spectating "you"? And what influence do new media and modes of transmission (the Internet, the World Wide Web and its countless Web pages) exert on autobiography? And to what extent are non-linguistic means (photo albums, say, or videos) used by the men and women "on (or off) the street" to "write" their life or parts of it?

Because it encourages such questions through its democratic vision and remarkable range (from encounter groups and writing workshops to Breton and Debray) while addressing many others with uncommon clarity and while proposing answers or avenues for reaching them, *L'Autobiographie en procès* more than wins its case. It is a splendid volume.

Gerald Prince

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Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing editors Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, Gabriel Merle, Bronwen Solyom, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Études Anglaises, Film Quarterly, French Studies, The Guardian Weekly, Journal of British Studies, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), The New Yorker, Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, Sight and Sound, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP), The Weekend Australian,* and *Women's Review of Books.*

Acheson, Dean

Acheson. James Chace. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 512 pp. $30.00.

"In 'Acheson,' Chace, the editor of World Policy Journal and the author of several books on international affairs, covers a great deal of familiar ground and does not present much new information on the period's historic controversies. Nor does he provide us with significantly clearer insight into the inner man than is available in Acheson's own memoirs, 'Morning and Noon' and 'Present at the Creation.' Nonetheless, this biography is engrossingly good reading simply as a story of the dizzying sequence of monumental events in which Acheson took part, and for what it tells us about what is required by way of character in an outstanding statesman."

Francis Fukuyama. *NYTBR,* Aug. 23, 1998: 6.

"Dean Acheson was Truman's Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953, and today's world, as Chace shows in this lucid biography, was shaped in no small degree by his efforts."

The New Yorker, Aug. 17, 1998: 77.

"What makes 'Acheson' such an excellent book is Chace's ability to blend serious foreign policy analysis with colorful vignettes. . . . Chace tells his story with intelligence and grace."

Douglas Brinkley. *WP,* Aug. 24, 1998: 31.

Algren, Nelson. See **Beauvoir, Simone de.**

Allen, Mary Rice Hayes

Freedom's Child: The Life of a Confederate General's Black Daughter. Carrie Allen McCray. New York: Algonquin, 1998. 269 pp. $23.95.

"Freedom's Child' is an invaluable work. McCray, who is 84 years old, is one of the last links we have to a generation who actually knew

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individuals born into slavery. We are fortunate that she chose to make sure that those times, and how we rose above them, are never forgotten."

Annette Gordon-Reed. *WP*, Aug. 10, 1998: 32.

Arnold, Matthew

A Gift Imprisoned: The Poetic Life of Matthew Arnold. Ian Hamilton. London: Bloomsbury, 1998. 241 pp. £18.99.

"The central thesis of *A Gift Imprisoned* is that Arnold's best qualities as a poet are those he valued least, so that his principles fought an intermittent fruitless battle against his practice."

Mick Imlah. *TLS*, Sept. 4, 1998: 4–5.

Baker, Ella

Ella Baker: Freedom Bound. Joanne Grant. New York: Wiley, 1998. 288 pp. $24.95.

"Ella Baker's progressive politics were so sustained that Joanne Grant's biography offers us a short course in the history of the civil rights movement. . . . Grant argues convincingly that it was Baker's belief in and practice of grassroots mobilization that kept her out of the spotlight. . . . Though written by a movement 'insider' who was often at Baker's side during the SNCC years and after, Joanne Grant's narrative is a traditional biography. In a few riveting places she writes as an eyewitness, but overall she silences her own story."

Margo Culley. *Women's Review of Books* 16.1 (Oct. 1998): 7–8.

Bartoli, Cecilia

Cinderella & Company: Backstage at the Opera with Cecilia Bartoli. Manuela Hoelterhoff. New York: Knopf, 1998. 259 pp. $25.00.

" . . . while much of 'Cinderella & Company' is about the singer, even more of it is about the backstage world of opera, and that part recalls the famous advice given to people who like hot dogs: Don't visit the factory."

Terry Teachout. *NYTBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 34.

Beauvoir, Simone de

A Transatlantic Love Affair: Letters to Nelson Algren. Simone de Beauvoir. New York: New Press NY, 1998. 608 pp. $27.50.

" . . . the most interesting thing about 'A Transatlantic Love Affair' [is] the light it sheds on the book that marked the beginning of the modern women's movement. Beauvoir later claimed that when she started work on 'The Second Sex,' in 1946, she had no sense that women were systematically kept down. She came to realize it only as she began her research. I would suggest that the crucial research took place in Nelson Algren's bed."

Joan Acocella. *The New Yorker*, Aug. 24 & 31, 1998: 144–52.

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Beazley, Kim

Beazley: A Biography. Peter FitzSimons. Sydney: HarperCollins, 1998. 467 pp. $39.95 Aus.

"The greatest value of his biography is its insights into the Beazley personality, gained through the extensive access to family, friends and political colleagues and to records such as Kim's letters home from India. . . . FitzSimons has a lightness and deftness of touch that means his writing seldom loses its momentum or thread. But he misses some of the political nuances and is not sceptical enough about the stories spun to him by politicians."

Mike Steketee. *The Weekend Australian*, Aug. 15–16, 1998: 12.

Berlin, Isaiah

Isaiah Berlin: A Life. Michael Ignatieff. London: Chatto & Windus, 1998. 356 pp. £20.00.

"In the 1950s and 1960s Isaiah Berlin cut a figure that we don't seem to have a need for any more: the People's Intellectual. . . . Berlin's authorised biographer is Michael Ignatieff, the closest we're going to get to a people's intellectual in times when the distinction between high and popular culture had been abolished and know-it-alls and show-offs have been hounded off the airways. Ignatieff spent 10 years talking to Berlin for this book. . . . Berlin leaves us with the most uncomfortable of thoughts: perhaps moral (and personal) conflicts are not resolvable, but part of our condition—all of us standing on ground that is subsiding."

Linda Grant. The *Guardian Weekly*, Nov. 15, 1998: 33.

Bermant, Chaim

Genesis: A Latvian Childhood. Chaim Bermant. London: Robson, 1998. 188 pp. £16.95.

This is the story of the son of a rabbi who emigrated to England and became a columnist and writer. "He writes not a dull sentence and many are poetic ones. He is a strong spirit, liberated in every sense from torturous scripts and light shines through every detail of a vanished world."

Lesley Chamberlain. *TLS*, Aug. 14, 1998: 30–31.

Bernays, Edward L.

The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations. Larry Tye. New York: Crown, 1998. 306 pp. $27.50.

"While this biography won't be the ultimate word on Bernays, it opens much new biographical territory and offers memorable vignettes of this little whirlwind of energy. In the end, Tye effectively deflates Bernays's pompous claims for himself and demonstrates in the process the fleeting nature of spin."

Ron Chernow. *NYTBR*, Aug. 16, 1998: 5.

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Bernhardt, Sarah

Come to Dazzle. Corille Fraser. Sydney: Currency Press with the National Library of Australia, 1998. 358 pp. $49.95 Aus.

"Few world stars can maintain their image or their personal equilibrium when touring Australia. . . . Only Sarah Bernhardt, arguably the world's first megastar, was able to return to her native France with amour propre intact. . . . Fraser spent five years researching. The result is original Australian social history, written with scholarly care, 'back of the house' insight and a humorous style that makes even footnotes amusing. . . . Seen through the eyes of her 19th-century Australian public, a new and fresh portrait of the great artist emerges, thrown into sharp relief against this unfamiliar backdrop at the bottom of the 19th-century world."

Sally Blakeney. *The Weekend Australian*, Sept. 5–6: 14.

Bodichon, Barbara Leigh Smith

Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, Feminist, Artist and Rebel. Pam Hirsch. London: Chatto and Windus, 1998. 390 pp. £20.00.

"As the outline of her life emerges from Pam Hirsch's conscientious biography, we can watch her grow from a defiler of convention into a monument for her times. . . . As a biographer, she is chiefly interested in her subject as a pioneer of women's rights."

Lindsay Duguich. *TLS*, July 17, 1998: 36.

Bonnard, Pierre

Bonnard. Sarah Whitfield. New York: Abrams, 1998. 269 pp. $60.00.

"Sarah Whitfield, the curator of this Bonnard exhibition, focuses on Bonnard's life, influences and stylistic development. She explains the cultural forces that shaped his work, carefully building a link, for example, between the literary figures of the day—particularly the Symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé—and Bonnard's elusive, often abstract, presentation of objects and his use of indistinct shapes to heighten the mystery of seeing."

Scott Veale. *NYTBR*, Aug. 23, 1998: 17.

Brahms, Johannes

Johannes Brahms: A Biography. Jan Swafford. New York: Knopf, 1998. 699 pp. $35.00.

"It is fairly certain that the relationship between Johannes and Clara remained platonic—although Swafford muses: 'Maybe after all there had been some sweet dalliance. We will never know.' Swafford's style veers from the efficiently readable to the commonplace and even, as here, to the appalling."

Charles Rosen. *NYRB*, Oct. 22, 1998: 64.

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Bray, Rosemary L.

Unafraid of the Dark: A Memoir. Rosemary L. Bray. New York: Random House, 1998. 282 pp. $24.00.

"*Unafraid of the Dark* is inspiring in the best sense of the word. . . . Bray really is at her best as an advocacy journalist, the role she learns to embrace in herself. . . . I wished for more literary risks and a better sense of Bray's inner life, but I trusted the voice."

Martha Nichols. *Women's Review of Books* 15.12 (Sept. 1998): 16–18.

The Brontës

The Brontës: A Life in Letters. Juliet Barker. New York: Overlook, 1997. 448 pp. $35.00.

"Barker's judicious scholarship clears the way for us to hear the Brontës tell their own tales."

The New Yorker. Aug. 24 & 31, 1998: 154.

Buffon, Comte de. See **Leclerc, Georges-Louis.**

Buñuel, Luis

Buñuel. John Baxter. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998. 324 pp. $24.00.

"In his detailed biography, John Baxter shows how Surrealism captivated Buñuel and 'replaced the church he had rejected.'"

Michele Orecklin. *NYTBR,* Aug. 9, 1998: 18.

Burney, Fanny

Fanny Burney: Her Life. Kate Chisholm. London: Chatto and Windus, 1998. 368 pp. £20.00.

"Kate Chisholm is a fluent writer who keeps her story moving with economy and ease right up to Burney's death in 1840, skillfully deploying detail to give life and texture to her prose. . . . This is a book aimed at a general audience."

Lucasta Miller. *TLS,* July 3, 1998: 32.

Burr, Aaron. See **Hamilton, Alexander.**

Burroughs, William S.

Gentleman Junkie: The Life and Legacy of William S. Burroughs. Graham Caveney. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998. 224 pp. $27.95.

"Ostensibly about 'the *idea* of Burroughs,' this is an empty book, with a messy, adolescent design that makes the text hard to read; many of the photographs are burdened with insipid and redundant captions. . . . Apart from Caveney's unsureness as a critic, his method as a biographer is pure madness: not a single quotation in the book is properly ascribed to a source."

Rich Whitaker. *NYTBR,* July 5, 1998: 15.

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Burton, Richard and Isabel

A Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton. Mary S. Lovell. London: Little, Brown, 1998. 910 pp. £25.00.

"One of the many conundrums of [Burton's] life is how this buccaneering, wild man could end up with the simperingly religious Isabel Burton. Mary Lovell's position is that there is no conundrum: Isabel Burton has been traduced by earlier biographers and in fact was a buccaneering, adventuring spirit herself. . . . Burton deserves this big book with its evidence of the hard work of real scholarship—Lovell's years spent deciphering and transcribing Burton's almost illegible hand and correcting the mistakes of earlier biographers. Lovell, however, likes Burton, and wants to make him less of a bully, as she wants to make Isabel less of a prude."

Jad Adams. *The Guardian Weekly*, Oct. 18, 1998: 32.

Cardoza, Benjamin

Cardoza. Andrew L. Kaufman. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 731 pp. $55.00.

"The much-awaited publication of Andrew L. Kaufman's 'Cardoza' is a major event in the world of law, judicial biography, and legal literature. The work has been worth the wait."

John T. Noonan, Jr. *NYTBR*, June 21, 1998: 7.

Carter, Jimmy

The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House. Douglas Brinkley. New York: Viking, 1998. 586 pp. $26.95.

"Brinkley had full access to Carter's post-presidential papers—100 boxes—and trip reports, as well as chances at on-the-scene reporting. The result is a forcefully written, detailed but sometimes spotty account of the 17 years since Carter assumed—what he called on leaving the White House—a title superior to being president: citizen."

Colman McCarthy. *WP*, Aug. 17, 1998: 39.

Case, Steve

AOL.COM: How Steve Case Beat Bill Gates, Nailed the Netheads, and Made Millions in the War for the Web. Kara Swisher. New York: Times Business/Random House, 1998. 333 pp. $25.00.

"In many ways, 'AOL.COM' reads like a corporate disaster movie; it depicts entrepreneurial bodies falling everywhere, a hero whose sole desire is survival and experiences we'd much rather read about than live through. As the final credits roll, Steve Case is still standing, wobbly but alive. Will AOL survive long enough for a sequel? We know what Swisher would say: Nobody knows."

David Pogue. *NYTBR*, Aug. 2, 1998: 30.

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Castro, Fidel. See **Fernandez, Alina** and **Revuelta, Naty.**

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Chanel, Gabrielle "Coco"

Chanel: Her Style and Her Life. Janet Wallach. New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1998. 192 pp. $35.00.

"According to Janet Wallach's near-hagiographic, heavily illustrated 'Chanel: Her Style and Her Life,' the birdy little gamine from Auvergne worked a miracle wherever one was needed."

John Updike. *The New Yorker,* Sept. 21, 1998: 132–36.

Chaplin, Charlie

Charlie Chaplin and His Time. Kenneth S. Lynn. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 604 pp. $34.50.

"Although Lynn's biography doesn't supplant [David] Robinson's, it does offer a different and darker—some may even feel less-than-generous—take on Chaplin. Yet the author's persistent research, his commitment to broad contextual scholarship in the American Studies tradition, and his lively writing all help make this biography worth reading, arguing with, and contemplating.

Charles Maland. *Film Quarterly* 51.4 (Summer 1998): 39–40.

Charles, Prince of Wales

Charles: A Biography. Anthony Holden. London: Bantam, 1998. 412 pp. £17.99.

"It is clear that Holden identified with his friend. . . . Unlike its predecessors, this book makes little pretence of biography. It frankly concentrates on his disastrous marriage."

John Campbell. *TLS,* Sept. 25, 1998: 31.

Copeland, Jo

Mommy Dressing: A Love Story, After a Fashion. Lois Gould. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1998. 240 pp. $22.95.

"This book is a sidelong tribute to one survivor from another, written in a brisk, fluid style that doesn't try for fireworks."

Daphne Merkin. *The New Yorker,* Sept. 21, 1998: 143–44.

Crane, Stephen

Badge of Courage: The Life of Stephen Crane. Linda H. Davis. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 414 pp. $35.00.

"Linda H. Davis, the author of a biography of the New Yorker editor Katherine S. White, has fashioned the scrappy record of Crane's life into a biography that is flawed but respectable."

Kenneth Silverman. *NYTBR,* Aug. 23, 1998: 9.

Cunningham, Merce

Merce Cunningham: Fifty Years. David Vaughn. New York: Aperture, 1997. 315 pp. $75.00.

"It [the book] is abstemious; it aims to give only the facts. But in those

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facts, in groping from discovery to discovery, he [Cunningham] becomes more touching and human than we have ever seen him before. The book has three hundred and fifty photographs, and they blow you away."

The New Yorker, July 27, 1998: 77.

D'Annunzio, Gabriele

Gabriele D'Annunzio: Defiant Archangel. John Woodhouse. Oxford: Oxford UP/Clarendon, 1998. 406 pp. £25.00.

"*Gabriele D'Annunzio: Defiant Archangel* is certainly the best biography to have appeared in English, and probably the most readable in any language. . . . [I]n under 400 pages it represents a remarkable feat of concise storytelling."

Adrian Lyttleton. *TLS*, July 24, 1998: 6–7.

Dark, Eleanor

Eleanor Dark: A Writer's Life. Barbara Brooks with Judith Clark. Sydney: Macmillan, 1998. 501 pp. $39.95 Aus.

"Generous, perceptive, meticulously researched, this first full-length life of Australian novelist Eleanor Dark is a model of what a good biography should be. It not only illuminates the figures of Dark and her husband Eric, but sees them against the complex background of the times; the political and social crises that overshadowed their lives, the publishers and critics, and the circle of radical and literary friends who sustained them."

Dorothy Hewett. *The Weekend Australian*, Sept. 12–13, 1998: 11.

Dickey, James

Summer of Deliverance: A Memoir of Father and Son. Christopher Dickey. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 287 pp. $24.00.

"'Summer of Deliverance' contains more sex and violence and alcohol and celebrity high jinks than a year's worth of tabloids. But it contains poetry, too, and a father-son conflict worthy of the pen of Sophocles."

David Kirby. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 6.

"His [Dickey's] powerful memoir, 'Summer of Deliverance,' is a fascinating description of what it's like to be the real child of a man who primarily lives in his imagination."

Susan Cheever. *WP*, Aug. 31, 1998.

Dinesen, Isak

Out of Isak Dinesen: Karen Blixen's Untold Story. Linda Donelson. Iowa City: Coulsong, 1998. 394 pp. $35.00.

"Linda Donelson's intent in this engrossing retelling is to return the depth and color of reality to a rich and finally tragic story. In doing so, *Out of Isak Dinesen* forces the reader to think about reality and myth and their role in the lives of notable women of the first half of

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the twentieth century. . . . For many, the grotesque elements of Dinesen's gothic tales and her mannered style are off-putting, but all the rest, right down to the intimate letters, are the stuff of lasting literature. One of the effects of this excellent biography is to excite readers to return to these classic sources. . . . Our understanding of one of the foremost writers of the century is immeasurably deepened."

Helen Yglesias. *Women's Review of Books* 15.12 (Sept. 1998): 13–14.

Disraeli, Benjamin

Benjamin Disraeli Letters. Vol. 6: *1852–1856.* Ed. M. G. Wiebe, Mary S. Millar, and Anne P. Robson. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998. 622 pp. $125.00.

"This newest volume of the letters of the only significant politician other than Churchill who was also a professional writer—part of the Disraeli Project at Queen's University in Ontario, which will eventually publish all of the letters encyclopedically edited—is too crowded with political business to be a purely gossipy read, but the mid-Victorian years Disraeli enlivens are seen anew in all their complexity."

Stanley Weintraub. *NYTBR,* Aug. 9, 1998: 22.

Du Coudray, Angelique Marguerite le Boursier

The King's Midwife: A History and Mystery of Madame du Coudray. Nina Rattner Gelbart. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 360 pp. $35.00.

"A remarkable analysis of a remarkable woman."

Colin Jones. *TLS,* Sept. 11, 1998: 36.

Eisner, Michael

Work in Progress. Michael Eisner with Tony Schwartz. New York: Random House, 1998. 450 pp. $27.50.

"[S]o much of Eisner's autobiography . . . is such bland reading. . . . No tantrums, no sulks, no irredeemable failures are recorded. . . . [Men] get [to the top] by hard, blinkered work, by practical problem-solving, by institutional loyalty and . . . by learning to put their mistakes behind them and moving relentlessly forward. . . . [T]he best parts of 'Work in Progress' are its early passages in which a young, engagingly self-deprecating Eisner discovers these truths and finds within himself the talent and will to embrace them."

Richard Schickel. *LATBR,* Sept. 27, 1998: 9.

Erdös, Paul

The Man Who Loved Only Numbers: The Story of Paul Erdös and the Search for Mathematical Truth. Paul Hoffman. New York: Hyperion, 1998. 302 pp. $22.95.

"Paul Hoffman met Erdös in 1986. Captivated, he portrayed him in an award-winning article in The Atlantic Monthly. Still captivated, he continued his study of Erdös's world over the next decade. 'The Man Who Loved Only Numbers' is his expanded homage to the man

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and his discipline. . . . Hoffman did not intend to produce a scholarly scientific biography. That would be a different book. This book opens doors on a world and characters that are often invisible."

James Alexander. *NYTBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 33.

AND *My Brain is Open*. Bruce Schechter. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 352 pp. $25.00.

"Although [Schechter's] strategy of combining details of Erdös' life and work with mathematical generalities is sometimes successful, it often makes for bumpy transitions. . . . Smoother, albeit less comprehensive, 'The Man Who Loved Only Numbers' . . . tells essentially the same story as the Schechter book. . . . The considerable appeal of both these books derives in large part from the anecdotes about Erdös. . . . Nevertheless . . . I don't get a visceral sense of Erdös the man."

John Allen Paulos. *LATBR*, Sept. 13, 1998: 6.

Evans, Bill

Bill Evans: How My Heart Sings. Peter Pettinger. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 336 pp. $30.00.

"[Gary Giddins' 'Visions of Jazz'] is destined to occupy a permanent niche on the shelf of essential jazz literature. The same could be said for the later Peter Pettinger's welcome full-scale biography. . . . The book may appeal more to specialists than to the casual reader, because Pettinger, with his practiced ear, examines every Evans record, composition, club date and collaborator, his literary gifts and his tragedy-ridden life."

Grover Sales. *LATBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 7.

Fayed, Mohamed

Fayed: The Unauthorised Biography. Tom Bower. London: Macmillan, 1998. 496 pp. £18.99.

"Bower has done an unforgettable demolition job. Fayed is almost illiterate so he won't read this book. But it is not conceivable—is it—that he will ever live it down? When we have read each nauseating incident of blackmail, brutality, illegal surveillance and greed, it isn't possible to feel a glimmer of sympathy. The book fills you with utter contempt, not just for Fayed but for England, and all the greedy, unprincipled bankers, newspaper proprietors, and MPs."

A. N. Wilson. *The Guardian Weekly*, Nov. 8, 1998: 34.

Fernandez, Alina

Alina: Memorias de la hija reblede de Fidel Castro [Memoirs of the Rebel Daughter of Fidel Castro]. Alina Fernandez. Barcelona: Plaza y Janes, 1998. 251 pp. 2,450 pesetas.

"Her name is Alina Fernandez and not Alina Castro, because until

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she was ten years old she thought her father was Orlando Fernandez—Naty Revuelta's eminently respectable physician husband, who went into exile shortly after the Revolution's triumph. By the time Alina's real father offered to help her change her name to Castro, she wasn't interested. In her own telling, she had by then already developed a highly eccentric personality. . . . The story of what it is like to grow up as the neglected daughter of a man who is also one of the century's mythical figures is well worth telling. Fernandez writes surprisingly well, even if her tone is often irritatingly coy or edgy. And although there seems to be a sad difference between the way others perceive her and the way she sees herself, she has a wicked eye for those around her, notably Fidel Castro."

Alma Guillermoprieto. *NYRB*, Oct. 22, 1998: 42.

Field, Kate

Selected Letters. Ed. Carolyn J. Moss. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1996. 255 pp. $49.35.

Journalist, lecturer, actress, finally chief editor of *Kate Field's Washington*, "Elysium Field," as W. S. Landor called her, was a person of exuberant activity who would have justified a biography. Nevertheless, in choosing to present a selection of her letters, C. J. Moss has succeeded in showing us "a living woman," in her public life and private life as well, a woman at last a source of interest for herself and no longer as a peripheral figure.

Laurent Bury. *Études Anglaises* 51.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1998): 120.

Fitzgerald, Edward

Citizen Lord: The Life of Edward Fitzgerald, Irish Revolutionary. Stella Tillyard. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 337 pp. $30.00.

"[Stella Tillyard's] revised portrait is persuasive, and if it does not entirely convince us, it is because she, like Moore [an earlier biographer], must interpret Fitzgerald's character and motives from scraps, fragments, gestures. We know what he looked like and how he dressed, we know what he did, but we know little of the thoughts and passions of his final years."

Thomas Flanagan. *NYTBR*, July 19, 1998: 10.

Franklin, Benjamin. See **Hutchinson, Thomas.**

Gibbons, Stella

Out of the Woodshed: A Portrait of Stella Gibbons. Reggie Oliver. London: Bloomsbury, 1998. 272 pp. £25.00.

"Although Oliver does his best for a woman (and a writer) he clearly regarded with affection and respect, there is a sepia tint to much of *Out of the Woodshed*."

D. J. Taylor. *TLS*, Aug. 21, 1998: 27.

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"Throughout this first biography, written by Gibbons's nephew, who knew her well, one senses her frustration at never again catching the public's imagination so unerringly [as with *Cold Comfort Farm*]. . . . In the preface, Oliver says he has respected the privacy of Stella's daughter and grandsons. . . . Worthy of a fond cousin and uncle though this is, it is unhelpfully discreet in a biographer. The Stella-like delight with which he anatomises the foibles of the Gibbonses is shucked off for a blander style, to make this, in the end, a fluent, admiring portrait of a genteel literary life."

Caroline Gascoigne. *The Weekend Australian*, Sept. 12–13, 1998: 13.

Gissing, George

The Collected Letters of George Gissing. Vol. 7: *1897–1899*. Vol. 8: *1900–1902*. Ed. Paul F. Mattheisen, Arthur C. Young, and Pierre Coustillas. Athens: Ohio UP, 1996, 1997.

Covering the last six years of Gissing's life, these letters show it was characterized by rootlessness and restlessness. When in Rome he longed for a "permanent home," when in Paris, far from his unstable wife Edith, apparently happy (at last) with Gabrielle Fleury, he longed for England. Meanwhile, he continued to write. The editors have been even-handed with Gissing and Gabrielle, less so with the unfortunate Edith. But as a whole they deserve praise and admiration for their immense work of scholarship.

John Sloan. *Études Anglaises* 51.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1998): 105–07.

Gladstone, William

Gladstone. Ed. Peter J. Jagger. London: Hambledon, 1998. 302 pp. £25.00.

These are essays in honor of the 100th anniversary of Gladstone's death. "Some of them deal with major themes in his career such as Ireland, nationalism and the working class, others with less familiar subjects, but all throw light on both his politics and his character."

Martin Pugh. *TLS*, Sept. 18, 1998: 32.

Glasgow, Ellen

Ellen Glasgow: A Biography. Susan Goodman. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1998. 412 pp. $34.95.

"Goodman has made a meticulous reconstruction of the life from patchy records . . . but the biographer also betrays an analytical reticence."

Christine Bold. *TLS*, Aug. 14, 1998: 30.

Graves, Robert

Good-bye to All That: An Autobiography. Robert Graves. 1929. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1995. 352 pp. $12.95.

"[O]ne thing that makes 'Good-bye to All That' so permanently readable is its happy management of the literal by imposing on it such devices of fiction as suspense, surprise and irony. . . . [T]here is a lot of Ben

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Jonson in Graves—tough-mindedness, a virile sense of the funny, a tendency to disbelieve public truths and ridicule them, as well as an unerring eye for phonies and a powerful impulse to laugh at them."

Paul Fussell. *LATBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 4.

Hahn, Emily

Nobody Said Not To Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn. Ken Cuthbertson. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998. 376 pp. $29.95.

"This admiring account portrays a hard-drinking, cigar-smoking beauty, sojourning in the Congo in the thirties, Shanghai under Japanese bombardment, and occupied Hong Kong during the Second World War."

The New Yorker, Sept. 21, 1998: 145.

"Ken Cuthbertson doesn't know enough about women's history to see how Hahn was influenced by the suffrage movement, nor does he seem aware of the tug-of-war between popularity and individuality that every creative young girl feels. . . . There are errors a copyeditor should have caught . . . and there's a reliance on clichés. . . . The narrative drive kicks in, though, when Hahn moves to New York, and the book soars when she takes off for Africa. Then we're in for a great ride—fast-paced, full of twists and astonishingly gutsy or foolhardy choices."

Emily Toth. *Women's Review of Books* 16.1 (Oct. 1998): 10.

Hall, Radclyffe

The Trials of Radclyffe Hall. Diana Souhami. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998. 368 pp. £20.00.

Souhami's "wit and intelligence are evident on every page of this uncompromising portrait of an English eccentric who played a crucial role in the development of sexual tolerance, while remaining personally, an intolerably difficult character."

Lucasta Miller. *TLS*, Aug. 14, 1998: 29.

Hamilton, Alexander

A Fatal Friendship: Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. Arnold A. Rogow. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998. 351 pp. $27.50.

"Rogow has written a fascinating case study of the 'tangle of contradictory facts, statements and interpretations' that make up history, and of the 'multiple versions of truth' that all politicians generate."

David Walton. *NYTBR*, Aug. 9, 1998: 18.

Harding, Florence

Florence Harding: The First Lady, the Jazz Age, and the Death of America's Most Scandalous President. Carl Sferrazza Anthony. New York: William Morrow, 1998. 645 pp. $30.00.

"Even his best and most sympathetic biographer, Robert K. Murray,

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in 'The Harding Era' (1969), had to conclude that the man should never have been President. That is, however, not sufficient reason for the author of a book about Mrs. Harding to interrupt and overwhelm her story with detailed descriptions of every charge ever leveled against her husband. The President and Mrs. Harding deserve better."

David Nasaw. *NYTBR*, Aug. 2, 1998: 14.

"Florence Harding's story is absorbing, poignant and dramatic. Mr. Anthony tells it best when he tells it simply."

Sylvia Jukes Morris. *WP*, July 20–27, 1998: 34.

Hitler, Adolf

Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of His Evil. Ron Rosenbaum. New York: Random House, 1998. 444 pp. $30.00.

"After more than 350 pages of lively, engaging, persuasive commentary, Rosenbaum seems to lose his way at the end, embracing a theory because it is 'fascinating' and 'one of the most powerful and polarizing conjectures,' rather than because it is the most solidly grounded in what we now know."

Michael R. Marrus. *NYTBR*, July 19, 1998: 8.

hooks, bell

Wounds of Passion: A Writing Life. bell hooks. New York: Holt, 1997. 260 pp. $20.00.

"Hooks wants to connect the highly personal realms of sex, love and writing with the most insidious forms of oppression. . . . [hooks] weaves together many voices—the black Southern sound of her childhood, adult hindsight, superheated poetic imagery—to create surprising juxtapositions. Her inner life emerges, at least in pieces, and she conveys the strong connection between physical freedom and the power of language. . . . I was alternately fired up, titillated, irritated and moved—yet I also wanted hooks' competing voices simply to shut up on occasion, to stop running a number on me, to let the most powerful images stand on their own."

Martha Nichols. *Women's Review of Books* 15.12 (Sept. 1998): 16–18.

Hutchinson, Thomas, Benjamin Franklin, and Josiah Quincy

The Brave Bostonians: Hutchinson, Quincy, Franklin, and the Coming of the American Revolution. Philip McFarland. Boulder: Westview, 1998. 286 pp. $25.00.

"The title of this beguiling study is a little misleading, taken from a sympathetic Englishman's reference to the people of Boston who defied British authority. The book itself is not about bravery in Boston. It is about a year in the lives of three people who happen to have been born there but who spent most of the year in question, from mid-1774 to mid-1775, in London. Since their lives in that year intersected only

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incidentally and the biographical details are pretty well known, this would seem an unlikely means for approaching 'the coming of the American Revolution.' Because it is so unlikely, Philip McFarland's success in creating a coherent and revealing narrative is a small tour de force, especially as the point of no return in the coming of the Revolution may have been reached by the time he brings his characters into view."

Edmund S. Morgan. *NYRB*, Oct. 8, 1998: 41.

Hyde, Edward, Viscount Cornbury

The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in British America. Patricia U. Bonomi. Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture/U of North Carolina P, 1998. 290 pp. $29.95.

"...in a tour de force of historical detection, Patricia U. Bonomi, an emeritus professor of history at New York University, unravels the threads of the 'Cornbury legend' to reveal a man whose reputation as a cross-dresser owes more to the vitriol of his Whiggish political enemies than to any evidence that he was other than an aggressive imperialist and devout Anglican."

Tim Hilchey. *NYTBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 22.

Jennings, Cedric

A Hope in the Unseen: An American Odyssey From the Inner City to the Ivy League. Ron Suskind. New York: Broadway Books, 1998. 372 pp. $25.00.

"...one begins to fear that his [Cedric's] ostensibly inspirational story may be more depressing than we know. For all Cedric's superhuman drive, it may be that the most crucial factor in his eventual success was dumb luck: that in 1994, a reporter named Ron Suskind took an interest in his story."

Sara Mosle. *NYTBR*, Aug. 2, 1998: 6–7.

Jewett, Helen

The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York. Patricia Cline Cohen. New York: Knopf, 1998. 432 pp. $27.50.

"Cohen does a masterly job of identifying the mysteries at the heart of the case and showing us available clues. But the solution to the mysteries, the sense of what Helen Jewett and Richard Robinson meant to themselves and to each other, remains tantalizingly beyond the reach of history, in the realm of the imagination."

Janet H. Murray. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 9.

John Paul II, Pope. See **Kluger, Jerzy.**

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Johnson, Lyndon

Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961–1973. Robert Dallek. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 754 pp. $35.00.

"The second, and concluding, volume of this poised, scholarly, and readable biography recounts Johnson's career from his service as Kennedy's Vice-President to his retirement, in 1968, after he decided not to run for President again."

The New Yorker, July 6, 1998: 73.

Keller, Helen

Helen Keller: A Life. Dorothy Hermann. New York: Knopf, 1998. 394 pp. $30.00.

"This 'Helen Keller' poses no challenge to Joseph Lash's magisterial (and enormous) 'Helen and Teacher' (1980). But Hermann's story remains a fascinating one, for all the flaws in its telling."

Walter Kendrick. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 10.

"The private woman is emphasized over the public figure whom Helen herself began to create when she used her newfound literacy to address Alexander Graham Bell."

John Updike. *The New Yorker*, Aug. 10, 1998: 73–76.

Kerouac, Jack

Subterranean Kerouac: The Hidden Life of Jack Kerouac. Ellis Amburn. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 435 pp. $27.95.

"'Subterranean Kerouac,' rambling over the facts of Kerouac's career, friendships, negotiations, and writings, is totally convincing. . . . [I]t is likely to be the definitive—or at least sufficient—story of Kerouac's sexuality and explains an aspect of the cult. . . . Beyond sorting out Kerouac's tormented struggle, Amburn has written a work of generous advocacy, forgiving Kerouac's swift slide downward and crediting him with the lyric genius that Kerouac himself and [Allen] Ginsberg claimed for him in their exalted moments."

Herbert Gold. *LATBR*, Aug. 23, 1998: 3.

"Despite some careless errors, which suggest haste, Amburn tells much of Kerouac's story quite well. Yet his book is a prime example of what Joyce Carol Oates once called 'pathography,' a reductive emphasis on dysfunction that not only overshadows the subject's achievements but makes them virtually inconceivable. In its neglect of his books and its zeal to dish up the dirt, this is more like the idol-smashing biography of a pop star than a book about a writer."

Morris Dickstein. *NYTBR*, Aug. 9, 1998: 8.

"What Amburn would really like to prove is that Kerouac was gay and used women only as a substitute for intercourse with men. Set

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upon outing Kerouac, Amburn recklessly presents tidbits of gossip . . . as if they are to be taken as truth. . . . Amburn [has] consulted my memoir . . . [b]ut he has not found my version of the story to be useful to him because it depicted a Kerouac who could sustain a heterosexual relationship."

Joyce Johnson. *LATBR*, Aug. 23, 1998: 4.

Kitchener, Lord

Kitchener: The Road to Omdurman. John Pollock. London: Constable, 1998. 282 pp. £20.00.

"Pollock . . . seems excessively close to the Kitchener family for an impartial biographer. . . . [S]adly there is little here which is new."

Jud Adams. *TLS*, Aug. 21, 1998: 26.

Kluger, Jerzy

The Hidden Pope: The Untold Story of a Lifelong Friendship That Is Changing the Relationship Between Christians and Jews. Darcy O'Brien. Emmaus, PA: Rodale, 1998. 350 pp. $25.00.

"'The Hidden Pope' makes a strong case for John Paul's sincerity in trying to heal the breach between Christian and Jew, but also makes it clear that even the Holocaust winds are unable to thaw much of the icy anti-semitism that still exists, not only in Poland and other parts of Europe, but in the high councils of the Vatican as well."

David Murray. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 17.

Knowland, William F.

One Step from the White House: The Rise and Fall of William F. Knowland. Gayle Montgomery and James W. Johnson. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 362 pp. $26.95.

"Knowing the man, the paper and his hometown . . . I was disappointed by the book's spare journalistic style that does not do justice to the era, to the colorful working-class city of Oakland or to the newspaper that was the source of Knowland's power. . . . [T]he authors do not make some of the analytical judgments that are now due. . . . Instead, they too often retreat into the protective conventions of journalism, giving one side, then the other, and letting the readers make up their minds."

Bill Boyarsky. *LATBR*, Aug. 2, 1998: 8.

Kristeva, Julia

Julia Kristeva: Interviews. Ed. Ross Mitchell Guberman. New York: Columbia UP, 1996. 292 pp. $18.00.

"The broad range of the material [twenty-two interviews] and the inclusion of an extensive and accurate bibliography ensures that this volume serves as both an accessible introductory text and an interesting supplement to Kristeva's influential work."

Julia Dobson. *French Studies* 52.3 (July 1998): 366.

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Lawrence, D. H.

D. H. Lawrence: The Cambridge Biography—The Early Years, 1885–1912. John Worthen. 1991. 626 pp. $22.95. *Triumph to Exile, 1912–1922.* Mark Kinkead-Weekes. 1996. 943 pp. $49.95. *The Dying Game, 1922–1930.* David Ellis. 1997. 780 pp. $44.95. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. The boxed set, $125.00.

"Lawrence is the least difficult of modern poets from the point of view of simple comprehension. But he was a famously difficult man to get on with, and when you find him difficult in that sense you should put him down, leave him to cool off, turn to whatever is more congenial. The authors of the Cambridge biography did not have this luxury; they had to stick by him, daily, through thick and thin. And they are, all of them, exemplary. Lawrence used to be a cause, served by bad-tempered fanatics. In these three volumes, he is treated equitably —Othello's plea, 'nothing extenuate,' seems to have been their policy —with the result that, in the end, because he trusts the biographers, the reader may end up feeling more sympathetic to Lawrence than he expected. John Worthen is particularly good on the background—the nuances of class, what was poverty, what was a respectable income.

James Fenton. *NYRB*, Oct. 22, 1998: 51.

Leclerc, Georges-Louis, Comte de Buffon

Buffon. Jacques Roger. Trans. Sarah Lucille Bonnefoi. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1998. 492 pp. $49.95.

"Buffon lived to see the first thirty-six volumes of his monumental *Histoire Naturelle;* the remaining eight tomes appeared after his death. No other eighteenth century biologist enjoyed wider readership or greater influence. Yet, outside professional circles, we hardly recognize Buffon's name today."

Stephen Jay Gould. *NYRB*, Oct. 22, 1998: 83.

Lindbergh, Charles A.

Lindbergh. A. Scott Berg. New York: Putnam, 1998. 628 pp. $30.00.

"[Lindbergh's] story is not a bright and inspiring one, for . . . it illuminates the menace that accompanies adoration. . . . In illuminating this phenomenon, Berg's book is an extraordinary achievement. . . . In his authoritative chronicle, Berg has allowed the inconsistencies, nuances and tribulations of Lindbergh's life to speak for themselves without judgment or speculation. In doing so, he has given us the definitive account of a dramatic and disturbing American story."

Benjamin Schwarz. *LATBR*, Sept. 20, 1998: 3.

"Berg brings us about as close as I suspect we will ever get to the man himself. The first biographer to be granted unfettered access to Lindbergh's private papers, Berg provides enough fresh detail to trace the roots of Lindbergh's personality, its strengths as well as its maddening flaws, all the way back to his turbulent boyhood, a period

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so painful to him that as an adult he once admitted, 'I have no recollection whatever of my daily routine during the early years of my life.'"

Geoffrey C. Ward. *NYTBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 14–15.

Liuzzo, Viola

From Selma to Sorrow: The Life and Death of Viola Liuzzo. Mary Stanton. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1998. 288 pp. $24.95.

"Mary Stanton's biography of Viola Liuzzo also offers us a larger picture: a chilling account of the breadth, depth and strength of the forces arrayed against progress toward racial justice in this country. . . . [Stanton] chooses to bracket the story of the life of Viola Liuzzo, 'the most controversial of the civil rights martyrs,' within her own story. . . . [I]t becomes clear that this is the only way Stanton could have told it: as both Liuzzo's story and Stanton's own story of a wide-eyed innocent . . . who came to understand the collusion between the Ku Klux Klan, the Alabama and Michigan police departments, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI in the destruction of Viola Liuzzo and members of her family."

Margo Culley. *Women's Review of Books* 16.1 (Oct. 1998): 7–8.

Loren, Sophia

Sophia Loren: A Biography. Warren G. Harris. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 399 pp. £16.99.

"This is an awkwardly written book characterised by such inelegant translations from Italian as 'I am waiting a baby'—and Harris embellishes its dominant narrative with such crass comments as (recounting Loren's anger at her sister's marriage to Mussolini's son), 'Il Duce ranked in infamy just behind Hitler and Stalin.'"

Stella Bruzzi. *Sight and Sound* 8.8 (Aug. 1998): 29.

Maynard, Joyce

At Home in the World. Joyce Maynard. New York: Picador USA, 1998. 352 pp. $25.00.

"At the end of the book, on the eve of her forty-fourth birthday, she [Maynard] drives to New Hampshire and waits on Salinger's doorstep until he comes out. She asks him what he wanted from her—what was her 'purpose' in his life. It is a question that, even unanswered, is more lonely and true than any of Maynard's breathless confessions. Perhaps the real sadness lies not in her betrayal but in the larger, negating absence that hovers over these pages."

Daphne Merkin. *The New Yorker*, Aug. 24 & 31, 1998: 153–56.

Menchú, Rigoberta

Crossing Borders: An Autobiography. Rigoberta Menchú. Trans. and ed. Ann Wright. New York: Verso, 1998. 232 pp. $25.00.

"The impact that *I . . . Rigoberta Menchú* would have on an ever larger audience, the discussion the book provoked within the oral history

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community, Menchú's tireless work as a spokesperson for her people, and now the publication of *Crossing Borders*, all combine to teach us valuable lessons in the management of memory—how it may be preserved, mishandled, abused, or offered as a touchstone to the understanding of history. . . . *Crossing Borders* moves back and forth between Guatemala's current political situation, Menchú's and others' efforts to demand that the world pay attention, the sheer poetry of her identification with the natural world, and her acute perceptions of others, including her own mother who was taken from her too young but remains her teacher. She is generous and profound, consistently kind to all but those who murder and maim, and lucid and insightful even about them. Despite Ann Wright's translation, which is once again a poor rendition of the original, this is a book that speaks deeply and with genuine power."

Margaret Randall. *Women's Review of Books* 15.12 (Sept. 1998): 22–23.

Minor, W. C., and James Murray

The Professor and the Madman: A Tale of Murder, Insanity, and the Making of the Oxford English Dictionary. Simon Winchester. New York: HarperCollins, 1998. 242 pp. $22.00.

"[A]lthough in principle the relationship between Murray and Minor lies at the heart of [Winchester's] story, in practice the focus is far more on Minor. It is pleasant and mildly piquant, to think of the two men together—near contemporaries, sharing the same interests, curiously similar in appearance. But all said and done, Minor played only a marginal role in Murray's career, and the gulf between their worlds remained vast.

John Gross. *NYRB*, Sept. 24, 1998: 13.

"Winchester's imaginative retelling of these two 'inextricably and most curiously entwined' lives is framed by the story of how the O.E.D. came to be, and the history of dictionary making itself, a more rambunctious profession than one would expect."

David Walton. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 12.

Moon, Lorna

My Secret Mother Lorna Moon. Richard de Mille. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 311 pp. $25.00.

"This book—part biography, part autobiography, part celebrity memoir—is so exceptional that it deserves a genre of its own."

The New Yorker, Aug. 24 & 31, 1998: 154.

Morris, Marcus

Living With Eagles: Marcus Morris, Priest and Publisher. Sally Morris and Jan Holiwood. Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1998. 311 pp. £25.00.

"This biography has been written by two of Morris's daughters who

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seem to have researched the theme very thoroughly and lovingly, but then to have had difficulty in actually leaving any information out."

Monica Furlong. *TLS*, Sept. 25, 1998: 31.

Murdoch, Iris

Iris: A Memoir of Iris Murdoch. John Bayley. London: Duckworth, 1998. 189 pp. £16.95.

"In describing his marriage to Iris Murdoch, Bayley retraces an unpredestined journey of discovery made by a man and a woman—with enough courage in their own eccentricity to rejoice without effort, conceit or ambition in the existence of the other and so allow the intricacies of human intimacy to define their life together."

Sally Vincent. *The Guardian Weekly*, Oct. 11, 1998: 33.

Murphy, Gerald and Sara

Everybody Was So Young: Gerald and Sara Murphy, A Lost Generation Love Story. Amanda Vaill. London: Little, Brown, 1998. 470 pp. £20.00.

"... Amanda Vaill has succeeded brilliantly in looking behind the public perception and producing an unusually penetrating portrait of a marriage." "As well as a fine narrative style, she has an excellent understanding of the period."

Selina Hastings. *TLS*, Sept. 11, 1998: 11.

Murray, James. See **Minor, W. C.**

Nash, John

A Beautiful Mind. Sylvia Nasar. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 462 pp. $25.00.

"'A Beautiful Mind' is the absorbing story of one such mathematical genius [at times more or less out of touch with reality], John Forbes Nash, Jr.... The three broad arcs of Nash's life—before, during and after his thirty-year illness—are depicted by Nasar in painstaking detail.... The bulk of the book is taken up with biographical minutiae that she weaves into a narrative of compelling power."

John Allen Paulos. *LATBR*, Sept. 13, 1998: 6.

"Although I would have appreciated a clearer and longer description of game theory, 'A Beautiful Mind' tells a moving story and offers a remarkable look into the arcane world of mathematics and the tragedy of madness."

Simon Singh. *NYTBR*, June 14, 1998: 5.

Nixon, Richard

Nixon in Winter. Monica Crowley. New York: Random House, 1998. 428 pp. $30.00.

"In her Horatio role, Crowley testifies to the kind of man she served. But what kind of man was that? One who needed a young and

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unchallenging acolyte to hear him rant or boast. A deficient human being desperate to fill some inner emptiness. One forever pulling himself down by trying to pull others down. To all this, Crowley bears accurate if unwitting testimony."

Garry Wills. *NYTBR*, June 14, 1998: 10.

O'Donoghue, Michael

Mr. Mike: The Life and Work of Michael O'Donoghue, the Man Who Made Comedy Dangerous. Dennis Perrin. New York: Avon, 1998. 432 pp. $25.00.

"The book's tone is a bit matter-of-fact and one wishes that Perrin, a free-lance writer, had unleashed his inner 13-year-old when writing about one of comedy's meanest masters."

Eric P. Nash. *NYTBR*, July 5, 1998: 15.

O'Malley, Ernie

Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual. Richard English. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998. 267 pp. £25.00.

The reviewer says of the Irish republican writer O'Malley, "but more than thirty years after his death, his words still make a valued contribution to the reinvention of Ireland, if only because he reconciled English and Irish traditions in a rich personality." "This well-researched book is consistently moving and often wise; if the people of Ireland ever come to terms with overlapping identities, they will have much to learn from it."

Declan Kiberd. *TLS*, July 31, 1998: 25.

Partridge, Frances

Frances Partridge, Life Regained: Diaries, January 1970–December 1971. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998. 256 pp. £20.00.

" . . . it remains exhilarating to read, for its amused, unsentimental attitude to human folly, its respect for natural and artistic beauty, above all, for its unquenchable love for life."

Anne Chisholm. *TLS*, Sept. 4, 1998: 5.

Paudras, Francis and Bud Powell

Dance of the Infidels: A Portrait of Bud Powell. Francis Paudras. New York: Da Capo, 1998. 356 pp. $18.95.

"Paudras's memoir . . . resonates with unbridled passion, yet aside from photographs never before published, passion is about all this florid remembrance has going for it."

Grover Sales. *LATBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 7.

Pinagot, Louis-François

Le Monde Retrouvé de Louis-François Pinagot sur les Traces d'un Inconnu 1798-1876. Alain Corbin. Paris: Flammarion, 1998. 336 pp. 135F.

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The life of an obscure Breton clogmaker is configured from official

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documents. "Corbin has given us the full, if limited, decor of a life—in recorded fact, in sustainable hypotheses, in supposition."

Gillian Tindall. *TLS*, Aug. 21, 1998: 28.

Porter, Agnes

Governess in the Age of Jane Austen: The Journals and Letters of Agnes Porter. Ed. Joanna Martin. London: Hambledon, 1998. 372 pp. £25.00.

"Joanna Martin has done a fine and patient job in transcribing, editing, and annotating the journals and letters and filled in the background in a long introductory essay."

Claire Tomalin. *TLS*, July 10, 1998: 3–4.

Potter, Dennis

Dennis Potter: The Authorized Biography. Humphrey Carpenter. London: Faber and Faber, 1998. 672 pp. £20.00.

A "meticulous and grimly readable biography" of the English television writer.

Humphrey Carpenter. *TLS*, Sept. 25, 1998: 36.

Pound, Ezra and William Carlos Williams

Selected Letters of Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams. Ed. Hugh Witemeyer. New York: New Directions, 1996. 352 pp. $39.95.

In this correspondence between two sacred monsters of twentieth century American poetry, the humanist has sometimes harsh words, and the anti-Semite moans like a wounded animal (displaying the force of his writing, without necessarily arousing compassion). We learn a lot of little secrets, and more generally we get a mass of detailed information, not only on the two poets, but on Hilda Doolittle, Charles Olson, e. e. cummings, Robert Lowell, Gertrude Stein, and others.

Alain Suberchicot. *Études Anglaises* 51.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1998): 116–17.

Powell, Bud. See **Paudras, Francis.**

Power, Eileen

A Woman in Power: Eileen Power, 1889–1940. Maxine Berg. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. 292 pp. $24.95.

"Eileen Power was a historian who inspired among her contemporaries both affection and respect. Maxine Berg's first-rate biography makes clear just how and why it is a moving and impressive story."

Henrietta Leyser. *Journal of British Studies* 37.4 (Oct. 1998): 441–46.

Proust, Marcel

Proust au miroir de sa correspondance. Luc Fraisse. Paris: SEDES, 1996. 514 pp. F130.

"In this book, the first overall view and discussion of Proust's

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correspondence, Fraisse reappraises Proust's life and work in the light of his letters." The book is divided into three parts: Part I, "une personallite de'Ecrivain," is the weakest; Part II, "L'Ecrivain public," is "truly fascinating"; and Part III, "L'Ecrivain au travail," is a good introduction to Proust's creative practice.

Marion Schmid. *French Studies* 52.3 (July 1998): 359–60.

Quincy, Josiah. See **Hutchinson, Thomas.**

Rabin, Yitzhak

Soldier of Peace: The Life of Yitzhak Rabin. Dan Kurzman. New York: HarperCollins, 1998. 555 pp. $30.00.

"Kurzman's biography of Rabin is serviceable, even if it does not stray beyond the eminently familiar. The problem with it is that Kurz-man is engaged in hero-worshipping more than in a dispassionate account of the man's life."

Benjamin Frankel. *WP,* Aug. 17, 1998: 39–40.

Revuelta, Naty

Havana Dreams: A Story of Cuba. Wendy Gimbel. New York: Knopf, 1998. 234 pp. $24.00.

"Gimbel's sense of wonder, and her bounty seeker's ruthless appetite, are equal to the impossibly rich trove that the besieged, fantastical island has to offer. The result is a shimmering book."

Alma Guillermoprieto. *NYTBR,* July 5, 1998: 11.

Rivera, Diego

Dreaming With His Eyes Open: A Life of Diego Rivera. Patrick Marnham. London: Bloomsbury, 1998. 366 pp. £20.00.

" . . . there is a sense from Marnham that it is payback time. Rivera was an unrepentant fabulist, who embroidered and invented his experiences throughout his life, and one of Marnham's tasks has been to rescue the truth from the more fantastical versions put about by Rivera and repeated by earlier biographers which have burnished his reputation since his death."

Liz Jobey. *The Guardian Weekly,* Nov. 15, 1998: 33.

Rockefeller, John D.

Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Ron Chernow. New York: Random House, 1998. 774 pp. $30.00.

"Ron Chernow, an experienced biographer of business tycoons, presents the tale well, and his portrait of Rockefeller, an eccentric on a heroic scale as well as a genius, is convincing. On balance, this is the best biography of the man so far."

Paul Johnson. *WP,* June 22, 1998: 31–32.

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Roosevelt, Franklin Delano

The Dying President: Franklin Delano Roosevelt 1944–45. Robert H. Ferrell. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1998. 208 pp. $24.95.

"In *The Dying President*, Robert H. Ferrell, a capable and responsible historian, produces the best account of FDR's health in the last year of his presidency. . . . Comprehensive and incisive as *The Dying President* is, a few gaps remain. . . ."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. *TLS*, July 3, 1998: 11.

Salinger, J. D. See **Maynard, Joyce.**

Sayers, Dorothy

The Letters of Dorothy Sayers. Vol. II: *1937–1943: From Novelist to Playwright*. Ed. Barbara Reynolds. New York: St. Martins, 1998. 450 pp. $27.95.

"Lord Peter Wimsey makes himself scarce during the war years, while Sayers turns her fierce powers of attention to writing stage and radio plays, and, often through them, expounding matters of Christian theology and dogma."

The New Yorker, Aug. 17, 1998: 77.

Scot, Geoffrey

Geoffrey Scot and the Berenson Circle. Richard M. Dunn. London: Lampeter Miller, 1998. 350 pp. £59.95.

"Richard Dunn has told this story very skillfully and with proper fairness and detachment."

P. N. Furbank. *TLS*, Sept. 11, 1998: 10.

Simpson, Don

High Concept: Don Simpson and the Hollywood Culture of Excess. Charles Fleming. London: Bloomsbury, 1998. 288 pp. £16.99.

"The late producer of *Flashdance* and *Beverly Hills Cop* often expressed a desire to be remembered as a legend like Samuel Goldwyn or Louis B. Mayer. Fleming's biography is an attempt at myth-making Simpson would have approved of, even if the author officially views his subject as a symbol of what went wrong with Hollywood in the techno-pap 80s and 90s."

Peter Matthews. *Sight and Sound* 8.8 (Aug. 1998): 29.

"A racily written, but diligent account of Simpson's short life. . . . Charles Fleming's wider point in this book is that there is something inherent in the culture of Hollywood which makes such excesses tolerable, inevitable, or even encouraged."

William Boyd. *TLS*, July 24, 1998: 7.

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Sondheim, Stephen

Stephen Sondheim: A Life. Meryle Secrest. New York: Knopf, 1998. 461 pp. $30.00.

"[This is a] brisk and revealing biography, written with considerable cooperation from its subject and his friends. . . . Sondheim has finally allowed a measure of contentment to come into his life, but Secrest seems reluctant to make the obvious conclusion: that his recent work has lost some of his usual irony and complexity."

The New Yorker. Aug. 24 & 31, 1998: 154.

"[Secrest's] discoveries about [Sondheim's] personal life [are] so well integrated with an account of his career, from 'West Side Story' through 'Company' and 'Follies' to 'Passion,' that both those with and without a specialist interest in the musical theater are kept happy. Though there are many times when the former may crave more technical analysis, and the latter a few more anecdotes, it's a test she passes."

Benedict Nightingale. *NYTBR,* July 19, 1998: 7.

Soutine, Chaim

An Expressionist in Paris: The Paintings of Chaim Soutine. Ed. Norman L. Kleeblatt and Kenneth E. Silver. New York: Prestel/Te Neues, 1998. 207 pp. $65.00.

"Through such meticulously researched works of scholarship as Kenneth E. Silver's informative profile of the artistic, critical, religious, and political climates during Soutine's career and Colette Giraudon's exhaustive delineation of Soutine's market, the painter himself remains a silent, phantasmal figure that must be reconstituted from the fragments. And the image that does resolve itself inevitably brings with it a sense of irretrievable loss."

Christina Cho. *NYTBR,* July 26, 1998: 18.

Tipton, Billy

Suits Me: The Double Life of Billy Tipton. Diane Wood Middlebrook. Boston: Peter Davison/Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 326 pp. $25.00.

"[*Suits Me*] is alternately a fascinating and somewhat frustrated telling of the curious and complex life of the jazz musician who was born in 1914 as a woman but lived as a man. . . . [Middlebrook] succumbs to the dubious idea . . . that once the bedroom door has been thrust open, a human being's inner life is thought to be explained or understood. . . . [She] leaves us with many disconnected but intriguing Billy Tiptons."

Michael Frank. *LATBR,* Aug. 2, 1998: 7.

"Who could resist a book that asserts, 'In California it would have been obvious that Billy was a woman'? Or one that ends: 'Jazz and a dog were the consorts in Billy's life that outlasted every wife and all the children.' . . . *Suits Me* is far more than an adventure in gender. It

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stands as a minor masterpiece of American *zeitgeist*. . . . Six years of research went into *Suits Me*. Middlebrook has written an elegant and wise book. A fine scholar and poet, she may soon be best known for her biographies."

Frank Campbell. *The Weekend Australian*, Sept. 5–6: 13.

"*[Suits Me]* is a fascinating exploration of the transvestite's powers and our contradictory submission and resistance to them. . . . Diane Wood Middlebrook is a poet as well as a literary critic. . . . She is beautifully aware of how strong, even how overwhelming, the desire to make art can be. . . . In 1933, during the gravity of the Depression and in a male-dominated profession, [Tipton] could not find the work to which her creative talents and ambitions aspired. In order to be the musician she wanted to be, she invented a social role—that of a man named Billy Lee Tipton, a name that echoed and appropriated that of her father and her brother. Performing gender helped her to perform music. . . . The best of human performances between birth and death—by transvestites and non-transvestites alike—we call virtue, love and art. Billy was neither saint, nor wholly honest lover, nor great artist, but he gave his worlds a fair enough share of each."

Catharine R. Stimpson. *Women's Review of Books* 15.12 (Sept. 1998): 1–4.

Tooke, John Horne

Gentleman Radical: A Life of John Horne Tooke, 1730-1812. Christina and David Bewley. London: Taurus Academic, 1998. 297 pp. £42.00.

"*Gentleman Radical* is a clearly organized and well-written account of a fascinating life, and it is based on an unrivaled knowledge of the subject's activities."

H. T. Dickinson. *TLS*, Sept. 18, 1998: 32.

Trelawny, John

Lord Byron's Jackal: The Life of Edward John Trelawny. David Crane. London: HarperCollins, 1998. 398 pp. £19.99.

"As a picture of the phenomenon of philhellinism in the Greek War of Independence in all its ambiguous weirdness, this book is a real achievement." "Crane is not deceived by Trelawny's lies or blind to his self-absorbed ruthlessness; he recognizes his subject as a monster."

Alethea Hayter. *TLS*, Aug. 7, 1998: 32.

Valentino, Rudolph

Valentino: A Dream of Desire. David Bret. London: Robson, 1998. 240 pp. £16.95.

"There is no shortage of books on the world's greatest lover, but this breezily readable addition covers the ground adequately, though nothing is sourced and there is a plethora of unsupported dialogue and sexual trivia."

Nick Roddick. *Sight and Sound* 8.8 (Aug. 1998): 29.

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Waugh, Auberon

Will This Do? The First Fifty Years of Auberon Waugh. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1998. 288 pp. $24.00.

"It's a shame that it took so long to get this gorgeously entertaining, witty, outlandish, shrewd, wise and bitchy book published in America. . . . Waugh may be too tart for the sensitive American palate, but perhaps in the privacy of home, in which the political correctness police won't hear you chortle, you might enjoy some of his more piquant observations."

Christopher Buckley. *LATBR*, July 5, 1998: 8.

Waugh, Evelyn

An Evelyn Waugh Chronology. Norman Page. "Author Chronologies" Series. London: Macmillan, 1997. 210 pp. £42.50.

The essential events of Waugh's life are retraced and replaced in their time. The book does not claim to bring any revelation but will offer useful reference points to such students as can afford it.

Alain Blayac. *Études Anglaises* 51.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1998): 121.

Whale, James

James Whale: A New World of Gods and Monsters. James Curtis. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998. 455 pp. $16.95.

"James Curtis's 'James Whale: A New World of Gods and Monsters' is the most thorough account to date of the life and career of this eccentric Englishman who first made his reputation directing a World War I drama called 'Journey's End.'"

Lloyd Rose. *WP*, Aug. 31, 1998: 33.

White, Byron

The Man Who Once Was Whizzer White: A Portrait of Justice Byron R. White. Dennis J. Hutchinson. New York: The Free Press. 577 pp. $30.00.

" . . . Hutchinson has given us a fascinating account of a remarkable life. It is the best we are likely to get. It may even be better than White, who has devoted his life to thwarting those seeking to understand him and his opinions, deserves."

Laura Kalman. *NYTBR*, Aug. 23, 1998: 10–11.

Wilder, Laura Ingalls

Becoming Laura Ingalls Wilder: The Woman Behind the Legend. John E. Miller. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1998. 306 pp. $29.95.

" . . . how did Laura Elizabeth Ingalls Wilder . . . find the resources and skill to produce a body of work that succeeding generations of Americans, as well as readers of more than 40 languages around the world, adore and take as a true account of one family and an entire aspect of American history? Miller decides it was perseverance. . . .

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He gives some credit to her sense of her own superiority, some to her experience writing for local papers and some, but probably not enough, to her remarkable daughter, Rose Wilder Lane."

Eden Ross Lipson. *NYTBR*, Aug. 2, 1998: 9–10.

"Miller doesn't try to make her any more—or less—than she actually was, and that is the virtue of this biography."

Linda Barrett Osborne. *WP*, Aug. 10, 1998: 32.

Williams, William Carlos. See **Pound, Ezra.**

Woolf, Virginia

Granite and Rainbow: The Hidden Life of Virginia Woolf. Mitchell Leaska. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 513 pp. $35.00.

"Heading a list of books not needing to be written is a new biography of Virginia Woolf. Michael Leaska has not really written one; 'Granite and Rainbow,' his 10th book about Woolf, uses the form as a catchall for stray critical observations. Indeed, the strictures of biography receive, at best, cursory consideration."

Michael Anderson. *NYTBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 22.

Wordsworth, William

The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy. Kenneth R. Johnston. New York: Norton, 1998. 965 pp. $45.00.

"Johnston's spacious, absorbing argument—that Wordsworth's moments of emotion recollected in tranquillity were themselves less than tranquil—is amply supported by a thorough documentation of the multifarious life and times of the young poet, at Hawkshead, at Cambridge, in Grasmere, and abroad."

The New Yorker. Sept. 21, 1998: 145.

Wyeth, N. C.

N. C. Wyeth: A Biography. David Michaelis. New York: Knopf, 1998. 560 pp. $40.00.

"Michaelis's book, based on unrestricted access to family papers and candid interviews with family members, explores not only the destiny of a ferociously disciplined and conflicted patriarch but the lives of four generations of an American artistic dynasty."

The New Yorker. Sept. 28, 1998: 101.

Yonge, Charlotte

Charlotte Yonge. Alethea Hayter. "Writers and Their Work" Series. Plymouth: Northcote House, 1996. 81 pp. £7.99.

Immensely popular in her time, Charlotte Yonge knew a long eclipse, the end of which is marked by her admission to the series "Writers and Their Work." This very short book is a blend of biography and criticism, and contains a bibliography. It does not claim to offer a

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radically new vision of Charlotte Yonge, but it has the merit of drawing attention to a forgotten figure.

Laurent Bury. *Études Anglaises* 51.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1998): 120–21.

Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Interest

Africa

Africa: A Biography of the Continent. John Reader. New York: Knopf, 1998. 801 pp. $35.00.

" . . . the eccentric shape he has given his 'biography' allows Reader to dig millions of years farther back into prehistory than is customary for African historians. The result is a masterly synthesis of the geological, climatological and paleontological discoveries of the last decades, which would have seemed more astounding to Victorians than our ability to fly to the moon."

Thomas Pakenham. *NYTBR*, June 21, 1998: 14.

Baader-Meinhof Gang

Baader-Meinhof: Pictures on the Run, 67–77. Ed. Astrid Proll. New York: Scalo, 1998. 160 pp. $24.95.

"Astrid Proll's volume of photographs of the Red Army Faction, its members, actions and victims is remarkable because of the images it contains and because of the career of the editor."

V. R. Barghahn. *NYTBR*, Oct. 4, 1998: 16.

Baseball People

In the Ballpark: The Working Lives of Baseball People. George Gmelch and J. J. Weiner. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1998. 224 pp. $21.95.

"The good news is that George Gmelch, the chairman of the anthropology department at Union College, and J. J. Weiner, a former anthropology student there, are content to let their subjects talk. The bad news is that their explanations are often ponderous, and they devote too much space to Bernie Williams and Jim Leyland, and not enough to the security guards, parking attendants, and other unsung heroes. Still, this is the rare book that can actually make you see a baseball game in a different way—even if it'll make you think twice about quitting your day job."

Allen St. John. *NYTBR*, Aug. 16, 1998: 16.

Bombshells

Bombshells: Glamour Girls of a Lifetime. Steve Sullivan. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 192 pp. $19.95.

"If you're looking for proof that being a bombshell in the 1950's and 60's was a ticket to a life of heartache and pain, 'Bombshells: Glamour Girls of a Lifetime' is not the book for you."

Ed Zotti. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 17.

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Children in War

Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices From the Civil War. Emmy E. Werner. Boulder: Westview, 1998. 175 pp. $24.00.

"Werner, a developmental psychologist at the University of California, Davis, has written several books on the resilience of children. This one is too much a collection of quotations, providing only a lean meal. However, these voices make an important point: when both sides fight on home soil, there are no victors."

Laura Green. *NYTBR*, Aug. 2, 1998: 17.

Confederate Soldiers

Lee's Miserables: Life in the Army of Northern Virginia from the Wilderness to Appomattox. J. Tracy Power. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998. 463 pp. $34.95.

"It is in fact a classic Civil War study—immensely useful to the historian, vigorous and enlightening to the common reader. It is a glimpse into the American soul: what is the best and worst about us, our riches and griefs, discontents, yearnings, murderous urges and abiding faith."

Donald McCaig. *WP*, Aug. 31, 1998: 32–33.

The Encyclopedists

The Encyclopedists as a Group: A Collective Biography of the Authors of the Encyclopedie. Frank A. Kafker. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 345. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996. 222 pp. £50.00.

This collective biography does not offer a unified and simplistic view of the encyclopedists. On the contrary, it shows that this was a socially and economically diverse group. This is a well-documented work that also shows the extent to which the encyclopedists were not revolutionaries calling into question the established order.

David Diop. *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 98.4 (1998): 660–61.

Georgian Women

The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England. Amanda Vickery. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 436 pp. $40.00.

"By turns mind-numbing and fascinating, this study of genteel women in northern England draws on the letters and journals of 100 women of the late 17th and 18th centuries. Amanda Vickery, who teaches history at the University of London, analyzes their public and private roles as wives, mothers and household managers."

Carol Peace Robins. *NYTBR*, Aug. 30, 1998: 17.

Merchant Captains' Wives

Hen Frigates: Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail. Joan Druett. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 274 pp. $25.00.

"... mythology aside, women have been largely left out of nautical

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history, which makes 'Hen Frigates,' with its humble heroines, a refreshing story that might have silently slipped away."

Holly Morris. *NYTBR*, July 26, 1998: 24.

Microsoft Leaders

Barbarians Led By Bill Gates, Microsoft From the Inside: How the World's Richest Corporation Wields Its Power. Jennifer Edstrom and Martin Eller. New York: Holt, 1998. 256 pp. $23.00.

"Martin Eller, a former developer of Microsoft Windows, is cast as the leading character in 'Barbarians Led by Bill Gates,' a third-person account of life in the company. His co-author, Jennifer Edstrom, just happens to be the daughter of the public-relations whiz who transformed Microsoft's chairman, William H. Gates 3d, from a nerdy leader of a growing software corporation into a nerdy media icon in control of one of the most powerful companies in history. Their book proves to be an informal, gossipy description of how the company looks within the walls of its Washington state headquarters."

J. D. Biersdorfer. *NYTBR*, June 21, 1998: 25.

Obituaries

The Last Word: The New York Times *Book of Obituaries and Farewells—A Celebration of Unusual Lives.* Ed. Martin Siegal. New York: William Morrow, 1997. 426 pp. $25.00.

"This weighty and enlightening volume, edited by Martin Siegal, is nectar to those of us who consider the obituary to be not merely an art form but one of the few art forms that have remained coherent enough to demand any measure of obedience."

Anthony Lane. *The New Yorker*, July 27, 1998: 68–77.

Sotheby's

Sotheby's—Bidding for Class. Robert Lacey. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998. 354 pp. $27.95.

"Lacey does not try to chart new ground. Rather he attempts to introduce outsiders to an international empire and the personalities who made it. The problem is that Lacey is an outsider himself, and he tells this story as though he were peeking through the windows of the auction house. Moreover, the book betrays little awareness that the company's history has been recorded often before."

Carol Vogel. *NYTBR*, July 5, 1998: 17.

Soviet Leaders

Autopsy for an Empire: The Seven Leaders Who Built the Soviet Regime. Dmitri Volkogonov. New York: The Free Press, 1998. 572 pp. $30.00.

"This, then, is not a book to use as one's introduction to Soviet history. But it is a book that deserves attention from specialists, for despite its problems, it is exciting for the archival documentation on which it is

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based (there are more than 1,000 footnotes). Because of the positions he held from 1985 to 1995, Volkogonov had unsurpassed access to previously classified materials and made the most of the opportunity. His findings are an important contribution to the historiography of the Soviet Union. They will have to be checked, of course, given Volkogonov's tendency to quote selectively."

George W. Breslauer. *NYTBR*, June 14, 1998: 33.

"Volkogonov does not engage in the kind of grotesque prevarications that were the stock in trade of previous Soviet historians. His use of archival materials, only recently accessible to Russian and non-Russian scholars, is revelatory."

Abraham Brumberg. *WP*, June 29, 1998: 32.

Slave Life

Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture, the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Low Country. Philip D. Morgan. Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture/U of North Carolina P, 1998. 703 pp. $21.95.

"In 'Slave Counterpoint,' Philip D. Morgan builds curious fragments of experience . . . into a massive reconstruction of life in the 18th-century American South. He touches on an impressive range of topics: the material culture of plantations, patterns of work, contracts between whites and blacks in commerce, recreation, worship, and sex. Most important, he helps us understand how African-Americans caught in a web of interdependencies made sense of their lives, not as slaves but as human beings."

T. H. Breen. *NYTBR*, July 19, 1998: 29.

Women Aviators

Amelia Earhart's Daughters: The Wild and Glorious Story of American Women Aviators from World War II to the Dawn of the Space Age. Leslie Haynsworth and David Toomey. New York: Morrow, 1998. 322 pp. $24.00.

"In their first book, Leslie Haynsworth and David Toomey have written an account that is a fine balance of hair-raising exploits, political drama and portraits of colorful heroes who could handle anything except discrimination."

Carol Peace Robins. *NYTBR*, Sept. 27, 1998: 22.

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Lifelines

Book Contributors. *Encyclopedia of Life Writing*. Contributors are being sought to write entries for an Encyclopedia of Life Writing, to be published by Fitzroy Dearborn in Autumn 2000. This reference book will include over 600 entries on the various forms of auto/biographical writing that constitute the field now known as "life writing," spanning genres such as letters, travel narratives and testimony, as well as related areas such as oral history, anthropology, and psychology. The entries will look at life writing from Classical times to the present, and will devote entries to its principal manifestations from around the world in addition to analyzing English-language traditions. The Encyclopedia is aimed at all those studying, researching, or teaching any aspect of life writing, as well as the general reader with an interest in exploring the subject. For more information, please contact the editor, Margaretta Jolly, c/o Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 310 Regent Street, London W1R 5AJ (lifew@fitzroydearborn.demon.co.uk). Details of the list of entries and procedures for contribution are available at www.fitzroydearborn.com/london/lifew.htm.

Book Contributors. For a *Dictionary of Literary Biography* volume on Victorian and Edwardian Women Poets, editor William Thesing seeks entries of about 4,500 words; writers will receive a fee of about $70 and a bound copy of the book. For a list of available poets and *DLB* guidelines, contact the editor, at the Department of English, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208; thesingw@garnet.cla.sc.edu. **Deadline:** for completed essays, November 1, 1999.

Book Contributors. "'Home' in Jewish Women's Writing." Essays are sought for a book on "home" and "enforced psychic tourism" in the lives of Jewish/Jewish American women writers and/or texts by them. Submissions of about 20 pages could focus on physical, psychological, emotional, or spiritual "homes" anywhere in the world that Jewish/Jewish American women writers have sought, created, or attempted to create. For further information, contact Philippa Kafka, 422 Meeker Street, South Orange, NJ 07079, or Warren Hoffman, 308 South New Ardmore Avenue, Broomall, PA 19008-2814 (warrendhoffman@hotmail.com). **Deadline:** March 1, 1999.

Book Contributors. "Cauc/Asians: Mixed Race in Asian America." Papers are sought for a volume on literature by and about Amerasians or Eurasians, focusing on Asian American writers with white or Caucasian ancestry, specifically those whose work represents mixed-race identity as distinct from either an Asian or a Caucasian identity. Please send requests for further information, proposals of 250 to 500

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words, or completed papers to Carol Roh-Spaulding, English Department, Drake University, Des Moines, IA 50311; carol.spaulding@drake.edu. **Deadline:** Contact Carol Roh-Spaulding.

Conference Call. "Autobiography and Changing Identities." University of British Columbia. July 27–30, 2000. The conference will focus on autobiographies that involve significant displacement or reconstruction of "self" and identity on the part of the autobiographical subject. In particular, papers are sought that explore nonliterary as well as literary uses of the autobiographical. Please send 500 to 700 word proposals, with a short biographical note, to Eileen Oertwig, Secretary to the Dean of Arts, University of British Columbia, 1866 Main Mall, Vancouver, BC, Canada, V6T 1Z1 (oertwig@arts.ubc.ca). **Deadline:** March 1, 1999.

Conference Call. "Writing Southern Women's Lives." Wesleyan College. October 14–16, 1999. Proposals are sought for papers or panels that discuss writing about women's lives in the South, both in terms of who southern women are and how their lives are written. Of particular interest are proposals on the work of Nikki Giovanni (who will be the featured speaker at the conference), Georgia writers, and the relationship among women, writing, and country music. One or more sessions will be devoted to undergraduate papers. Send 500 word proposals or completed papers to Matthew R. Martin, English Department, Wesleyan College, 4760 Forsyth Road, Macon, GA 31210-4462 (mmartin@post.wesleyan-college.edu). **Deadline:** March 15, 1999.

A *Biography* Special Issue — The Biopic

The January 2000 issue of *Biography* (23.1) will explore the Biopic. Guest editor Glenn Man is looking for papers which address the theoretical, generic, historical, cultural, or technical aspects of representing or telling lives in film or video—from Hollywood spectaculars to indy films, from short subjects to A & E Biographies. Interdisciplinary and multicultural approaches are particularly welcome.

Manuscripts should be between 2,500 and 7,500 words; please submit two copies. Since *Biography* has a double-blind submission policy, the author's name should not appear anywhere on either copy, but in the cover letter. Send submissions to the Center for Biographical Research, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822 USA. For more information, contact the editor, Craig Howes, at biograph@hawaii.edu. Consultation on manuscript ideas is welcomed.

Deadline for submissions: August 1, 1999.

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Contributors

Noel Annan ("Keynes and the Bloomsbury Group"), who later became Provost of King's College, Cambridge, owed his Fellowship there to Keynes. Lord Annan's first publication was a life of Leslie Stephen, the father of Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf, and he has written extensively about the Bloomsbury group. He later became Vice-Chancellor of the University of London and a member of the House of Lords.

Marie-José Fassiotto, professor of French at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, has been the Reviews Editor of *Biography* since 1986.

Michael Fassiotto, dean of Faculty and Academic Support Services at Chaminade University, was Managing Editor of *Biography* from 1981 to 1986, and has been a Contributing Reviewer since 1987. George Simson chaired his Ph.D dissertation, "Finding Victorias/Reading Biographies."

Ian Finseth (Review of Collison, *Shadrach Minkins* and Von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns*) is a doctoral candidate in English at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His dissertation centers on the significance of the term "nature" for American and African American antislavery literature.

Anthony M. Friedson ("George Simson: A Grateful Summary"), Professor Emeritus of English, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, has been variously Reviews Editor, Literature Editor, Associate Editor, and—for one of George Simson's sabbatical years—Editor of *Biography.*

Johan Galtung ("A Multicultural Global Culture: Not a Question of When, But How"), former Distinguished Professor of Peace Studies at the University of Hawai'i, and the author of several hundred books and articles on the structure of international relations and cross-cultural understanding, is engaged in peaceful conflict transformation as president of TRANSCEND: A Peace and Development Network.

Michael Holroyd ("Carrington and Strachey") has written biographies of Lytton Strachey, Augustus John, and George Bernard Shaw. He is Chairman of the Royal Society of Literature in Britain, and is married to the novelist Margaret Drabble.

Carol L. Kaplan (Review of Lejeune, *Les Brouillons de Soi*) is Professor of French at California University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests have centered on the literacy universe of André Gide.

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Frederick R. Karl ("Writing George Eliot's Biography"), of the New York University faculty, is the author of four biographies as well as several studies of the novel and its contexts: *Modern and Modernism*, *American Fictions: 1940–1980*, and *The Adversary Literature*. He is the founding editor of the annual *Biography and Source Studies*.

Clinton Machann (Review of Buckton, *Secret Selves*) is Professor of English at Texas A & M University. His latest books are *The Genre of Autobiography in Victorian Literature* (U of Michigan P, 1994) and *Matthew Arnold: A Literary Life* (St. Martin's, 1998). His article "Religious Attitudes in Early Immigrant Autobiographies Written by Czechs in Texas" appeared in *MELUS* 22.4 (Winter 1997).

Patrick Maynard (Review of Hirsch, *Family Frames*) teaches philosophy at the University of Western Ontario and is the author of *The Engine of Visualization: Thinking Through Photography* (Cornell UP, 1997), coeditor of *Aesthetics* (Oxford, 1997), and guest editor of "Perspectives on the Arts and Technology," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 15 (1997). His most recent publication is an essay on children's drawing, in *Philosophical Topics* 25 (1998).

Gabriele Merle ("What I Know of George Simson"), Professor Emeritus at the University Denis-Diderot (Paris VII), has published in biography (*Lytton Strachey*, H. Champion, 1980, *Emile Combes*, Fayard, 1995) and lexicology (founder and co-editor of the journal *Néologie Lexicale*:, seven volumes on French and English neology, 1986–1997).

Stephen O'Harrow ("Babar and the *Mission Civilisatrice*"), Director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and Southeast Asia editor of *Biography* since 1989, rejoices in the tile of "Professor of Oriental Philology," which he happily notes is both accurate, in that it describes what he really does, and irritating to post-modernists in his field, who reject philology and use "Oriental" only in the pejorative.

Glenn D. Paige ("Gandhi as Leader"), Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, is founder and director of the Center for Global Nonviolence.

Gerald Peters (Review of Couser and Fichtelberg, *True Relations*) is Associate Professor of English at the University of Southern Maine. He is the author of *The Mutilating God: Authorship and Authority in the Narrative of Conversion* (U of Massachusetts P, 1993) and co-editor of *Autobiography and Postmodernism* (U of Massachusetts P, 1994). He is presently working on representations of multiple subjectivity in drama and fiction.

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Edward Seidensticker ("Autobiography") is Professor Emeritus of Japanese at Columbia University. He has written a study of the novelist Nagai Kafū, and translated *The Tale of Genji* and novels by Tanizaki Jun-ichirō, Kawabata Yasunari, and Mishima Yukio.

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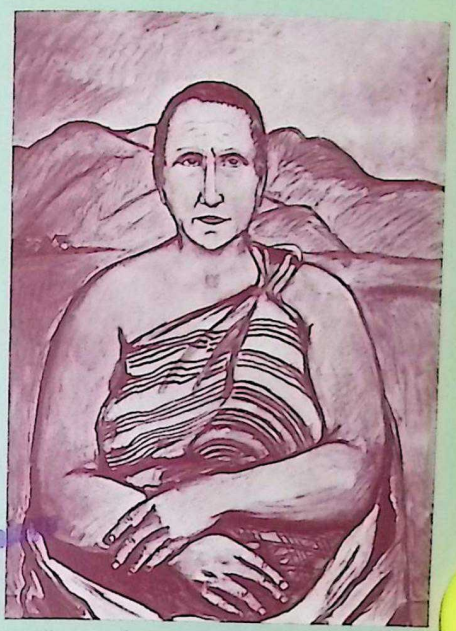

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Getting Modern: *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*

Carolyn A. Barros

Gertrude Stein's experimental writing is "gnomic, repetitive, illogical, sparsely punctuated"—Steinese.[1] Many of her works, like *Tender Buttons* and *Geography and Plays*, defy interpretation in the conventional sense. *Three Lives*, her most popular and readable work outside the autobiography, is centered on persons in distressed circumstances. Carl Van Vechten claims that in Stein hands it becomes a "study in the language, syntax, and rhythms of consciousness rather than in the effects of oppression, social or cosmic" (x). In concert with Van Vechten, Marianne DeKoven observes that Stein is seen by Stein scholars as the writer who reshaped not only the conventions of literature but also those of language (xiii). In this essay I claim that Gertrude Stein also changed the course of the history of autobiography. With *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Stein rejects the conversion narratives of Saint Augustine and John Henry Newman, the didactic treatises of John Bunyan, and the self-conscious confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to initiate a new kind of autobiographical discourse.[2] Stein effects this major shift to modernist autobiography by eschewing the romantic conception of the autobiographical subject—a self of feeling and internal motives—to construct herself as a modernist work of art comprised of multiple voices and portraits, which destroy what Stein herself called "associational emotion" (DeKoven 62).

As the title of her later volume suggests, the persons to whom Stein gives voice or those whose portraits she draws in the *Autobiography* are a cross section of *Everybody*—artistic geniuses or near geniuses or might-be geniuses of Paris, those married to or living with geniuses, and those enamored with

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art and art makers, old women from the Italian countryside, doughboys from the French war zone, and students from the lecture halls at Radcliffe and Oxford. When Stein gives voice to the persons in her text, they may tell us something about her attitudes, values, or beliefs, but they also perform the modernist autobiographical subject in the manner of an avant-garde chorus, a cacophony. When Stein draws their verbal portraits, these portraits mirror, refract, or stand in glaring contrast to the multifaceted Stein of the *Autobiography*. As multivocal performance and Cubist-style portrait, the "real" Gertrude Stein is "getting modern."

Performing the Modernist Self: Alice, Always Talking

Contemporaries who knew Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas may have recognized Miss Toklas's conversational style in the *Autobiography*. Today's readers have no such recollections upon which to draw. And yet, whether or not the narrator of this text sounds like Alice, in the *Autobiography* Alice is always talking. Or is she? Alice B. Toklas is the speaking voice Stein constructs to narrate the autobiography. This literary device is not original with Stein; as early as Xenophon autobiographers presented their life histories through the voices of fictive narrators. Carolyn Faunce Copeland claims, however, that she is unaware of any other autobiography that uses the voice of an actual living person as narrator (135).

Since discussion of the Alice narrator and the function of Stein's ventriloquist-like doubled voicing is now a commonplace in Stein criticism,[3] I will make only one new point here, provide a few examples, and then move on to Stein's verbal portraiture and its role in her modernist project. To enlarge on the notion of doubled voicing I mark out a variety of configurations that the Alice narrator voice takes. Since no one, neither Alice nor Gertrude, can know Gertrude Stein inside, she can keep "Alice always talking" about the *outside*, a Gertrude Stein of constantly changing tones, rhythms, dialects, and idioms, by multiplying rather than just doubling the voices.

For purposes of discussion, I label the "Alice, Always Talking" voice "Gertrude Stein/Alice," to indicate the constructed narrator of the *Autobiography*.[4] I choose "Alice" rather than "Miss Toklas," even though most persons in the

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text refer to her in this way, because the Gertrude Stein of the text usually says "Alice," and the Alice of the text almost always says "Gertrude Stein." (Actually Alice called Stein "lovey" and "baby" [Adams 21].) The "Alice, Always Talking" voice appears in at least these five configurations:

(1) Gertrude Stein/Alice, the present narrating voice of the text;
(2) Gertrude Stein/Alice-Alice, the narrating voice quoting Alice;
(3) Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude, the narrating voice quoting Gertrude;
(4) Gertrude Stein/Alice-Someone Else, the narrating voice quoting someone else; and
(5) Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude/Someone Else, the narrating voice quoting Stein quoting someone else.

These are the many voices that Stein constructs to "perform" herself. They provide unique characterizations of persons through voice that are different from those of her earlier, experimental work. With this earlier work the experimental voices are the "abstract essence" of a character's consciousness translated into patterns of language. Persons are translated into speech rather than revealed by it (DeKoven 38). In the *Autobiography*, a part of her later work, the voices are the essence of the person translated in *and* revealed by speech. "Alice, Always Talking" is Gertrude Stein always talking—translating and revealing—but from an artistic distance. While the entire text can be seen as an experiment in the presentation of a multivocal subject, I limit my discussion of these doubled, layered, intersecting voices to one example of each configuration.

The Gertrude Stein/Alice Voice

The Gertrude Stein/Alice (Always Talking) voice is the least complex of Stein's vocal configurations, but that is not to say it is a simple construction. As the present narrating voice of Alice, this doubled voice provides the narrative continuity of the text; it tells the "what happens" of the *Autobiography*. To draw on the modernist image mentioned earlier, Gertrude Stein/Alice is like a ventriloquist and her puppet. Alice sits on Gertrude's lap, and Gertrude puts words into her mouth and causes her to speak in unassuming, humorous, and trustworthy tones.

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Alice is not "standing in" for Gertrude; Gertrude is making Alice perform Gertrude.

Gertrude Stein/Alice tells about what happens to Gertrude Stein before she comes to Paris, and what happens in Paris prior to Alice's arrival. Gertrude Stein/Alice tells of what happens in Paris before the war: the excitement of the spring and autumn salons, dinner parties and celebrations, the heroic age of cubism. Gertrude Stein/Alice also tells about the war, and of their lives after the war when they returned to a changed Paris. According to this double-voiced Alice narrator, her life did not really begin until she met Gertrude Stein, "and so life in Paris began and as all roads lead to Paris, all of us are now there, and I can begin to tell what happened when I was of it" (86). It is in Paris, then, that the two lives/voices converge.

The most significant—and the most famous—thing that the Gertrude Stein/Alice narrator tells us about Stein is that she is a genius:

> Only three times in my life have I met a genius and each time a bell within me rang and I was not mistaken, and I may say in each case it was before there was any general recognition of the quality of genius in them. The three geniuses of whom I wish to speak are Gertrude Stein, Pablo Picasso and Alfred Whitehead. (5)

When visitors crowd their Paris atelier to view Stein's art collection, Alice sits with the wives, and the wives who are not wives, of geniuses, while Gertrude the genius converses with the other geniuses. The frivolous conversation between Alice and Fernande—all about hats—contrasts sharply with the countless serious conversations Stein has with other geniuses. While the Gertrude Stein/Alice narrator leaves no doubt that Stein is a genius who causes bells to ring in Alice's head, Stein's attention to a detailed description of the "wives," from Fernande with her large, beautiful, yellow hat to Madam Matisse with her broken guitar, gives indication, yet again, that *everybody's* voice is of interest to Stein.[5]

Gertrude Stein/Alice-Alice

This narrating voice appears whenever "Alice" quotes herself. The triple voice effects an "Alice, Always Talking" who pauses

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for a moment to recall what she said in the past. The Gertrude Stein/Alice-Alice voice strengthens the present narrating voice by adding immediacy and authenticity. Pausing in the midst of the narrative to recall a prior narrative, this recounting, first-person "I" is imitating what actual narrators do. Instances of the narrator quoting herself are marked by phrases like, "There, said I . . ." or "I insisted" or "so said I." To return to the ventriloquist image, Alice sits on Gertrude's lap, and Gertrude makes Alice pause in her story to say something that Stein wants her to say she said in the past. We have no way of knowing whether Alice is being quoted literally or if Stein is relating what Alice might have said. Either way, Alice and Alice quoting herself are vocal constructs Stein employs to speak herself.

Returning to Paris after extended stays in England and Mallorca because of the war, the two decide to "get into the war," or at least, Gertrude Stein/Alice-Alice decides. As they are walking down the rue des Pyramides they see a Ford car driven by an American girl. Painted on the side of the car are the words, "American Fund for French Wounded":

> There, said I, that is what we are going to do. At least, said I to Gertrude Stein, you will drive the car and I will do the rest. (168)

The Gertrude Stein/Alice-Alice voice tells us that Alice is patriotic, perhaps even more so than Stein, and that she has "taken charge" of the decision to enter the war. Immediately, however, the "I" voice shifts to "we." This mutual voice tells us that their patriotism and their love of France is shared and that Alice hardly exists apart from Gertrude, since "we" is used as often as "I" when "Alice" quotes herself.[6] This Gertrude Stein/Alice-Alice voice lends authenticity to the narrating voice, halts the incessant rhythm of Alice's storytelling voice, and introduces another layer of complexity to Stein's autobiographical subject.

Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude

The Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude voice is the "Alice, Always Talking" voice who quotes Gertrude Stein. Looping back on itself, this twice-turned voice is comparable to Alice, sitting on Gertrude's lap, with Gertrude making Alice say something that Gertrude said at an earlier time. Phrases like "or so Gertrude

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Stein says," "she has often said," or "she always says," mark these statements. This voice is dead sure of itself, matter-of-fact; it matches the solidarity of the persona that the Gertrude Stein/Alice narrator has described throughout the *Autobiography*. It is direct and opinionated. It says to Ronnebeck, "I like you alright but I don't like germans" (102). It is humorous. It says to her brother, as they acquire their first Cézanne from Vollard, "it is all nonsense, there is no Cézanne" (31). The voice is critical. It tells Hemingway, "Hemingway, remarks are not literature" (77). The voice can be arrogant. Gertrude is quoted as telling William James, the noted philosopher and her professor at Radcliffe, "I am so sorry but really I do not feel a bit like an examination paper in philosophy to-day," and as claiming Henry James, his brother, as her "literary father" (78). The Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude voice is proud. In responding to the accusation of having inordinate pride, "she says yes of course. She realises that in english literature in her time she is the only one. She has always known it and now she says it" (77).

The most confident of the Gertrude quotes is "I write for myself and strangers" (70). This statement is taken from *The Making of Americans* and repeated by Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude in the *Autobiography*. Stein is not talking to Alice or to Pablo Picasso or to Carl Van Vechten. She is speaking to unknown readers. To return to the ventriloquist image, it is Gertrude Stein making Alice read to us from a book that Stein wrote for herself and for strangers. It tells us that Stein is writing for those she does not know and who do not as yet know her through her work. This confident, self-assured voice is certain that both she and the strangers will be pleased.

Gertrude Stein/Alice-Someone Else

These voices appear when the Gertrude Stein/Alice narrator quotes someone else directly—Pablo Picasso, Mildred Aldrich, William Cook, or Henri Matisse, for example. They are easily identified by phrases like "as Picasso's wife said" or "William Cook said." They are more difficult to distinguish when they seem to be coming to Gertrude Stein/Alice through Gertrude but are presented as if Alice overhears Gertrude's every conversation. These instances are indicated by phrases like "he said under his breath to Gertrude Stein" or "how often have I heard Picasso say."

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When Picasso, who had been working steadily on Stein's portrait, one day suddenly paints out the whole of her head, the Gertrude Stein/Alice-Picasso voice says irritably, "I can't see you any longer when I look" (53). Several years later, when Alice tells Picasso that she likes Picasso's portrait of Stein, Picasso is quoted as responding, "Yes, he said, everybody says that she does not look like it but that does not make any difference, she will, he said" (12). Picasso, as heard through the narrating voice of Alice as her voice is constructed by Stein, tells us that he is truly an artistic innovator, that he can paint what Gertrude Stein will become. In associating Picasso's voice with that of Alice, Stein echoes Alice's earlier statement on Stein's genius and provides her autobiographical subject with depth and range. Not only "Alice," but important others *speak* Gertrude Stein. Alice sits on Gertrude's lap holding "Picasso," and with Stein's assistance, makes him sing Gertrude's praises.

Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude/Someone Else

These voices appear when the narrator is relating what Gertrude Stein says that someone else told her. The distancing is now at the fourth level. Alice, sitting on Stein's lap, is made to quote Gertrude, who in turn, quotes someone else. These few instances are usually prefaced by a direct address to Stein, "Mademoiselle Gertrude," simply "Gertrude," or "mio cela," as Picasso would say. Not all the Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude/Someone Else voices are as mutually gratifying as Picasso's. The Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude/Matisse voice speaks of a "wicked" Stein. Stein makes Alice, her storyteller, give over her storytelling role to Gertrude, whose story about the dinner party in which she arranged each guest to face his own painting is interrupted by the Matisse voice: "Mademoiselle Gertrude, the world is a theatre for you, but there are theatres and theatres, and when you listen so carefully to me and so attentively and do not hear a word I say then I do say that you are very wicked" (15). This voice speaks another side of Stein, a Stein who delights in her "little arrangements," and who gradually drifts away from the early friendship with the Matisses to become a "Picassoite." As Alice tells us, "Matisse still came frequently to the rue de Fleurus but there was no longer any frankness of intercourse between them all" (65).

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While this twice-doubled voice functions as proof of Stein's loyalties, it also serves to extend the range of possibilities for the voice(s) of the modernist autobiographical subject.

Chorus to My Self

The voice of the romantic autobiographical subject is monological: even as it is talking to others, it is turned inward. The voice of the postmodern subject is dialogical. It is dependent on the reader's "revoicing" for its existence. But the voice of Stein's modernist subject is performative. "Alice, Always Talking" is a chorus of ventriloquist voices that "perform" Gertrude Stein—what she does and what she says, and what others say about her.

Marking out the five vocal configurations of the "Alice, Always Talking" narrator is not without its problems. Alice always knows too much. She tells stories of times and places of which she could have no knowledge. In manipulating the reader across these passages, Stein is not constrained by the limits of Alice's knowledge, but rather, as Carolyn Copeland notes, "simply ignores that conventional limitation and permits an eyewitness who was not there" to relate the necessary material (132). Since Alice's and Gertrude's voices blur into each other, and since Stein frustrates our ability to distinguish them by omitting all indicative quotation marks, what the voices perform together is a cacophonic version of Gertrude Stein. Alice sits on Gertrude's lap and from her mouth pours forth a multitude of other voices. Individually, the voices perform Gertrude Stein. Alice says she is a genius. Picasso says she is his best friend. Matisse says she is wicked. Collectively, these voices all perform Gertrude Stein as a modernist autobiographical subject—polyrhythmic, dissonant, atonal. The *Autobiography* becomes a "Chorus to My Self."

Drawing Others Drawing the Self

As further evidence of her rejection of the romantic subject and the radical shift to modernist autobiography, Gertrude Stein adds to the subject as verbal performance the autobiographical subject as portrait. In the main, the extensive critical literature has dealt with the differing styles across Stein's portrait oeuvre.[7] I focus on how her portraiture functions in the *Autobiography*.

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Throughout the text Stein draws verbal portraits of the persons in her milieu—sometimes only brief sketches, at other times more detailed ones. Portraits are begun, interrupted, and picked up again. There are portraits of "little people" and portraits of the most significant persons in Stein's life.[8] Some portraits extend throughout the text, as Stein adds more and finer detail to initial glimpses; others are simply names, single-word portraits that by their very sight and sound conjure up images of the persons and their relationships to Stein.

Like other modernist artists, working in a variety of media, Stein is concerned with creating a "work of art." By turning to the genre of autobiography to realize this aim, and thus making *herself* the artistic subject, Stein both shows herself to be a modernist and creates herself as a modernist work of art. In the manner of Cubist painting, Stein's portraits not only serve as views of the persons who peopled her existence, but when assembled together, also comprise the multifaceted modernist autobiographical subject. Her series of portraits reflect, refract, cut across, and in the process create, the constantly transforming portrait of Gertrude Stein.

Stein's relationship with the Cubists, and their influence on her work are common knowledge. What is less often discussed are Stein's own ideas about the origins of Cubism. Most art historians acknowledge the influence of archaic and primitive sculpture, particularly that of west Africa, on the Cubists, but Stein, at least as far as Picasso was concerned, identifies two prior influences. The first was the impact of his native land. Stein recalls three Picasso landscapes, painted during a vacation with Fernande to Spain, as "the beginning of cubism." In these paintings, Stein found "no african sculpture influence." The real inspiration was the interplay between building and land:

> But the essential thing, the treatment of the houses was essentially spanish and therefore essentially Picasso. In these pictures he first emphasised the way of building in spanish villages, the line of the houses not following the landscape but cutting across and into the landscape, becoming undistinguishable in the landscape by cutting across the landscape. (89–90)

And yet, although the force of place was so strong that Gertrude Stein/Alice-Gertrude declares that "Gertrude Stein always says

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that cubism is a purely spanish conception and only spaniards can be cubists and that the only real cubism is that of Picasso and Juan Gris" (91), the technical inspiration of Cézanne on these landscapes proves more crucial to Stein's own art. "There was very evidently a strong Cézanne influence" to be seen in the paintings, "particularly the influence of the late Cézanne water colours, the cutting up the sky not in cubes but in spaces" (89). Cézanne's principles of pictorial geometry instructed artists to see nature in terms of the cylinder, the sphere, and the cone. Following Cézanne's injunction, the Cubists began shifting from imitating nature to imposing geometric forms upon it. Coined by Matisse, the term "cubism" was used disparagingly—"*avec les petits cubes*"—about the paintings of Georges Braque, who had, as Stein tells us, left Matisse's school to become a Picassoite. Here again, the *Autobiography* differs from the general view. Art historians generally attribute the origination of Cubism to both Picasso and Braque; Stein insists that Braque, Derain, and Gris *become* Picassoites or Cubists, but that in these landscapes Picasso was the first, "the only one in which it is all there" (22):

> Picasso created it and Juan Gris permeated it with his clarity and his exaltation. . . . And so cubism came little by little but it came. (92)

Landscapes continued to interest Gertrude Stein. Her work in *Operas and Plays* draws on the notion that everything she saw was a natural phenomenon, a landscape.

For Stein's portrait writing, however, a number of Picasso's cubist works were far more influential than the landscapes. At this same time, Picasso began "to paint some heads that seemed cut out in planes" (92), and with *Les Demoiselles d' Avignon* in 1907 Picasso achieves the representation of three-dimensional objects on a two-dimensional surface by means of overlapping planes. By 1912 Picasso, Braque, and Gris are introducing real materials or painted facsimiles into their works in what is now known as collage.

Surrounded by such influences, "This is how portrait writing began" (113). As was often the case on Sunday evenings, Alice was preparing an American-style dinner that she always insisted on serving hot. When Alice calls Gertrude to dinner, Gertrude

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> came in much excited and would not sit down. Here I want to show you something, she said. No I said it has to be eaten hot. No, she said, you have to see this first. . . . It was the portrait called Ada, the first in Geography and Plays. I began it and I thought she was making fun of me and I protested, she says I protest now about my autobiography. . . . This was the beginning of the long series of portraits. She has written portraits of practically everybody she has known, and written them in all manners and in all styles. (113–14)

The term "portrait" is generally applied to spatial presentation/representation of a subject, drawn, painted, photographed, or sculpted. By using "portrait" to characterize her narratives, Stein seems to be suggesting that the essence of the subject can be captured in words, that "words, like other materials of the literary medium, become useful to the artist, assume a character purely aesthetic, in proportion as they can be converted from bearers of established meaning and unconscious association into plastic entities" (Dupee xii–xiii).

Although the Alice narrator tells us that Gertrude Stein "always however made her chief study people and therefore the never ending series of portraits," her interest in people shifts from "what went on inside them" (what she called the "internal") to a "desire to express the rhythm of the visible world" (the external). This does not mean that she no longer concerns herself with human beings; rather, like Picabia the painter, she believes that "if you do not solve your painting problem in painting human beings you do not solve it at all" (119). Stein struggles with how to present the human being in language without falling back on explanations tied to subconscious or internal motivations, with how to translate "the abstract essence of a character's consciousness into patterns of language"—what she calls a "Master-piece."[9] And this is the radical shift I see Stein effecting in the history of autobiography: the shift from *Confessions* to Master-piece,[10] from a torrid tale of Rousseau's wounded feelings and personal misfortunes to a work of art, that "unitary, sacred product," "that object one must construct for a mercantile society." Or as Roland Barthes further puts it, "one must end up with a work, an *oeuvre*: one must construct, i.e., *complete*, a piece of merchandise."[11]

In a manner similar to the Cubists, Stein takes an experimental approach to the construction of autobiography

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and the autobiographical subject. Her "Master-piece," the portrait she draws of herself, is nonillusionistic and nonimitative. While the text of *The Autobiography* is a two-dimensional artifact, Stein creates a multifaceted and multidimensional effect by drawing a collage of verbal portraits that cut into and across her modernist life-narrative. Like Braque, Gris, and Derain, she becomes a Picassoite (18).[12] As artist she adopts their principles in her writing; as work of art she is a self of surfaces, of over-lapping planes and intersections—the portraits of Mildred Aldrich, Alfred North Whitehead, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, Juan Gris, Ernest Hemingway, Mabel Dodge, Carl Van Vechten. And, always, Alice. With the *Autobiography* Stein works as an experimentalist even as she constructs herself as an experimentalist work of art.[13]

Though Stein constructs all her narrative portraits to complete herself as Master-piece, it is important to note the differences between those included in the *Autobiography* and those Stein published as separate works. If, for instance, we compare the portrait of *Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* with Mabel's portrait in the *Autobiography*,[14] we discover two very different styles. *Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* is an experimental piece. "Mabel Dodge" may be the title of the portrait, but it is not a piece that refers to Mabel in the traditional sense. In fact, the portrait defies a referential reading: *Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* is "semi-grammatical," not sensible, orderly, or clear. Yet the piece is not devoid of meaning. Many of its phrases are "meaningful, readable, suggestive, resonant, with irreducibly multiple connectives among their lexical meanings" (DeKoven 10). The same is often true about the other "stand-alone" portraits written by Stein. They cannot be characterized with a general set of descriptions; they are truly done in all manners and styles.

In contrast, the Mabel Dodge portrait and the other portraits in the *Autobiography* are not experimental or avant-garde in the radical sense of obstructing our normal reading of them. Even if it is only the record of a stranger passing through Stein's atelier, each is "informed and determined by the . . . information it conveys." These verbal portraits, as they are woven into the overall narrative of the *Autobiography*, function in at least two ways: (1) each portrait presents a different *face* of Gertrude Stein as it reflects or refracts her views, values, attitudes, and

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achievements, and (2) each contributes to her experimental project, a modernist Gertrude Stein, a veritable *vernissage*.

Naming as Portraiture

"But to return to the pictures," as Alice is always saying (10). Gertrude Stein's *Autobiography* is filled with names: Guillaume Apollinaire, Marie Laurencin, Douanier Rousseau, Picabia, Fernande, Mabel Dodge, Etta and Claribel Cone, Emma Nevada and Pablo Casals, Frederic of the Lapin Agile and the University of the Apaches, Bravig Imbs, Miss Furr and Miss Skeene, Evelyn Thaw, Sagot the ex-clown, Mildred Aldrich, Marcel Brion, Miss Mars and Miss Squires, Roger Fry and Wyndham Lewis, André Salmon, Alfy Maurer, Henry McBride, Constance Fletcher, William Cook, John Lane, Bernard Faÿ, Lady Ottoline Morrell, Infanta Eulalia, Avery Hopwood, Carl Van Vechten, and Alice B. Toklas. The list of provocative and evocative names goes on and on. There are no John Smiths or Jane Does in the *Autobiography*.

These names give the sense that life at 27 rue de Fleurus is bustling with varied and interesting persons. They also offer some indication of how much Gertrude Stein loved the sound and sight of the names of people. For example, in chapter three, one of the more bustling chapters, sixty-four different names are mentioned; around two hundred names appear in chapter five.

Some of the persons in the text make their appearance *only* as names. Their portraits are so tiny that they seem to do no more than occupy the space of the letters. In her earlier experimental work, Stein had used words to translate the "abstract essence" of the character into patterns of speech. Her repetitious use of names in the *Autobiography* borrows from this idea and adds to it. The names also reveal the essence of a person in a place as each reappearance recalls an earlier encounter, the names increasing in significance as they pass through different and successive contexts. Sagot the ex-clown is a name that appears and reappears. Having no particular place in the narrative, his real function may be the sound of his name and the sight of the space it fills in Stein's portrait. Sagot's gallery is in Montmartre. Each time his name appears we recall the early days of the Cubists, when Stein climbed the hill to sit for her portrait in Picasso's studio, or when she and Alice went to a dinner party for Rousseau, when "they were all there."

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Like the letters and words the Cubists inserted in their paintings during the synthetic period, the name "Sagot the ex-clown" adds these surfaces to Stein's textual portrait.

There are also the names of the wives of geniuses that Alice "sat with":

> I began with Fernande and then there were Madame Matisse and Marcelle Braque and Josette Gris and Eve Picasso and Bridget Gibb and Marjory Gibb and Hadley and Pauline Hemingway and Mrs. Sherwood Anderson and Mrs. Bravig Imbs and the Mrs. Ford Madox Ford. (87)

As Norris observes when contrasting Stein's treatment of wives and geniuses, although Fernande and Madame Matisse are portrayed in some detail, and in fact, Fernande is her model for Melanctha in *Three Lives* (87), many of the other wives appear to have no function beyond mirroring the images (and the sight and sound of the names) of their genius husbands, as they in turn mirror the genius of Gertrude Stein.

Then there are the names in duets: Etta and Claribel Cone, Emma Nevada and Pablo Casals, Miss Squires and Miss Mars and their fictive counterparts Miss Furr and Miss Skeene. Some of these duo-portraits are more fully developed, as their names occupy verbal space and include information about their transformations. At one glimpse Etta Cone is Gertrude Stein's first typist in Paris. At another, she is Dr. Claribel Cone's sister. Finally, the two become collectors of Picasso's drawings and Claribel becomes the subject of one of Picasso's portraits. Name duets are powerful marks in the *Autobiography*. Etta and Claribel Cone, like Miss Mars and Miss Squires (Miss Furr and Miss Skeene), and Alice B. Toklas and Gertrude Stein are inseparable.

Be it Pablo Piccaso, Alfred North Whitehead, Mildred Aldrich, Etta and Claribel Cone, or Sagot the ex-clown, at each repetition of a name in a new context the prior portrait is joined with yet another. Further, the Stein persona as well is given one more facce to turn to the reader, as the reader recalling these faces in their relationships to Stein and what they tell us about her, finds Stein transformed. Stein's critics who believe that using words as plastic entities subtracts from her art fail to consider how with these word-names Stein succeeds where she had failed in her earlier, non-grammatical work. She "restores to the single word the integrity it loses in assimilation to the sentence" (DeKoven 119).

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Cameos

Stein can draw multidimensional portraits with a word; she can also draw them with a sentence. She liked to "set a sentence for herself as a sort of tuning fork and metronome and then write to that time and tune" (206). Some of Stein's best portraits in the *Autobiography* are one-sentence "Master-pieces": brief glimpses of persons who, in passing through the narrative, capture our attention by a unique characteristic, behavior, or remark. I will refer to these one-sentence portraits as "cameos."

Epstein, the sculptor, "was a thin rather beautiful rather melancholy ghost who used to slip in and out among the Rodin statues in the Luxembourg museum" (125). Lady Ottoline Morrell came to the atelier "looking like a marvellous feminine version of Disraeli and tall and strange shyly hesitating at the door" (123). Stein named their little Ford "Auntie" after her aunt Pauline "who always behaved admirably in emergencies and behaved fairly well most times if she were properly flattered" (172). Stein's landlady in Florence "looked exactly like a lady-in-waiting to Mary Stuart and with all her trailing black robes genuflected before every Catholic symbol and would then climb up a precipitous ladder and open a window in the roof to look at the stars" (55). Moreas, the Greek poet, "was as well known then as Guillaume Apollinaire was later, to pay rarely or rather not at all" (97). The Bryn Mawr woman was "the wife of a well known portrait painter, who was very tall and beautiful and having once fallen on her head had a strange vacant expression" (50). Georges Braque is the painter who notes that life has changed: "we all now have cooks who can make a souffle" (7). Osbert Sitwell, brother to Edith Sitwell the literary critic, "had that pleasant kindly irresponsible agitated calm that an uncle of an english king always must have" (234). Alice Princet "had the brutal thumbs that of course were a characteristic of workingmen" (23). Frederic of the Lapin Agile and the University of Apaches "wandered in with his usual companion a donkey, was given a drink and wandered out again" (106).

Stein's cameo portraits add souffles and donkeys, poets, painters and paintings, relatives and visitors to her textual canvas. They bring surprise and movement to Stein's modernist life portrait. There is movement inside the sentence portraits.

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Epstein slips among the statues; Lady Otoline Morrell hesitates shyly at the door; Braques's cook makes souffles; Aunt Pauline behaves if flattered. There is also movement between the sentence portraits. At the appearance of each new cameo, Stein carries us off to another person or shifts to another place or time. Like the word portraits, the sentence portraits set unique rhythms for the movement in Stein's self-portrait. As she tells us in *Operas and Plays*, "It moves, but it also stays."

Portraits of Association: Great and Small

A third group of *Autobiography* portraits are what I call "portraits of association." Beyond their obvious personal connections with Stein, they can be seen as portraits of association in the aesthetic sense. Associationism, a theory of explanatory psychology that emphasizes the concept of association as a way to assess a person's mental and emotional reactions, was an important part of Stein's education in psychology under William James.[15] But Stein adapts to the service of her art strategies designed for exploring the internal and unconscious, and adapts associationist psychology to deal with both her problem of the human and her "desire to express the rhythm of the visible world." Stein's artistic subjects are made to appear as if by "association." Some portraits seem to derive from others next to them, in the manner of a word association test. Others become reflections or distortions of earlier portraits, much like the mirrors in a carnival funhouse or a mental patient's fragmented views of reality. Like the old woman leading a little black pig, decorated with red ribbon, up the hills of Assisi (88), such portraits comprise the day-to-day backdrop against which the lives of Stein and Toklas are played out.

California and Iowa, two doughboys detailed to fix up Stein's "Fund for the French Wounded" car, are portraits of America's place in the war. Maddalena, the old Italian cook who cured Stein's hiccoughs, is Italy in the summer. John Lane is the publishing establishment; Ronnebeck is the impending war with Germany. Fernande is the day-to-day side of the Paris scene—"hats, perfumes, furs." Andrew Green is life's little irritants. As a work of art, Stein's own portrait reflects and refracts off these background images and is transformed by them. In glaring contrast to Andrew Green, she is anything but

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"dull." Like Iowa and California and unlike Ronnebeck, she is loyal and patriotic; she becomes a war volunteer. Her experience of Paris is very different from Fernande's. She sees art; Fernande sees hats. Maddalena's Italy is the sun and heat and vacations that Stein loves, and the joy she derives from meeting a variety of interesting people. Stein's portraits of the "little people" are therefore portraits of "nobodies" to most everyone except Stein.

While the Stein persona of the *Autobiography* is at home everywhere and seems to know no strangers, she also likes to think of herself in the company of "the big people": Alfred North Whitehead, William James, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, Jean Cocteau, Andre Gide, Alfred Stieglitz and Alvin Langdon Coburn, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, Erik Satie and Virgil Thomson, and Isadora Duncan. Stein's life-narrative is packed with "big people"—people important to the important people in Stein's generation.

The "big people" portraits reiterate Stein's genius and the magnitude of her achievements. She can discuss philosophy with Whitehead and James. Teamed with Sherwood Anderson she can make Ernest Hemingway—their protégé though he doesn't like to admit it—look ridiculous. She finds an evening with Andre Gide dull. She can call Ezra Pound "a village explainer" and make fun of Eliot by entitling his portrait the "fifteenth of November." She collaborates with Thomson on opera compositions and films. Isadora Duncan and all her relatives show up at Stein's atelier to see her art collection.

Unlike the portraits of the "little people," who seem to be interesting to Stein in and of themselves, the portraits of the "big people" are important because of what the persons have achieved, and because Stein, by association, has either reached or surpassed their levels of achievement. The movement in these portraits of association is somewhat different from the others, and it is effected by the change in Stein's professional status. Her initial encounters with the "big people" are written after the fact and from the perspective of maturity. This is true with all the portraits, of course, but with the "big people," this gives Stein the "upper hand" of the successful, published writer and genius art collector. Thus, the "big people" seem to stay where they are, while Stein "moves up"—gets "bigger."

Stein offers a somewhat different view of her relationship to persons of status in "A Transatlantic Interview":

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> After all, to me one human being is as important as another human being. . . . In *The Making of Americans* . . . my intention was to cover every possible variety of human type in it. . . . I wanted each one to have the same value. I was not at all interested in the little or big men but to realize absolutely every variety of human experience that it was possible to have, every type, every style and nuance. (16)

Ordinary people and public figures—here, she seems to want to include them all, as if she were afraid some "type" might be forgotten, some association missed. It is not really the case, however, that Stein is afraid that she will forget someone. She is not so concerned with including *everybody*, as with portraying herself in terms of everybody's characteristics and attributes. The importance of the portraits of association, then, is ultimately to provide the narrative with an entire range of human types, which nevertheless coalesces into one. Gertrude Stein is *everybody*, as she/they can be expressed in language.

Extended Portraits

Extended portraits may thread through a section or chapter; others may extend through the entire text. The portrait of Wilhelm Uhde is one of the most complex. In the space of five pages Uhde makes six different appearances and turns a number of faces to our view (95–99). One face is an art collector. Another is a german, perhaps a spy. One glimpse suggests a young man of low morals, another a desire for respectability. One face is a proud husband of a new wife, another pokes fun at his ex-wife's stupidity. From each of his six appearances, we learn more about Uhde, but we also learn how Stein creates the multiperspectival modernist autobiographical subject. Across the six planes of Uhde's face, Stein draws twenty other portraits that appear and reappear thirty-two times to intersect her portrait of Uhde.[16] Unlike Picasso's *Portrait of Uhde* (1909–10) in which, as John Richardson remarks, Uhde's "prissy Prussian air [is] immortalized in the prissy little mouth of Picasso's portrait" (390), Stein's portrait is of a face(s) that is mirrored, fractured, and refracted off thirty-two other surfaces.[17]

"But to return to Uhde," as Alice invites at each interruption. The returns, however, are never full returns; each time we return to Uhde we gaze upon a different face that is itself glimpsed across from and alongside overchanging faces. Stein effects

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the radical shift from romantic to modernist autobiography by appropriating what she calls the "landscape." The romantic subject, with its focus on self-consciousness, internal motives, and emotions, is replaced by the subject as *landscape*, in which the surfaces of the self, like Picasso's Spanish landscapes, are viewed across many planes and across the planes that cut across and into those planes. Uhde's story is the same story told from different angles, planes, and perspectives. It is also part of a larger story—Gertrude Stein's.

Unlike the portrait of Uhde, which is confined to five pages, the portrait of Mildred Aldrich extends throughout the *Autobiography*. The same of course could be said of the portrait of Pablo Picasso, since the number of times Stein mentions him—Picasso's name appears on 75 of the *Autobiography's* 252 pages—speaks to the importance of his place in Gertrude Stein's modernist life. I choose Mildred Aldrich's portrait because although she is a successful writer, she is less endowed with the god-like traits that Stein gives to her geniuses—Picasso, Matisse, and the others—and thus reflections off Mildred's portrait illuminate Stein's more ordinary human qualities.

Stein tells us that when she first began portrait writing, she published a different, self-contained portrait of Mildred, one of the early twenty-five composed between 1908 and 1912. Stein's portrait of Mildred in the *Autobiography*, however, is comprised of eighteen different verbal portraits. The first glimpse Stein gives us of Mildred is as "introducer." Mildred brings groups of Americans to Stein's Saturday evenings: Mabel Dodge, Henry McBride, Myra Edgerly, Constance Fletcher, Jo Davidson, and Carl Van Vechten, the editor and publisher. Mildred's most important introduction, however, does not take place in the atelier, but in her apartment on the rue Boissonade. "On the day that the hero of *The Making of Americans* dies," Mildred introduces Gertrude to Alice (113).

One successive portrait shows Mildred as "a stout vigorous woman with a George Washington face" whose white hair and "admirably clean fresh clothes and gloves" should make one "very satisfied with one's country." Another portrait shows Mildred living on the rue Boissonade on the top floor and always dropping her keys down the stairwell. An excellent housekeeper, she adores cablegrams and being hard up (or rather spending money). She borrows money that she repays

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with gifts worth five times as much. And she hates canaries. As a favor to a friend who has gone on a trip, she keeps her canary. Thinking Mildred likes canaries, another friend gives her another. Of course, she takes very good care of them, and soon there are many canaries. The cage in her window is replaced with larger and larger ones. But when Mildred moves to the Hilltop on the Marne in 1914, she gives all the canaries away, telling everyone that the country cats would eat them. Her real reason, as she tells Alice, is that "she really could not bear canaries" (120).

Another portrait shows Mildred as liking Picasso and Matisse *personally*, but wondering if their work is not all just "fumisterie," even though she knows that Gertrude approves, and "Gertrude knows" (121). At another point Mildred is troubled that Stein is not in *Who's Who in America* or published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mildred wishes "Gertrude were not so outlawed," because "if Gertrude Stein did it it had something in it that was worthwhile" (195). In a portrait taken at Hilltop on the Marne, just before the war, Stein draws Mildred not as unhappy, but rather sad, for "in short, in this spring and early summer of nineteen fourteen the old life was over" (142). Stein's portrait of Mildred during the war shows her gaining her greatest acclaim by publishing two little books about her experiences in the war zone, *A Hilltop on the Marne* and *On the Edge of the War Zone*. Since many Americans were eager to popularize the war at home and publicize what famous Americans abroad were contributing to the war effort, Mildred's books immediately became best sellers (Copeland 93).

The portrait of Mildred after the war shows her changed in status and appearance—as a successful author she earns royally and spends royally, but we soon learn that, having spent "royally," she is "falling upon bad days" (236). When Stein encourages William Cook to help, he gives her a blank check, telling her to "use that as much as you need for Mildred you know my mother loved to read her books" (162). Stein sees to it that Mildred is awarded the Legion of Honour, since "no one else had done as much propaganda for France as she had by her books which everybody in America read" (205).

Two brief glimpses complete Gertrude Stein's portraits of Mildred Aldrich. William Cook and Gertrude visit Mildred during her last illness (237), for Alice tells us that "even in the

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days of her very greatest glory she loved a visit from Gertrude Stein better than a visit from anybody else" (194). The final glimpse mentions a recording of "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine" which Stein plays whenever she and Alice visit the Hilltop on the Marne (239).

The eighteen portraits of Mildred Aldrich range from a tangential mention of her name in relation to some very good wine to detailed descriptions of her physical characteristics, idiosyncrasies, achievements, loyal friendship, and support of Stein's work. Taken *separately*, each verbal portrait is metonymic, presenting the "whole truth" of Mildred in its grasp of her "essence through language." Each portrait fills the space of the entire canvas. Mildred is always Mildred dropping her keys. Mildred is always Mildred spending royally. Mildred is always Mildred knowing that "Gertrude knows."

But taken *together*, the eighteen portraits are Mildred Aldrich in motion—a language collage. She may change from "born and bred new englander" to look like a "french peasant," but she is ever "new englander." As the portrait progresses, all former views of Mildred must be retained. From any perspective, she is all she is, and if we could hold all these perspectives in our "mind's eye," we could see her all at once, in the way we view Cubist paintings, where the multidimensional is made visible in two-dimensional space. Of course, we cannot "see" Mildred in quite this way. The nature of language and the limitations of our minds prevent it. Yet Stein, as she redraws verbal space by stretching the limits of language, can evoke the sense of a multidimensional verbal space for her readers.

Stein's portraits of Mildred Aldrich not only distort verbal space but also overturn our expectations of autobiographical time and order. Because Aldrich is less well-known to present readers, unlike her contemporaries we do not read her portrait across a chronological preunderstanding of her life. Stein's eighteen portraits of Mildred Aldrich follow a rough chronology: Mildred before the war, Mildred during the war, Mildred after the war. Inside these larger outlines, Mildred's portraits appear in seemingly random order. The portrait of Mildred happy at Stein's success at Cambridge and Oxford precedes the narrative of Stein's visits there. The portrait of Mildred's settling in at the Hilltop on the Marne appears after she has moved there, *sans* canaries. Mildred gets money before

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she needs it: the brief portrait of Cook giving Stein a blank check for Mildred appears before we know that she is "falling on hard times." Since we encounter Mildred eighteen times in the *Autobiography*, we might expect her narrative to build on itself, but it does not. It has no beginning, middle, or end. Though we have an early view of her as an introducer, and a later view of her as the person who owns a recording of "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine," everything in between ignores traditional narrative order. Stein twists, distorts, makes time cut back and across other times because, as she tells us, "there should not be a sense of time, but an existence suspended in time." Stein explains that she "unconsciously" made the time element "cease to exist" in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. In the two later autobiographies, *Everybody's Autobiography* and *Wars I Have Seen*, she did it "consciously" ("Transatlantic" 20). Time for Stein—and Mildred—is the time of the work of art.

Portraits of Others Painting Gertrude Stein

One last group of portraits in Stein's *Autobiography* paradoxically comprises the most conventional yet doubled and reflective use of the term portrait: her written portraits of others making literal portraits—photographs, sculptures, and paintings—of her. The portraits Stein draws of Alvin Langdon Coburn, Man Ray, Alice, and an unnamed photographer taking photographs of her; of Brenner, Lipschitz, and Jo Davidson sculpting her; and of Valloton, Sir Francis Rose, and Pablo Picasso painting her double on themselves and double back again.

These portraits of others "painting" her add nine new faces to Stein's self-portrait. But she tells us nothing about the actual portraits. She does not tell us how her faces are conceived by others, what the portraits look like, what techniques are used, or in what styles they are completed. We only know that she finds Coburn's portrait of her "very good," Man Ray's "extraordinarily interesting," and Brenner's a "very fine fragment." She is "pleased" with Davidson's sculpture, while "everybody is pleased" with Valloton's. Both she and Picasso are "content" with his, and "perhaps" she likes Rose's. But except for brief mention of Valloton's swiss-glacier style, Man Ray's lighting techniques, and Picasso's grey-brown paint, Stein does not discuss the actual portraits. How they "look" is not at

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issue. Rather, they are indicators of how successful Stein has become: as her reputation as a writer grows, reputable artists want to "paint" her. It is therefore a sign of Picasso's (and Stein's) genius that only he, the first to create her portrait, knew from the beginning what she would become. His portrait captures her for all time.

The nine portraits also reiterate Stein's idea of a self of surfaces constantly being multiplied through the eyes of the artist. Stein constructs herself through nine new pairs of eyes. And then, though this Gertrude Stein might seem to be complex enough, she multiplies the complexities a final time. Near the end of the *Autobiography*, she notes the publication of a work entitled *Ten Portraits*, in which she has written portraits of Apollinaire, Christian Bérard, Eugène Berman, Bernard Faÿ, Georges Hugnet, Picasso, Erik Satie, Pavel Tchelitchev, Virgil Thomson, and Kristians Tonny, with each portrait illustrated by the artist himself or by one of the other artists.[18] The illustrations include Bérard's drawing of himself, Bérard's portrait of Thomson, Tchelitchev's portrait of himself, Picasso's portrait of himself, Picasso's portrait of Apollinaire, Picasso's portrait of Satie, Tonny's portrait of himself, and Tonny's portrait of Faÿ (230). These additional portraits transform the idea of a self of surfaces multiplied through the eyes of the artist from one of simple multiplication to one of geometric progression. Even if we agree with Stein that we cannot know the inside, can we ever see all the surfaces this artist offers? Brief or extended, singular or kaleidoscopic, each of the portraits included in the *Autobiography* constructs Gertrude Stein as a work of art. Singularly, each portrait is "essence of Gertrude Stein." Taken together, they comprise Gertrude Stein as a multidimensional essence, an intensely moving work of art—a gallery, an opening, a vernissage—always available for revisiting, reviewing, rereading.

With the *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* Gertrude Stein radically alters the course of the history of autobiography by replacing the romantic, inward-looking confession with a modernist Master-piece constructed of voices and portraits. We might add, following Perelman, that the Romantic "genius," whose creative imagination will, through the writing of poetry or the construction of new political systems, change a nation, is displaced by the Modernist genius whose artistic creations

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will confound the reader's understanding. While the "Alice" of the *Autobiography* is only one of Stein's creations, it is ironic that Alice appears to have the "last word." We read/see Stein's genius through Alice B. Toklas, her ever-present narrator and her preeminent painted painter. The ventriloquist's puppet image for Alice as narrator can be extended to Alice as portrait painter. Alice sits on Stein's lap holding the brush (pen) while Gertrude Stein makes the strokes, painting portraits of others painting Gertrude Stein. Alice is the narrator within the narrator within the narrative, and the portrait painter within the portrait painter within the portrait. Gertrude Stein is heard in the echoes of Alice's voice and is reflected in the images Alice is painting. Has Gertrude made Alice or does Alice make Gertrude? Are the voices and the portraits indistinguishable or is this simply trick photography?

Many have claimed that Stein, in her highly experimental work, is postmodern: "Had her life been as long as the century's, one can imagine her emerging as a leader of the avant-garde's resurgence in the late fifties, the sixties, and the seventies, when 'postmodernists' began to do what she, almost alone, had done fifty years before" (DeKoven 150). This is true for most of Stein's work, but while the *Autobiography* set the scene for postmodern autobiography, I contend that it is not itself postmodern. In postmodern autobiographies that follow Stein—Barthes's *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, for instance—the autobiographical subject exists only as text, brought to "life" by readers who join with Barthes to create, through ongoing readings and misreadings of a language persona, a plural "I." "We who 'love to be astonished'" is the plural "I" of Lyn Hejinian's *My Life*. Working out ideas of language and memory along the lines of Stein's experimental work, Hejinian creates a postmodern poetic self that is alive with remembered/rewritten events in the life of a young American girl—what she calls "a pause, a rose, something on paper" (36). With poststructuralist autobiographies like Julia Kristeva's "My Memory's Hyperbole," the autobiographical subject is the plural "we," comprised of those involved with Kristeva in the *Tel Quel* experience.[19] With postcolonial autobiographies like those found in Joanna Kadi's *Food for Our Grandmothers*, the autobiographical subject is again a plural "I"—grandmother and granddaughter. This plural subject, however, does not function simply as a language

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construct. The collection's writers, in bringing ethnic grandmothers to the reader, are able to reject object positions and insert themselves into the discourse as active subjects as they shape their own identities through their grandmothers.

Like her postmodern successors, the Gertrude Stein of the *Autobiography* is clearly a plural subject, and postmodern readers may certainly construct yet other Gertrude Steins by reading new theory into old texts. We may even see the Alice narrator as the postmodern self of Gertrude Stein, only available in the voice of the "other." But this is *one* reading of Alice, and I characterize the *Autobiography* as modernist because Alice is always talking and painting. Alice *is* the issue. The Gertrude Stein/Alice narrator/portrait painter never gives the *Autobiography* over to the reader. "Alice" is always in charge. She makes us listen to the voices she wants us to hear and to look at the portraits she wants us to see. It is Alice, "reading" Stein to/for us, that makes this a modern rather than a postmodern autobiography.

Alice is narrator, painter, *and* reader. By the time we close the work, we have the Gertrude Stein that Alice chooses to give us—a modernist Stein "made" of Alice's stories and portraits. Like Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*, in which he paints multiple images of the nude, each positioned slightly further down the staircase, Alice makes Stein move for us. Alice's polyphonic voice never says the same thing in exactly the same way at exactly the same time or place. Her Stein portraits are multifaceted; each new glimpse shows persons moving back and forth in time, and across and through verbal space. Alice makes Stein and Stein, like Duchamp, makes Alice . . . and herself. These changing voices and moving pictures comprise Gertrude Stein.

We might take one of Stein's own works, *The Making of Americans*, as a final analogue for the modernist construction of the autobiographical subject and its transformations. *The Making of Americans* "was to be the history of a family. It was a history of a family but by the time I came to Paris it was getting to be a history of all human beings, all who ever were or are or could be living" (56). Similarly, what began as *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* came to be a history of all those who ever passed through the life of Gertrude Stein. For Stein, then, the self of the autobiography is finally a composition, a work like *The Making of Americans*. It is a collage, constructed from her

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multiple identities as they reside in portrait and performance. And as the identities comprise the *Autobiography*, the Stein persona is transformed to entity—a made thing, a modernist work of art. If *Three Lives* is the "first twentieth-century work of literature," then *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is clearly the first twentieth-century autobiography.

Photo by Man Ray, 1922.

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NOTES

1. The adjectives are Carl van Vechten's (ix); "Steinese" is the term Stein herself invented to describe her style.
2. Written in six weeks during the autumn of 1932 in Bilignin, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* was first published by Harcourt Brace and Company in 1933. An abridged version had appeared earlier in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The citations here are from the Vintage edition, with the 1961 copyright renewed by Alice B. Toklas, and the cover photograph by Carl Van Vechten.

   In the final chapter of *Autobiography: Narrative of Transformation* (1998) I outline what I see as the major shifts in the history of autobiographical discourse. In addition to comparing the shifts in subject position, as others have done, I also consider the shifts in the types of transformations inscribed and the forces to which each narrating subject attributes those changes. I claim that "the ways of inscribing the self in autobiography have changed from

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a model self to a Christian or spiritual self to a secular or public self to a Romantic self of feelings. . . . Overturning Rousseau's self of feelings Stein's self of surface manifestations becomes a work of art. Roland Barthes's self as language displaces the self altogether." The types of life-change experiences shift from actualization of the hero/citizen's potential as defined by his noble birth (Xenophon, Isocrates) to spiritual confessions (Perpetua, Augustine) to essayings (Montaigne, Cardano), to "a chain of misfortune" inflicted by society on an "innocent child of nature" (Rousseau), to surface manifestions of a cubist self (Stein) and "zig-zags" or displacements of the self by language (Barthes). The forces to which the autobiographers attribute change shift from the gods to God to Humanist skepticism, to individual imagination and emotion to artistic genius, and finally, to the "hand that writes"—language (210–12).

3. According to Cynthia Merrill, "The work of Gertrude Stein's narrative trick is to reveal that the autobiographical 'I'—the represented image, the narrative voice—is always an other" (16). Timothy Dow Adams contends that "the narrative device of blending the two women's natural conversational voices suggests how profoundly their lives were interwoven," and further, that "Stein's deliberate merging of her autobiographical persona with that of Toklas" serves to "provide an eccentric cover for their homosexuality [and] also suggest Toklas's own identity": "self-effacement and deliberately subverted identity can be considered Toklas's basic metaphor of self" (24–26). Referring to "Lifting Belly," Bob Perelman notes that "In addition to the clearly legible voices caressing, chatting, writing and rewriting one another, there are many other sexual and domestic roles, as Stein writes herself in guises that range from the correct husband, or the conquering husband, to the geologic sex object 'Mount Fatty.' Toklas is variously the delicate wife, the lovely snorer, the Jew lady, the cow, and even . . . a co-Caesar. It is almost always difficult to sort out two distinct voices; some lines can be read as question and answer, but many seem the results of a merged two-person writing sensibility contemplating a real-life dialogue that was not written down" (134–39). Although the *Autobiography* is much less intimate and sexual than "Lifting Belly," I find Perelman's assessment of the Gertrude/Alice voices quite similar to my own. Finally, in countering what she sees as "cannibalistic" readings of Stein's appropriation of Alice's voice, Leigh Gilmore argues that this sort of reading is tied to "a negative Freudian reading of narcissism and its assumption of the regressive nature of same-sex attraction. . . . Stein's impersonation of Toklas does not dissolve the other into a simple mirror of the self; rather, it displaces that conquering consequence in its affirmation of a doubled subject,

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a relation inscribed against the heterosexist logic of silence/voice" (218–19). I would add to Gilmore's assessment that Stein *celebrates* the doubled subject.

4. Here, I am also playing off of Catharine R. Stimpson's characterization of the Toklas/Stein marriage in "Gertrice/Altrude: Stein, Toklas, and the Paradox of the Happy Marriage."
5. Margot Norris observes that "Stein's radical egalitarianism would make men, women, and children equal in value, and subject to a flattened out representation. . . . The *Autobiography* follows not only this postimpressionistic principle of the homogenized composition, but incorporates further the homogenized perspective of cubism, in which every perspective is as operationally important as every other" (85).
6. There is one exception: Alice served in the war effort "sans relache"; Gertrude did not. Mrs. Lathrop, as a joke on Stein, makes sure that when the two are awarded the *Reconnaissance Française*, Alice's citation states that she served "without abatement." The words are omitted from Stein's, who would say from time to time when things got to be too much, "I'm going to scrap it" (179).
7. In *The Colors of Rhetoric: Problems in the Relation between Modern Literature and Painting*, Wendy Steiner identifies the potential, the limits, and the value of such a relation: "By claiming that a poem is like a *modern* painting one is no longer stressing their mirroring function but their paradoxical status as signs of reality and as things in their own right" (xii [my emphasis]). Four years earlier, in *Exact Resemblance to Exact Resemblance: The Literary Portraiture of Gertrude Stein*, Steiner had remarked that "Stein's portraiture broke down precisely . . . when it tried to make a translation of cubist technique and psychological theory into a medium that was fundamentally different from paint and canvas and from 'raw perception'" (160). Leigh Gilmore sees the portrait writing of the *Autobiography* and *Stanzas in Meditation* in terms of the "space off shot"—the space outside the frame, not visible but inferred by what the frame contains. Gilmore contends that Stein, by adjusting "the frame to focus on the lesbian couple where a solitary figure once posed," constructs a space "where lesbian subjects can see and be seen" (223). See Dupee xiii and note 23 for his view of the painting/literature analogy.
8. "Little people" and "big people" are my terms, not Stein's; I use them as shorthand to distinguish between ordinary, everyday persons and the famous as they appear in the *Autobiography*. As Norris observes, Stein's work gives every indication of a "radical egalitarianism" (85; see also note 5).
9. For more on Stein's philosophy of art, see *What are Master-pieces*.
10. Gendered terms like "Master-piece," as they relate to both modernism and Stein, have been treated most effectively by Shari

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Benstock, Catharine R. Stimpson, Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, and Margot Norris, among others; I would only add that the hyphen Stein inserts in the term may work to explode its traditional meanings.

11. Another major shift in the history of autobiography occurs with *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*. Barthes himself defines the modernist text and contrasts it to his autobiography (136). Stein's modernist autobiographical subject as work of art is replaced by Barthes's "self as text."

12. The *Autobiography* records another instance of Stein becoming a Picassoite:

> During the winter Gertrude Stein's brother decided that he would go to Florence to live. They divided the pictures that they had bought together, between them. Gertrude Stein kept the Cézannes and Picassos and her brother the Matisses and the Renoirs, with the exception of the original Femme au Chapeau. (140)

13. Stein's approach of course is not without its problems. As Dupee, among others, notes, in using words as plastic entities and in seeking to find "literary equivalents for the various experiments conducted by the Cubists," Stein made words "inert," "less alive," what Kenneth Burke calls "art by subtraction." Or as Dupee puts it: "Language is plastic, but its plasticity must be informed and determined by the philosophy or, at least, by the information it conveys. In her earlier works, Gertrude Stein operated under this injunction naturally; but as she continued, her attraction to painting led her to wish for the same plastic freedom for literature, and eventually to write as though literature were endowed with such freedom" (xiii).

14. *Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* was first published by Dodge herself in 1911 and then later reprinted in her *European Experiences* and in Stein's *Portraits and Prayers*. The *Autobiography* relates how after the success of her portrait, Mabel Dodge "immediately conceived the idea that Gertrude Stein should be invited from one country house to another and do portraits and then end up doing portraits of american millionaires which would be a very exciting and lucrative career. Gertrude Stein laughed" (132).

15. In *The Principles of Psychology*, William James brought the theories of associationism constructed by Locke, Hobbes, Hume, Hartley, James and John Stuart Mill, and Bain to the attention of students in the United States and Canada.

16. To summarize the sequence: **Uhde**, Braque, Picasso, **Uhde**, the son of Breal, his wife, and a spanish guitarist, Manolo, Picasso, Leo Stein, Picasso and Fernande, Frederic of the Lapin Agile and the University of the Apaches, **Uhde**, Manolo, a friend of Gauguin, Vollard, Moreas, Guillaume Appollinaire, Alfred Stieglitz, Manolo

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and his Catalan wife, **Uhde,** Uhde's wife, Delaunay and his new wife (Uhde's ex-wife), mother of Delaunay, the old vicomtes, Picasso, Delaunay and his new wife, Guillaume Apollinaire, Stella, **Uhde**, Uhde's former wife, Braque, Picasso, **Uhde.**

17. Painted just two years after *Les Demoiselles d' Avignon*, Picasso's *Uhde* is framed by multiple planes that cut into and across the portrait, but Uhde's face—with its "prissy mouth"—is singularly distinguishable.

18. The work was actually published—also by Georges Hugnet—as *Dix Portraits*, even though the text was in English and only some of the five hundred copies (the Deluxe Editions) included parallel French translations.

19. As a result, although that collective of individual intellectuals whose "epistemological, ideological, and stylistic options clearly vary (even diverge)" still managed to join with Kristeva in constructing an autobiographical "we," she contends that "what the 'I' loses in delegating itself to the group is partially regained in the metamorphoses of the 'we.' It is by transforming itself, by changing itself totally that the collective image, the group portrait, proves itself as a momentarily fixed passion. To speak of 'us' is not an analysis, it is a history that analyzes itself" (227, 220).

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The Voice of Arii Taimai: Henry Adams and the Challenge of Empire

Daniel L. Manheim

History had no use for multiplicity; it needed unity; it could study only motion, direction, attraction, relation. Everything must be made to move together; one must seek new worlds to measure; and so, like Rasselas, Adams set out once more, and found himself on May 12 settled in rooms at the very door of the Trocadero.
—The Education of Henry Adams (378)

In his collection of *New Essays on the Education of Henry Adams*, John Carlos Rowe interprets these innocuous-seeming lines as a subtle indication of Adams' understanding of United States imperialism at the turn of the century. The reference encodes "the transfer of power from Spain to France and then from France to the United States in the seventy-four years separating the Battle of Fort Trocadero from the Spanish-American War" (100). This unpacking of an exceptionally dense reference serves as the keystone of Rowe's lengthy demonstration that, far from having "nothing to do" with Secretary of State John Hay's politics at the turn of the century (*Education* 373), Adams not only "endorsed Hay's policies, but was instrumental in their formulation, and hence instrumental in the establishment for the United States of a twentieth-century economic empire." Rowe insists that because "it makes more historical sense to understand Henry Adams as agreeing basically with John Hay's imperialist policies than as an anti-imperialist struggling to prevent Hay from pushing the United States to the center of the new global politics" (94), "aesthetic" readings that indicate otherwise or avoid the issue are either compliant or complicit. Rowe complains repeatedly that such readings have "distracted us from political views quite forthrightly and consistently expressed in [Adams'] correspondence," and he reads the "irony, equivocation, and rhetorical ambiguity in *The Education*," so

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different from "the conviction and decisiveness of his correspondence," as in part a deliberate obfuscation of the way the McKinley administration was manipulating international politics, and in part as an experiment in the sort of imaginative rendering of the world that has been so important in the orientation of global power in the twentieth century (90). The "convicted" statements are the true ones; literariness, rather than steering a different course, becomes simply a bewildering gloss on what is elsewhere stated in perfectly simple terms.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, a period of rabid U.S. expansion overseas and consolidation of its leadership of Atlantic powers, Adams published little. I would argue, however, that the only full-length work he wrote for immediate publication between the completion of his *History of the United States* in 1889 and the private printing of *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* in 1904 is a much more nuanced meditation on the question of colonial powers and indigenous peoples than can be found in either Adams' correspondence or in more general contemporary debates over the imperialism question. This work was a study of Tahiti, called *Memoirs of Marau Taaroa* in its initial printing of 1893, but retitled *Memoirs of Arii Taimai e Marama of Eimeo, Teriirere of Tooarai, Terrinui of Tahiti, Tauraatua i Amo* in its final, 1901 edition. (I will refer to the 1893 edition as *Marau Taaroa* or *Marau*, and to the 1901 edition as the *Memoirs of Arii Taimai* or simply *Memoirs*. When referring to both collectively, I will call the work, somewhat inexactly, the "Tahiti history.") My purpose in considering this work here is not to excuse Adams for designing imperial policies, nor to deny the evidence of Rowe and others that he did so. What interests me ultimately are how an author's literary work relates to political positions articulated elsewhere, and what one does with ideas and impulses of which one feels one ought to disapprove. Adams did not disapprove of what some of his readers might like him to, and he clearly gained satisfaction from successfully endorsing ideas that certain of his instincts rose against. (One often wishes, for instance, that Adams would betray some sort of withheld disapproval of his anti-Semitic and racist impulses.) But the question of a United States overseas empire would have been one on which, as an Adams, he would have felt compelled to mount a definite position even as he was aware of unassimilated ambiguities rattling around

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within him. In the *Memoirs of Arii Taimai*—part history, part cultural study, and part biography—Adams attempted to tell a story of colonial conflict from the point of view of the colonized as well as from the point of view of the colonialist, and in doing so he attempted to begin to resolve his own fundamentally divided allegiances.

* * * * *

In general one may question whether views "forthrightly and consistently expressed" in letters ought to have the power to reduce or even clarify views indirectly and inconsistently expressed elsewhere, and Henry Adams' letters present an especially problematic source of authority.[1] Joanne Jacobson has argued that an Adams letter was not foremost a private expression of ideas, nor "primarily a medium of exchange," but a way of "negotiating his own highly ambivalent cultural loyalties"—a field in which his own power relations, with his family, with various correspondents, and with the world at large, were controlled and adjusted (7, 9). This function does not preclude the expression of political opinions—there are plenty of them—but it does suggest that those opinions may be tailored severely to the specific correspondent, and that inconsistencies in opinion may reflect deep ambivalences in Adams' own views as well as in his relations with his family and acquaintances.

In fact, Adams constructs a self to voice many of his letters, and his political correspondence especially—a self as figured and purposive as the selves he constructs in *Mont-Saint-Michel* or the *Education*.[2] In 1891, for instance, Adams wrote a series of letters from the South Pacific which described dances, formal ceremonies, personalities, and landscapes, and which speculated on the natural history, the effects of missionary influence, and the contacts among the various cultures. As letter follows letter, the general improvement of his own frame of mind is reflected not only in a movement away from the sour, morose, and suspicious cast of the early letters, but also in the amount of detail he is capable of addressing: by the end of the series, he is discussing the flavor of the pigeon curry and the ridges of the ferns on which he sleeps. And yet, when writing upon his arrival in Sydney to his ardently nativist friend and former Congressman (soon-to-be Senator) Henry Cabot Lodge, Adams mentions nothing about his "tourism"—an activity that

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he spent his lifetime both engaging in and degrading in official contexts.[3] The Pacific islands, Adams tells Lodge, are now "worth less than nothing, for they require large expenditures," and for this reason "America has no future in the Pacific." In earlier letters, Adams measured "worth" by the capacity of experience to inspire narrative description. But when writing to Lodge, the people he elsewhere characterized with variety and specificity and some fascination are dismissed or derided for both their innate laziness and their incapacity to imitate Western standards of conduct. "The South Seas swarm with laughable satires on everything civilised"; once "morality and economy" were bestowed upon the islanders, "they went, promptly and unanimously to the devil" (letter of 4 August 1891). Writing to the aristocratic politician Lodge, then, Adams approaches the topics of earlier letters not merely from a different angle, but with an utterly different, much more narrow, and directed sensibility.

The source of that sensibility may lie in some of his earliest letters, written from Germany at the age of twenty to his brother Charles Francis Adams. Jacobson says that in these letters Adams is trying "to claim and to consolidate autonomous authority" with respect to an elder brother who was the "Adams brother most susceptible to the pressures of being an Adams" (14), but these letters are most remarkable for what they reveal about how susceptible Henry himself was to those family pressures and responsibilities, and about his impulses not to fulfill those expectations. Worrying incessantly about, in Martha Banta's words, "living up to his credentials as a male within the masculine society" (51), Henry writes at length regarding his choice of profession. He is also obviously worried about living up to the "name of Adams" (letter of 9 February 1859), and he repeatedly separates himself into a dilettantish, effeminized "Adams the scholar," and a more masculine "Adams the lawyer" (letter of 18 January 1859). The latter path seems to offer a sort of salvation for himself and his clan, and Henry says that if his brother were to shake him from it, "I would lose myself entirely." Retaining his identity, in other words, involves following what Henry conceives of as the family path, and any personal motives not to do so are life threatening.

Plainly he is being drawn in two directions: one more congenial to his temperament, his sensibility, and his talent; and one more appropriate for an Adams and a late-nineteenth-

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century male. These latter two are closely allied. To be an Adams involves a strong measure of male self-assertion, and Henry's phrases in these letters denoting success and failure are all figures of tumescence and detumescence—"die," "ladder," "butterfly," "slump," "firm and lasting," and above all, his elaborate image of the danger of becoming a writer, "that thread-bare old Arabian Nights magnetic mountain *that drew all the metal out of the ships* and then sunk them" (letters of 18 January and 9 February 1859, passim; emphasis in original). Without all that rigid Adams-family metal to stiffen his resolve and affirm his abilities, Henry will flutter down into a stifling obscurity. He ultimately resolved upon a career that could accommodate the masculine assertiveness necessary to an Adams, even if it did not altogether suppress his literary talents. But as Banta notes, Adams had a lifelong struggle to "resist the temptation *not to do*," and he himself wrote to Charles Francis on November 16, 1867, acknowledging that while the work he must take up "breaks one's spirit and crushes one's hope," it was nevertheless "the only way for a man who is not a dunce or an ass" (53).

However, Adams did not entirely put to rest that part of his psyche unassimilated to the name of Adams. Some part of him always resisted the power and authority that the name and the voice entailed. Forty-five years later he was still lamenting its suppression when he wrote the most famous lines from the *Education*:

> From cradle to grave this problem of running order through chaos, direction through space, discipline through freedom, unity through multiplicity, has always been . . . the task of education . . . but a boy's will is his life, and he dies when it is broken, as the colt dies in harness, taking a new nature in becoming tame. (12)

Unity must therefore be thrust like a shuttle-cock through the frail and formless warp of sympathy and inclination, and sheathed in the family's habit, Henry advanced this ideal of unity in all of his political works and affairs. When he wrote as an historian or as a statesman, his speaking self was a construction conforming to that persona.[4]

Both Rowe and those he refutes labor to uncover Adams' real views on an empire for the United States. They resist the possibility that he may have carried within him a number of

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conflicting views, that any "forthright and consistent" expression may have involved forcibly suppressing uncertainty, and silencing a multiplicity of alternative readings of any given situation. In a potentially public letter to a friend and statesman involved in policy decisions—much Adams family correspondence had already been published by Henry's time—he might therefore see himself as articulating a sort of official, necessarily definitive position, while in his more experimental, elaborated works he might devise ways of venting or exercising or exploring his uncertainty.[5] As Rowe demonstrates, one cannot simply claim, as some have, that Adams remained an anti-imperialist through the turn of the century. What I want to argue is that while "endorsement" of Hay's projects involved temporarily infusing some metal into his own little battleship, more ambiguous considerations would never let him rest. However unambiguous his endorsement of such a system may seem in certain contexts, that part of him that left all assurances open to question, the part he considered a more "aesthetic" side, would insist on hearing other stories that could not be silenced by the imposition of an "Atlantic combine" (*Education* 439).[6]

* * * * *

The first edition of the Tahiti history demonstrates Adams' responses to European influences in the islands he visited during his travels of 1890 and 1891. He had spent the better part of four months in Tahiti when his hostesses Marau Taaroa, "the last queen" of the island, and her mother Arii Taimai, a chiefess of the powerful Teva clan, who had already made him an honorary member of the clan, asked him to transcribe their memoirs.[7] Containing a sometimes bewildering blend of genealogy and folklore from prehistoric legend down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, *Marau Taaroa* is predominantly a history of the Tevas, Tahiti's most powerful clan, and of how their ascendancy was ended by European contact. The longest section of the work describes the civil wars that brought the rival Pomare clan to power. Supported by English missionaries despite the absence of any legitimate claim to the throne—Adams asserts there had never been a true monarch over the island—the Pomares had profited by the Europeans' lack of understanding of Tahitian culture and politics. The later chapters demonstrate the hypocrisy and

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deadly ignorance of the missionaries and others who felt that European contact, complete with the blessings of Christianity and modern national government, brought benefits to Polynesia.

The edition opens with accounts of the discovery of the islands by Samuel Wallis and Captain Cook, then goes *back* in time to recuperate the earlier history. Making European contact the pivotal event in Tahitian history effectively subordinates the local folklore and genealogy to the imperialist narrative, but as Ernest Samuels points out, this structure also helps emphasize "European blundering," giving the story of European discovery "all the irony of a Sophoclean tragedy" (*Major Phase* 102). Such a structure effectively served anti-imperialist objectives of the early 1890s. The final chapter of this edition opens with Arii Taimai's thorough-going denunciation of European imperialism in Polynesia:

> When England and France began to show us the advantages of their civilization, we were . . . a great people. Hawaii, Tahiti, the Marquesas, Tonga, Samoa, and New Zealand made a respectable figure on the earth's surface, and contained a population of no small size, better fitted than any other possible community for the conditions in which they lived. Tahiti . . . was the first to suffer. . . . Everywhere the Polynesian perished, and to him it mattered little whether he died of some new disease, or from some new weapon, like the musket, or from the misgovernment caused by foreign intervention. . . . The Europeans came, and not only upset all their moral ideas, but also their whole political system. (136–38)

It should not be surprising, then, that while completing this first edition, when asked to write for the New York *Sun* on the Hawaii question, Adams' response, as Samuels' puts it, was that he could "hardly write of the proposed colonial venture without horror, having seen its effect in Tahiti" (*Major Phase* 109).

Though Adams would eventually separate himself from the Anti-Imperialist League, this first version of the Tahiti history bears some similarity to the viewpoint espoused a few years later by one of the movement's leaders, his elder brother Charles Francis. Speaking before the Massachusetts Historical Society in December 1898, two weeks after the end of the war with Spain in the Philippines and a month before the beginning of Emilio Aguinaldo's rebellion, Charles Francis presented a

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representative version of one late-nineteenth-century anti-imperialist argument. Noting that "the Anglo-Saxon" had "evinced no faculty of dealing with inferior races, as they are called, except through a process of extermination," Charles Francis argued that justifications of imperialism based on an obligation to Democratize or Christianize the subjugated people were nothing but bombastic and outrageous hypocrisy (10). He quoted ironically the expansionist congressman C. A. Sulloway's straightfaced insistence that "the inhabitants of those regions that [the Anglo-Saxon] cannot convert with the aid of the Bible and bring into his markets, he gets rid of with the shotgun. It is but another demonstration of the survival of the fittest" (17). In the face of such cynical application of hazily understood evolutionary law to justify genocide, Charles Francis proposed an evolutionary counterargument: fundamental American principles held that for governments of various colonized communities "the only way to learn to walk was to try to walk," and occupation could only leave them "emasculated and incapable of self-government," like England under the Romans (33).

Even if only in reaction to Sulloway and his ilk, Charles Francis still seems to accept an evolutionary model of history: more developed western nations should not intervene in the natural development process that all peoples and all nations, however infantile, must undergo. And yet, at the same time, Charles Francis' essential assumption is that the peoples whose lives are being disrupted by western contact are different, respectable cultures, and should retain their autonomy and distinctness. From this perspective, religious conversion, integration into markets, and military extermination are equally self-interested, cynical ways for western nations to erase that difference. However, Charles Francis Adams and the Anti-Imperialist League failed to alter the U.S. program of establishing permanent colonial authority in the Philippines, and in the process annexing Hawaii. After Aguinaldo's insurrection provoked a fierce U.S. military reaction, Charles Francis decided that promoting complete non-intervention was no longer realistic. He thus modified his position to encourage the kind of imperial intervention most likely to promote the growth of democratic institutions. Though other anti-imperialists felt betrayed, he urged the government to "guarantee a maximum

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of Filipino home rule with a minimum of American interference" (Beisner 118).[8]

The peroration at the end of *Marau Taaroa* reveals that text to be more or less consistent with Charles Francis' denunciation of "Expansion, World-Power, Inferior Races, Calvinization, Duty-and-Destiny twaddle and humbug" (Beisner 113), and it demonstrates something of the real events, the assault on a culture and a people, that underlie the moralizing rhetoric. In the extended account of the civil war between the Tevas and the missionary-led Pomares in the *Memoirs of Arii Taimai*, the speaker insists that the Tevas could have been victorious, "had not the native missionaries been taught to shoot, as they were taught to pray, and been given guns along with Bibles" (160). Those lines read as a satire of Congressman Sulloway's remarks on the subjugation of colonizable peoples, and could be a quotation from a speech by Charles Francis. And yet, the remark that the Tahitians were "better fitted than any other possible community for the conditions in which they lived" seems to arise from a degree of cultural humility on Henry's part not evident in his brother's sense of the Filipinos' need to "learn to walk." Nevertheless, the structure of *Marau Taaroa*, which highlights the argument about the inadvertent destruction committed in the name of empire, inevitably subordinates the material that Adams in some sense really wanted to relate—the genealogical history and traditions of the people. Adams still frames the history of the decline of his "family," the Teva clan, within the story of European contact—from its inception to its tragic result. The story of Tahiti remains a poignant episode in the narrative of the unfortunate advance of western power.

If Rowe is correct that Henry Adams' primary motive during the period was furthering Hay's policy, enunciated in a November 1901 speech "American Diplomacy," to "extend our commercial interests in every practicable direction" (92), then *Marau Taaroa* can perhaps be seen as a cautionary tale, but one still in fundamental support of that extension. For Rowe, Henry Adams' imperialist policy was to supplant the "older imperial order committed to the occupation of territories" with a new form of control that "depended upon the command of 'representational' power either in commercial markets or their equivalents in cultural productions" (101). I, however, mean to suggest that at least a part of Henry remained closer to Charles

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Francis' position than some of his letters to Hay and to his younger brother Brooks might indicate, and that the question of "representational power" was central to Henry's meditations upon the problem of how peoples facing corruption by western powers might retain their distinctness, independence, and some sense of autochthonous identity.[9]

* * * * *

By the time Adams revised his Tahiti history, the United States had annexed Hawaii and Samoa, two places he had sojourned in 1891, and had committed thousands of troops to the occupation of the Philippines. Although he remarked in letters that he was making the revision simply for the pleasure of his Tahitian "relatives," his changes, and the contemporary circumstances they evoke, suggest a more ambitious project. The altered order of chapters, with the former chapters 1 and 2 on the explorers Cook and Wallis becoming 6 and 8 respectively, recenters the Tahitians in their own history by locating European contact as an event among many, albeit a particularly disastrous one. We now encounter from the beginning a putatively Tahitian voice, changed from Marau to Arii Taimai, telling us about the people and history of Tahiti.[10] But Adams' largest revision was the addition of a lengthy final section called "The Story of Arii Taimai, 1846." Written "in my own words which are more lifelike than any that an editor could use" (181), this story was transcribed, translated, and sent to Adams sometime in the 1890s. Adams then revised it; the original translation is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Adams papers (Samuels, *Major Phase* 104–05).

A representation of events during a crucial uprising against the French, the story is an autobiographical narrative within a biography and a cultural history. She tells a tale of heroism, her own heroism on behalf of her people, but it is not the familiar historical narrative of "what Tati [her grandfather] did in the forty years during which he was struggling to prevent the islands from falling back into chronic wars and disturbances." Rather, she is "concerned only with what is not printed" (176). Her own heroism will help prevent the "chronic wars and disturbances" that had damaged the culture and decimated the population of the island. But whereas Tati's actions are in the sphere of political action and are eternally

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inscribed in books, her actions, no less formidable, are centered in renunciation and tradition rather than public policy, control, and forceful opposition. Her story is one of acquiescence to a greater military power, but it is an acquiescence that leaves the individual will and the autonomy of the culture intact.[11]

After the civil wars around the turn of the century, Tahiti was heavily influenced by British missionaries, who were responsible for putting the convert Pomare clan on the throne, but by the 1830s most outside control was coming from France. As Adams bluntly puts it, "between such masters as England and France," the Tahitians "could not hope to maintain independence or even a good understanding; and since England would not undertake to protect them, they would try to obtain protection from France" (*Memoirs* 179).[12] From 1836 to 1845, France and England struggled over the islands. Neither country was willing to go to war, but neither was prepared to relinquish its control. Lingering British influence inevitably divided the Tahitians, with the Christianized Pomares and their allies deciding to resist the French, and to hope for the support of British frigates. French attempts to subdue native insurgency met stiff military resistance, and the conflict was certain to result in heavy casualties and considerable atrocities. The governor, Bruat, having reluctantly sent for frigates to "go out and finish up the affair," was badly in need of someone to intercede between him and Queen Pomare IV (*Memoirs* 182).

It was thus Arii Taimai's mission to convince the rebelling chiefs and her childhood friend the queen to accept a French protectorship. Historian Colin Newbury dismisses Arii Taimai as a "collaborator" who had little to do with the actual resolution of the conflict (116), but to Adams, it seemed that her capacity to collaborate, to submit to the greater power, was essential to maintaining her capacity for acting independently. Her story records dangers braved, murders avoided, powerful men supplicated and suborned, and a crowned queen assuaged. Arii Taimai rides through the island to intercede in the battle, with mercenaries and rebels plotting to thwart or destroy her all along the way. Yet the drama of her story lies less in its danger than in her own magisterial capacity to bring about her ends, indifferent to the dangers amid which she moves. She rides into a camp of insurgents arming for war, and without having to address a word to the assembled leaders, she induces them to accept her will:

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> I saw . . . Nuutere [a chief], coming, and I walked out . . . to meet him. As soon as he saw me he came towards me, and even before saluting me, said: "What have you to do here?" I continued walking, and took him by the hand, and said to him: "My object in coming here is to bring peace, and I have counted upon you for the sake of old friendship to be my speaker in this trying instance." I could see that he was very much perplexed in this, for I had heard that he would probably be the first one to refuse the offer of peace. (184)

Utterly ignoring his challenge, she brings him to embrace her view of the conflict. Nuutere feels he cannot leave her, "a lone woman," to speak before the men, so he must plead her cause. This seems a strange assumption, since Arii Taimai has brought a male relative with her, and has in any event indicated no need for male representation. Women may speak for themselves: later, during a conference at which the vacillating Queen Pomare allows others to represent her, Arii Taimai is annoyed at her silence, saying that her friend "seemed to me very weak-minded" (190). But Arii Taimai seems to want to rely on something more potent than argument. Rather than voice her own opinions to the leaders of the insurrection, and have them received simply as opinions to be weighted equally with those of the chiefs, she remains silent, and avoids reinforcing the atmosphere of social and civil conflict that already prevails.

In inducing Nuutere to represent her, she appeals to the island's courtly conventions, which antedate the civil conflicts destroying her culture, and she thus reaches back into a world untormented by the divisions spawned from imperialism. While so many of the people are bent on their own certain destruction, her silent and resolute presence renders the conflict somehow low and irrelevant, undignified and untenable. Having heard the object of her visit, one of the hitherto intransigent chiefs says she has come "solely for our good and that of our children" (185). Another proclaims, "Our hearts yearn for you, and we cannot in words thank you; but the land, one and all, will prove to you in the future that your visit will always remain in their memory" (186). The power of individual wills had led to war and destruction; Arii Taimai appeals to a kind of hitherto lost sense of their collective will—their cultural heritage—and to a sense that posterity will have some relation to their current world and to island tradition. Her revision of

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the cultural narrative of the conflict therefore parallels Adams' revision of his history of Tahiti. Both recenter Tahitian culture in the history of the island.

Nevertheless, no one is willing to lay down arms while the queen herself has yet to accept a French protectorate, and Queen Pomare is on the island of Raiatea with relatives who are still counseling her to wait for the return of English frigates. Arii Taimai goes to her and remains for a period of several months, urging her to return to Tahiti to prevent further warfare, and periodically sending her English husband back to attempt (not always successfully) to maintain the truce. The climax of the section comes when the French governor, believing that only the absence of a queen prevents the chiefs from accepting terms of peace, offers to make Arii Taimai queen and dismiss Pomare altogether. Arii Taimai does not explain her reasons for refusing his offer, but her emphasis seems to be less on the political event than on the magnitude of her refusal to become the reigning monarch:

> He showed me a document which he was preparing . . . by which he intended to take hold of the island and break up the act of protectorate that had been already made, and on account of my refusal to become the queen, instead of Pomare, to make the island a French colony at once. (195)

Her choice, in other words, is between a queenship to which the book has generally been arguing that she is entitled, and the certain eradication of what remains of the culture—and ultimately the population—into which she was born. Why refuse? The governor's interest in crowning the leader of his chosen clan is obvious, but given the bloody circumstances, accepting the offer would seem to achieve Arii Taimai's ends as well. Since Pomare does finally agree to return, one cannot tell whether or not Arii Taimai would have been steadfast in her refusal if the last vestiges of Tahitian independence were at stake, but the implication is that she would refuse in any event to acknowledge that the French have power to "make" monarchs in Tahiti. She will not accept the kind of rule, the kind of power, that the French governor has the authority to confer.

* * * * *

Arii Taimai's tacit acceptance of a protectorate could represent, on the one hand, Adams' ideal arrangement for integrating

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Tahiti into international markets without the risks posed by potential insurgency. Rowe quotes a letter Adams wrote on November 3, 1901, to his brother Brooks pointing to the dangers involved in holding and administering a country by force, and arguing that "it is resources—coal, iron, copper, wheat—that force markets, and will force them over all the navies and artilleries of the world" (106). Along with Brooks and Hay, Adams regarded western imperialism in the light of economic growth for his country. On the other hand, the voice and content of the narrative seem to betray concerns irrelevant to the advancement of western economic interests—as though he is acknowledging that, immutable economic laws notwithstanding, there are a multiplicity of stories involved in the determination of the historical moment. The meaning of Arii Taimai's heroic act of renunciation, not so different from similar acts performed by women in other Adams works, centers in her refusal to be an expedient to the French official's interests, and in her insistence upon approaching matters through Tahitian procedures and customs.[13] Even while those resources were forcing markets with slow rude muscle, and even while Adams was busy building the official narrative of that process through his correspondence, he was simultaneously surrendering the agency of his powers of representation to a voice from among the colonized.

There is every indication that the surrender was conscious and deliberate. Up until the final section of the *Memoirs*, the style (and the general epistemological underpinning) is similar to that of Adams' *History of the United States*. He uses a great deal of direct quotation out of his primary sources, and relies on statistics where he can, his motive being to deemphasize the contribution of the interpreting scholar as much as possible. In the *Education* he says he had tried in his *History* to "satisfy himself whether, by the severest process of stating, with the least possible comment, such facts as seemed sure, in such order as seemed rigorously consequent, he could fix for a familiar moment a necessary sequence of human movement" (382). In 1893, with nothing intervening between the *History* and *Marau*, he still had the same habits, if not the same assumptions. But with the second edition of the Tahiti history, a sort of generic drift sets in: the historical treatise gives way to a blend of memoir, romantic adventure, and character study, while

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history-as-laboratory-experiment gives way to the less firmly masculine venture of storytelling, and the effort to efface the recorder goes to the extreme of surrender to the alien voice.

Edward Said, in *Culture and Imperialism*, insists that "we can no longer afford conceptions of history that stress linear development," for they can only serve to centralize certain narratives about the alignments of the world (317). Whatever history is told, he implies, it must be multivocal and polylinear. The divergence from the historical method that enforces the authority of a single argument in favor of a more distinctive and alien voice marks Adams' renunciation of the illusory authority of "rigorous consequence." Adams surely recognized that the way he saw his historical moment—"empire building," which had been "the family work of a hundred and fifty years"—represented only one line, one narrative; and even while he pursued that line he heard mutterings of shadowy alternatives, within his mind and in the world his proposed policies affected. At the moment in his life when his behind-the-scenes influence on events affecting the world order was at its highest, he wrote a book that struggles with the problem of preserving what those policies threatened to eradicate.

Such a move makes no sense unless Adams' motives are seen as at the very least divided. Whereas *Marau* could be seen as assuaging the conscience of a committed imperialist, the most authentically autobiographical portion of *Memoirs of Arii Taimai* contradicts that simple reading. Mary Louise Pratt describes certain travel narratives as "anti-conquest," wherein "European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony." In Pratt's argument, the detached observations of "objectivist science" served in the eighteenth and nineteenth century to "code the imperial frontier," without implicating the observer in the process (7, 75, 39). In this sense, *Marau* becomes an attempt to use the observations of an objectivist history to codify Tahiti in preparation for its absorption into western markets. However, Arii Taimai's interruption of the narrative in the *Memoirs* breaks with the authority of that objectivist history, and may be closer to what Pratt refers to as "autoethnography," where "colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage* with the colonizer's own terms" (7). According to Newbury, Marau may have authorized the narrative to lend legitimacy

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to some land claims (231), and Adams declared that the volume was "made only for my brother Tati to offer to the French government as basis for a family pension" (letter to Margaret Chanler, 27 January 1905). Whatever the merits of their case, these motives certainly do not reflect *western* economic interests. Moreover, the somewhat self-aggrandizing tone that appears at times in Arii Taimai's story celebrates her exploits at the expense of French governor, English missionary, Tahitian rebel, and Bostonian editor alike. She "engages with the colonizer's terms" to represent her own objectives.

Published in the thick of debates over U.S. policy in China and the Philippines, the *Memoirs* introduces a voice and a cultural identity from among the people affected by such debates. While the work could have served the economic ends he describes in his letter to Brooks about forcing markets, reducing it to such a motive would be like Adams' obliteration of the substance of his Polynesia travels in his letter to Lodge from Sydney. Moreover, the story is Arii Taimai's notwithstanding Adams' editing and refocusing, and it was Marau and other relatives who were promoting the book's republication. From Arii Taimai's point of view, the chiefs' battle hinges on the actions of foreign powers one way or another. Despite a victory at the second battle of Punaauia (*Memoirs* 192), the Tahitians, rebels as well as collaborators, acknowledge that without British aid, as one of Pomare's relatives says, "we have not the power to go to Tahiti and force the French away from that island" (190), so any outcome of the war will involve western influence. Once that intrusion has occurred, the narrative implies, the only question that remains is how best to preserve the country's autonomy and traditions—the Tahitians' capacity to represent themselves in their own stories.

Arii Taimai's sense of the inevitability of a foreign presence in Tahiti parallels the situation at the beginning of 1899, when rebellion in the Philippines made Charles Francis Adams concede that U.S. withdrawal, while more desirable than ever, could no longer be hoped for. His proposal for a policy in the Philippines and elsewhere, calculated to displease imperialists and anti-imperialists alike, called for "respect for traditional Filipino institutions, a wide degree of Filipino autonomy, and a firm commitment to govern the islands for the benefit of their inhabitants rather than for the advantage of American

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politicians and businessmen," at the same time that it demanded "equal trade opportunities for all nations" (Beisner 116). Self-contradictory it may be, but such a policy does indicate an effort to acknowledge the autonomy, the reality of a world beyond U.S. interests. Similarly, even if acceptance of French protectorship could not ultimately arrest the deterioration of Tahitian culture, it did provide a way to retain a certain free exercise of will and of tradition through elective submission to a greater power. In fact, the chiefs themselves had attempted something similar in a formal declaration of their will that they had drawn up and submitted to the French admiral a short time prior to the insurrection. This declaration, as Newbury observes, "made a theoretical distinction between French external sovereignty and Tahitian 'possession of the soil,'" and was "a fairly novel piece of imperial constitution-making" (109), presumably because of its being submitted by the subjects themselves, as well as because of its insistence on native rights.[14] Such insertion of the people's power of self-representation into the process of imperial control may be the only way to begin reasserting the community's traditional identity. For Said, narratives about colonialism from the perspective of the colonized arise out of "the insistence on the right to see the community's history whole, coherently, integrally." In this way, "national culture organizes and sustains communal memory," largely because "it reinhabits the landscape using restored ways of life, heroes, heroines, and exploits" (215). In the *Memoirs*, Adams makes just such an effort at restoring communal memory. When Arii Taimai and her kinsman ride from location to location on their mission of peace, folding this chief, that warrior, this queen back into the traditional way of understanding experience, the narrator literally "reinhabits the landscape," while the French commandos watch in menacing irrelevance.

Arii Taimai's discountenancing of military insurrection countered narratives of militarism in the United States as well as in Tahiti. During the years following the publication of *Marau Taaroa*, Adams' friend Theodore Roosevelt entered the imperialist debate by insisting on the duty of Americans to civilize what he called "the waste places of the earth" (Beale 70). According to Roosevelt, conquest of the North American continent threatened to leave Americans in a curious way

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unfulfilled. The "problem of a closed Frontier," as Richard Slotkin puts it, was "not the lack of economic opportunity," but the end of the intensely racial Indian Wars of the old West, "the loss of those conditions that allowed [Roosevelt's] class to acquire the virile character that entitles and enables them to rule giant corporations or a modern nation-state. To renew their virility and to save their class from leisured inanition, they must take up the challenge of empire" (51). The defeat of dusky and savage aliens on Roosevelt's continent required encounters with others more distant, if the corporations and the state were to be ruled with manly vigor. Roosevelt's subsequent policies as president derived from those of Henry Adams' younger brother Brooks, who believed that "only an American hegemony riding roughshod over the Eastern Hemisphere could succeed in revivifying Western civilization," and who wrote to Roosevelt, at the time of the latter's ascending to the presidency in 1901, "You will always stand as the President who began the contest for supremacy of America against the eastern continent" (Beringause 195, 204). Henry Adams had mixed feelings about the blustering president whom he was given to referring to as a "brainless cephalopod" (letter to Elizabeth Cameron, 2 March 1902), but he would have felt that the United States' increasing military self-assertion tallied with the ideal of masculine imposition that was part of his personal, familial, and national heritage. At the same time, he would have felt his perennial anxiety about that assertion to unity, and the *Memoirs* effectively articulates this anxiety.

Roosevelt would have well understood the chiefs' desire to fight. He would not have understood Arii Taimai's shying away from the queenship, for it contains an implicit refusal of his concept of the cultural encounter. Her model of action served as an antidote at once to Brooks Adams' idea of colonial status as utter disempowerment, and to a notion of manly action that could turn colonized people into insurrectionists—into brutal reflections of the oppressors' will for blood and vigor. Arii Taimai's assertion of Tahitian conventions, her refusal of the queenship, and her effective resistance to the process of the French governor's administration indicate what Said would call "ideological resistance, when efforts are made to reconstitute a 'shattered community, to save or restore the sense and fact of community against all the pressures of the colonial system'"

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(209, quoting Davidson 155). Her story does exactly that. While violent revolt implied acceptance of the colonist's narrative, her insistence on the authority of her will and on island traditions could help "restore the sense and fact of community."

* * * * *

This counter-imperial motion—and the voice that activates it—thus calls into question the image of balanced unity that Adams' and Hay's Atlantic system represented, even if it leaves room for such a system to be imposed. Howard Horwitz proposes that the new imperial system they were designing appealed to Adams "because it so clearly seeks to make diplomatic relations a reflection of the will to unity" (143). The mind seeking unity was the mind that contributed to the designing of foreign policies, and such activities served as "a splendid realization of his heritage and of the authority he attaches to his grandfather" (Horwitz 143). As Adams wrote to his brother Brooks, "the family mind approaches unity more nearly than is given to most of the works of God" (5 June 1905). But as the voice of Arii Taimai confirms, this sort of suffusion of his mind in his heritage, in "the family mind," was not finally his sole native impulse, and he sought a way in which other voices, other stories, might break the balanced, linear narrative.

The intrusion of the voice of Arii Taimai into Adams' cultural history marks his refusal not just of linear history, but of biography, a form of ordering a life which he had long used to serve his own ends, in favor of attempting to let his subject tell her own story.[15] He was aware of the potential violence of which the biographer was capable. With the copy of the *Education* that he sent to Henry James a few years later, he advised James to "take your own life in the same way, in order to prevent biographers from taking it in theirs" (letter of 6 May 1908). Even an autobiography, let alone a biography, of a non-European subject tends, according to such theorists of life writing as Arnold Krupat and Susan Walsh, to be "mediated by the interpretive agendas of assorted white male editors" (Walsh 50).[16] In other words, the events of the life are consciously or unconsciously reconstrued by the editor of that life to demonstrate or endorse the editor's concept of significant action. Authoring one's own life, Adams insists, naming and defining one's own significant actions, is the only way to overcome the

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breach between the biographers, with their interpretive agendas, and the subject, whoever that subject happens to be. Even when the subject and the biographer participate in the same cultural narratives of empowerment, "generic framing is always a powerful agent of violent interpretive subjection" (Epstein 224). But when the subject is from a culture radically removed from that of the biographer, the potential for self-interested colonizing of the subject is greatest.

The value of considering the final section of the *Memoirs* as a sort of deferred biography is that it accounts for the final story's otherwise inexplicable awkwardness. After seventeen chapters, all ostensibly in the voice of Arii Taimai, the narrator shifts out of this voice . . . into her own voice: "At this point, in February 1846, begins my own story of how I interposed, as chiefess, to bring about peace, and the submission of the islanders to French rule. I repeat it in my own words which are more lifelike than any that an editor could use" (181). The paradoxical information that her own voice is going to replace her own voice is immediately followed by the disconcerting evidence that she means to boast about surrendering to a foreign power the country whose history and culture she has been celebrating. Why mark a break in voice where ostensibly no break in voice occurs? Why foreground the implausibility of the voice that has been speaking, as if deliberately to undercut the authority of that voice and of the "unlifelike" editor? And how *could* she be pleased with herself for surrendering the country whose culture she has been all along speaking into existence as a means of preserving it from foreign intervention?

Although Adams' subject is Arii Taimai, her clan, and her country, his perspective necessarily remains that of the colonist, because he is an American historian and biographer, and because he is an Adams, concerned as ever with the growth of nations, the history of great families, and the relations among the Atlantic powers. Thus in spite of his revisions, the *Memoirs* dwells longest upon the story of colonization, with the period from Samuel Wallis's first visit in 1767 to the missionary wars of the early nineteenth century occupying the largest portion of the text. The conflict during the 1830s between the French and English over who should have authority in Tahiti precipitates Arii Taimai's final story. If Adams were to tell her final story, regardless of what strategic adjustments he made

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to accommodate his sympathy for the Teva clan and old chiefess, he could not escape identifying her in some sense as the later historian Colin Newbury does; that is, by naming her a collaborator and defining her action from the perspective of the colonizing powers. Only thus could she appear in a story governed by the codes of meaningful action deployed by an American historian. Adams and the French governor, Bruat, are in some sense in the same position. Well-meaning as they may consider themselves, they can see Tahiti only in the colonial narrative of consolidation and economic progress. Thus in his revision of the *Memoirs*, Adams must not only deemphasize his own interpretive agenda, but more importantly, he must reveal the alternative agenda of her own self-originating narrative. Arii Taimai's refusal of the French and English interpretation of the events of Tahitian history provides a model of actions that the western interpretation cannot accommodate.

Derived from René Girard via Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, William Epstein's model of the relation between biographer and subject provides a useful explanation of Arii Taimai's repudiation of her editor and biographer. Referring to the breach between biographer and subject as a "wound," he suggests that the wound tends in the biography to be "metaphorically associated with that which is repressed and excluded—woman in patriarchal culture, the racial subject in an imperialist society, the underclass in a capitalist economy, gays and lesbians in heterosexual culture" (219). In other words, some sort of disempowered alien figure stands in for the alienation between the biographer and the subject. The biographer must "abduct" the biographical subject in order to incorporate the subject into his interpretive agenda, but to heal this wound, he (the biographer is male in this model) uses the alien figure to stage a scene of homosocial bonding that restores the solidarity of biographer and subject.

Epstein's analysis rests on Sedgwick's notion of a male homosocial desire that lies at the center of western patriarchy. In her chapter on *Edwin Drood*, Sedgwick says of love triangles in Dickens novels that "each of the women perceives instinctively that, far from loving her as *he* imagines he does, the violent rival is really intent on using her as a counter in an intimate struggle of male will that is irrelevant and inimical to her" (181). If the imperialist powers can be taken as the two

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males in an erotic triangle battling over the feminized colony, then this story of a breach followed by a restored homosocial bond is metaphorically enacted between France and England over the body of Tahiti. Roosevelt was busy asserting that imperialism was essential to male bonding, and Tahiti, even before Gauguin, was ineluctably feminized in the western imagination.[17] The struggle over Tahiti, however violent, had much to do with political relations between France and England, who were bound together in the larger imperialist enterprise, and Adams' narrative leading up to "The Story of Arii Taimai, 1846" stresses how "irrelevant and inimical" their skirmishes in the 1830s were to the Tahitians themselves (see *Memoirs* 179–80). Arii Taimai sees that Tahiti is just a small corner of the much larger "intimate struggle" in which the two countries had long been locked.

As biographer and as scion of his family, Adams was locked in the same intimate struggle. As I have argued, he felt a lifelong need to account for himself to his family, and in this instance, such an account would involve the policy considerations that were the subject of his daily conversations with the Secretary of State. Those calm morning promenades between old friends are the very type of workshop in which the narratives of western power, under such headings as "Atlantic Combine," are repeatedly forged, and the Tahiti history could have been an extension of those dialogs. In effect, Adams would have sought vicariously, over the body of Tahiti, a restoration of his own bond with the colonial powers. Family heritage, empire building, and masculine assertion had long been intimately associated for him, and had he continued to tell the story according to his method, the inevitable result would have been a restoration of his empowering homosocial bond with the colonists, and indirectly with his own family.

To escape being implicated in the unilinear narrative of European conquest, Adams had to surrender his voice, and the very method of his account, to the subject herself. By telling her story in such as way as to reinhabit Tahiti as landscape and as living tradition, by giving voice to a way of living whose legitimacy English missionaries and French bureaucrats alike fail to recognize, Arii Taimai makes active and vocal the passively abducted, voiceless woman in Epstein's archetypal scene from western biography. In other words, instead of serving merely as a figure representing the abduction of the subject by the biographer, a

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figure which the biographer may employ to reconcile himself with his subject, the body of the woman rises up and takes over the narrative of masculine action. She implicitly insists on her editor's incapacity to do anything but appropriate her story in the interest of the colonizer. This repudiation of her editor parallels her subsequent repudiation of Bruat. When Arii Taimai ostentatiously speaks out in the middle of a text in which her voice has hitherto been a preposterous fiction—that is, a text which is palpably colonized by the western historian's voice and methodology—she breaks with the authority of that voice in the same way that she is breaking with the authority of the apparently sympathetic but ultimately self-interested French governor. Just as the French governor would make her a sort of queen, Adams the biographer would make her the proof of some thesis of historical determination.

But as his earliest letters suggest, Adams' surrendering of his voice to his subject is a welcome surrender. For if the typical biography would have enabled him to heal the wound between himself and his nationalistic family, relinquishing his voice to Arii Taimai enables him to assert tacitly his loving desire, in Epstein's terms, not for one of the male imperial powers, as he was regularly doing in his correspondence, but for the land over which they struggle. This surrender implies a pledge of allegiance that is expressed by his acknowledgment and *imitation* of her species of meaningful action. She provides a model of a kind of action not implicated in the concept of masculine assertion he had so long felt ambiguous about. For her, this means refusing the formulas for significant action furnished by the European colonials and mercenaries.[18] For him, it means *ceasing to write*, a cessation that subsequently becomes meaningful in light of the story she tells. If, as Martha Banta argues, Adams did have a lifelong struggle to "resist the temptation *not to do*," Arii Taimai's story enables him legitimately to allow himself an unpuritanical indulgence in this temptation. She not only provides him with a way to refuse participation in the story of imperial assertion in which his heritage would inscribe him, but in allowing him joint authorship of a text that "the family mind" could never have authorized him to write, she furnishes him with a model of meaningful action for which he had long expressed a surreptitious desire.

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NOTES

1. Adams himself sometimes rued not only the intemperateness of his letters, but their "bigness, brutality and coarseness; they perpetuate all one's mistakes, blunders and carelessness" (Samuels, *Major Phase* 220). His letters are collected in the six volume *Letters of Henry Adams*. In general, I will cite letters by date of composition and correspondent.

2. In his edited collection of essays on the *Education*, for example, John Carlos Rowe summarizes Howard Horwitz's essay as arguing that Adams devises a self "capable of adapting to the acceleration and thus multiplication of different historical forces and, presumably, cultural influences" (20). Adams, in short, was capable of adapting the representative speaker of his writings to any situation, whether cosmic or particular.

3 For example, in this passage from the *Education:*

> *Nothing had been further from his mind when he started in November, 1858, than to become a tourist, but a mere tourist, and nothing else, he had become in April, 1860, when he joined his sister in Florence. His father had been in the right. The young man felt a little sore about it. Supposing his father asked him, on his return, what equivalent he had brought back for the time and money put into his experiment! The only possible answer would be: "Sir, I am a tourist!"* (88)

4. This persona also aspired to the status of scientist. Horwitz quotes the lead essay in the October 1895 inaugural issue of the *American Historical Review*, in which William M. Sloan argued that history had recently been elevated from "the highest department of prose literature" to the exalted realm of the sciences (116). And in keeping with the times, Henry Adams was determined, as William Jordy has shown, to be a preeminently scientific historian. See in particular Chapter 1, "Two Temperaments in History: Scientific and Literary," in Jordy's *Henry Adams: Scientific Historian* (1–22).

5. The whole question of which of Adams' writings after 1891 are to be considered as public, published works, and which as private letters is unresolvable, since even *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* and *The Education of Henry Adams* were printed privately in small numbers and sent exclusively to friends and colleagues. Similarly the first edition of the Tahiti history was printed in a small edition of "not more than ten copies," of which apparently only two survive, both in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The 1901 print run seems not to have been much larger (Samuels, *Major Phase* 100, 606). The distinction between Adams' literary and epistolary works therefore rests rather in scale, care, voice, and objective

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6. Although it may seem counterintuitive to argue that someone who could refer to the people of the Philippines as "the usual worthless Malay type" (letter to Elizabeth Cameron, 6 February 1899) would have had qualms about any imperialist venture, such occasional snide comments, probably intended to be funny but also probably emerging from genuine beliefs regarding race, are not entirely trustworthy guides to uncovering Adams' understanding of cultural contacts in a world of colonizers and colonized. He was, after all, capable of describing the Japanese as "badly made and repulsive," a people "taken out of the fairy books" (letter to Hay, 9 July 1886), while also believing that they are the United States' natural Pacific ally.

7. Adams transcribes the name of Ari'i Ta'ima'i (1821–1897) as Ariitaimai or Arii Taimai; to correspond to the *Memoirs*, throughout this piece I will refer to her as Arii Taimai. Her daughter Marau (1860–1934) had divorced King Pomare V some years before, but still retained some qualified regal authority. As recorded in his letter of 10 May 1891 to Elizabeth Cameron, Adams had half seriously proposed the memoir project himself several months earlier, but then Marau made him an earnest offer (*Letters* 3: 471).

8. For a general discussion of Charles Francis Adams' ambivalence during this period, see Beisner 107–32. Henry, a self-conscious and peculiarly insecure scion of the Adams family, was far more committed to pursuing the task of "empire bulding," which he referred to as "the family work of a hundred and fifty years" (*Education* 363). And yet, even though Rowe quite plausibly refers to John Hay as "the proper heir to the political ambitions of the Adamses for the United States, a legacy Henry had failed to carry on" (97), it was Charles Francis, the more self-assertive elder brother, who despite his ambivalence willingly, if grudgingly, assumed the authoritative roles of government official and railroad director.

9. Rowe also ascribes Adams' anti-imperialism in the first edition of the Tahiti history to "profound fear of miscegenation and the dilution of the Anglo-Saxon race" (103). In fact, Adams regarded the Tahitians as "aryans," and hence not an inferior race—he even devises an etymology by which Arii Taimai's title is derived from "aryan" (*Memoirs* 7). But regardless of what conclusion Adams draws from the repellent racist theories of the period, they do not appear in either edition of the history. And the anti-imperialism found in the final section of the 1893 edition has more immediate implications for my argument than whether or not Adams feared the potential loss of some aryan kinsmen. Adams' sense of personal identification with the dispossessed Teva clan

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was almost certainly one source of his outrage, but what is crucial is his curiosity about and respect for the conservative traditions of the culture that the western powers were obliterating.

10. Arii Taimai apparently did not speak English with Adams, Marau often serving as translator. Incorporating material from a number of languages and sources—including the journals of French and British explorers, missionary letters and diaries, and Adams' own research and conversations—*The Memoirs* are presented as though by one author, though the authorial presence shifts among royal we, scholarly third person, traditional story narrator, and the I of the concluding section.

11. Amy Kaplan's analysis of how romance novels of the 1890s were imbedded in the current political discourse offers an intriguing perspective on Adams' relations with Arii Taimai. According to Kaplan, the typical romance plot is "a chivalric rescue mission that in turn rejuvenates the liberator." The hero is a disinherited aristocrat who is "discontented with the dwarfed opportunities" of his society. Falling in love with "a beautiful aristocratic woman" on a "primitive frontier," he invariably "saves the kingdom from falling to its barbaric enemies and thereby modernizes it." To think of Adams as a politically disinherited aristocrat who traveled to the primitive Pacific to reinvigorate himself and who fell in love with the aged chiefess Arii Taimai is of course absurd, but his project, rather than carrying out what Kaplan describes as "refigur(ing) the relation between masculinity and nationality" in an adjustment to the "contemporary desires for unlimited global expansion," instead questions both masculine action and the global expansion that was its field.

12. For a more detailed account, see Newbury's chapter on "Occupation and Resistance" (99–128).

13. From Hallgerda and Penelope in "The Primitive Rights of Women" to the heroines of the novels, Adams' women disrupt political or economic objectives proposed by the men in their worlds (see my "Motives of His Own").

14. For a copy of the declaration, see Newbury 107–108.

15. On Adams' use of biography to illustrate private moral lessons, see Samuels, *Middle Years* 63–64, 189–90.

16. According to Krupat, the edited Native American life story "takes its place . . . in a discourse of *assujettissement*, the ideological authorization for the displacement of the Native" (48). Krupat also notes that the European notions of self-originating authorship and transcendent genius are alien to Native Americans, and he examines countermotions by Native Americans who, like Arii

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Taimai, tell their stories in order to fold themselves into their culture, rather than to stand out from it.

17. Even in the earliest narratives of contact, the feminine and erotic were stressed. In the *Memoirs*, Adams himself quotes Commerson, the naturalist who accompanied the first French explorer of the islands, as exclaiming that, "born under the most beautiful sky, nourished with fruits of a naturally fertile soil," the Tahitians "know no god but Love. Every day is consecrated to him; the whole island is his temple; every woman is his altar; every man his priest [*sacrificateur*]. And what women, you ask? . . . the sisters of the Graces in their nakedness" (*Memoirs* 54, my translation). Gauguin did not begin painting Tahitian women within effusively fertile, eroticized landscapes until shortly after Adams left Polynesia.

18. For instance, Arii Taimai prefaces her story by stating her defiance of the missionaries' marriage laws: her independence is figured in her arrogation of the right to marry a stranger (177).

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Holocaust Chronicle, Spiritual Autobiography, Portrait of an Artist, Novel in the Making: Reading the Abridged Diary of Etty Hillesum

Anna Makkonen

The relationship of literature to life. I must work things out for myself.
—Etty Hillesum[1]

The origins of this essay go back to a moment in an American bookshop. I was in the biography/memoir/autobiography section trying to find a copy of Etty Hillesum's diary in an English translation—that is how the book is classified in my native Finland. After a futile search, I was told that *An Interrupted Life: The Diaries of Etty Hillesum 1941–43* was shelved under European History/Holocaust. In another shop it was under Religion/Judaica. If I had the authority to reclassify Hillesum's book, I would simply place it in Literature—or set a copy in all of these categories, because it deserves as wide a readership as possible.

According to Robert A. Fothergill, "diary-mode as a mode of expression is very difficult to generalize about. In their scope, tone, consistency, conscious literariness, and degree of formality, diary texts lie along a spectrum of possibilities" ("One Day" 87). Often, however, diaries are read as "non-literature," as psychological and/or historical documents, the emphasis being on *bios* or *autos*, not on *graphe*. The fact that Hillesum's diary is placed under European History/Holocaust in bookstores reflects the situation in the scholarship. Together with her *Letters from Westerbork*, *An Interrupted Life* has been studied mainly as a Holocaust chronicle.[2] There are, naturally, good reasons for doing so. Esther (Etty) Hillesum, a Dutch Jewish woman born in 1914, kept a journal during the years of Nazi occupation in

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the Netherlands, entered the transit camp of Westerbork, and finally died at Auschwitz on 30 November 1943. But Hillesum's abridged diary is also a complex literary work, providing many approaches for analysis. Reading it mainly or only as a Holocaust testimony proves the point made by Antoine Roquentin in Sartre's *Nausea*. The end is present at the beginning of the narrative—invisible, it governs the story, determines it, and gives it shape. In *An Interrupted Life*, Hillesum's death is already there in the title.

In an article on Holocaust diaries and memoirs, James A. Young quotes Robert Scholes' claim that in literature "There is no mimesis, only *poeisis*. No recording. Only construction."[3] According to Young, though, rather than "highlighting this critical insight,"

> the Holocaust has compelled writers to assume the role of *witnesses* to criminal events, actually rehabilitating the mimetic impulse in these writers rather than weakening it. And as bearing witness became the aim of this writing, "documentary realism" has become the style by which to persuade readers of a work's testamentary character. (406)

But Etty Hillesum was well aware of *poeisis*, the construction of life, when keeping a diary. In her vocabulary, "chronicle" refers to her plan to write about the Holocaust should she survive it, not to the style of writing she endorsed. Unbelievable as it may sound, "literature" and "aesthetics" occupied Hillesum's mind even to the very end of her diary.

I read Hillesum's journal as the creation of an aspiring author. It is the "literariness" of her diary that I wish to analyze in this essay.[4] A complex text, participating in several discourses and genres, *An Interrupted Life* approaches both the sphere of narrative fiction and of auto/biography. While focusing on this single (edited) diary, I will also address the problems which arise from any one-sided concept of the diary as a genre. I will draw on Lynn Z. Bloom's distinction between private and public private diaries, on Robert A. Fothergill's pioneering work on "literary" diaries, and on Susan Suleiman's concept of *contingency*, the principle of the day-to-day unfolding of the story, which proves fruitful when examining structure and narrativity in diaries generally and Hillesum's in particular. As Suleiman notes, "the accumulation of entries produces,

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gradually, the sense of several stories unfolding for the writer herself. As the diarist realizes that her diary is producing a series of stories, she allows these stories to determine the further direction of her diary. In so doing, she is moving closer to what a novelist does" (236–37).

As I deal with questions of genre as well as scripts of life, I will emphasize the role of the reader in constructing Hillesum's story, the work she *wanted* to write, and the work she *did* write: her *journal intime*. When I refer to reader, however, I also include the translator, and especially the editor, a kind of Master Reader. Very few critics who have written on Hillesum's diary have even acknowledged the impact of Gaarlandt's editing, but in fact, though the point is seldom made, editing and publishing are often of vital importance when approaching a diary.[5] I would argue that we read diaries with a double expectation: for biography, on the one hand, and for diary fiction, on the other. Often originally in the diarist's *autobiographical consciousness*, what unites these two expectations is the desire for a story, for the sense that "one is living a *Life*, that an organic story links one's days together and makes them significant and interesting" (Fothergill, *Private* 153). Created by the act of publication, a "novelized" diary is therefore the product of an interplay between the scripts of the diarist, the reader, and I would add, the editor—and for most readers of Hillesum, the translator as well.

A few words about Etty Hillesum. She grew up in Deventer, a small town in western Holland where her father was a classical scholar and the headmaster of the Municipal Gymnasium. Her mother was Russian. After obtaining a degree in law at the University of Amsterdam, Etty Hillesum studied Russian language and literature. She earned her living by teaching and translating Russian, and by doing housework in the building where she lived in the center of Amsterdam. Hillesum did not want to leave the country nor go into hiding: she felt it was her duty to stay among her fellow Jews. In mid-July 1942, she began work as a typist at the Jewish Council, an organization mediating between the Nazis and Jews. As J. G. Gaarlandt writes in his introduction to the diary, the Council was "under the illusion that by negotiation it could save the Jews from the worst" (xv). In the same month that the first big street roundup took place, Hillesum decided to go voluntarily to Westerbork, before being sent there. From August 1942 until

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September 1943 she worked at the camp hospital, having a special permit which enabled her to visit Amsterdam. Her health was often bad: the last part of the diary is written during a sick leave in the fall of 1942.

There is no mention in the actual diary of plans to publish. As the times became more and more atrocious and Hillesum faced possible death, she must have realized the value of her diary, because she asked her friend Maria Tuinzing to give the notebooks to the Dutch writer Klaas Smelik, in the hope that he would find a publisher after the war was over. It took nearly forty years before her wish was fulfilled.

* * * * *

> *SUNDAY, 9 MARCH [1941].* Here goes, then. This is a painful and well-nigh insuperable step for me: yielding up so much that has been suppressed to a blank sheet of lined paper. The thoughts in my head are sometimes so clear and so sharp and my feelings so deep, but writing about them comes hard. The main difficulty, I think, is a sense of shame.[6] So many inhibitions, so much fear of letting go, of allowing things to pour out of me, and yet that is what I must do if I am ever to give my life a reasonable and satisfactory purpose. It is like the final, liberating scream that always sticks bashfully in your throat when you make love. I am accomplished in bed, just about seasoned enough I should think to be counted among the better lovers, and love does indeed suit me to perfection, and yet it remains a mere trifle, set apart from what is truly essential, and deep inside me something is still locked away. The rest of me is like that, too. I am blessed enough intellectually to be able to fathom most subjects, to express myself clearly on most things; I seem to be a match for most of life's problems, and yet deep down something like a tightly-wound ball of twine binds me relentlessly and at times I am nothing more or less than a miserable, frightened creature, despite the clarity with which I can express myself. (1–2)

There is a strong sense of a beginning in this passage that opens *An Interrupted Life*. As Yasmine Ergas states, "Like a diver going off the deep end, she plunges in . . ." (86). Even though self-reflexiveness is a common feature in diaries—diarists are, naturally, both authors and readers of their own texts, and they often discuss their motives for keeping a diary, or comment on

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their style—the first entry reads like the beginning of a (metafictional) novel. Narrative suspense immediately created, questions thrust themselves into the mind of the reader. Will the diarist succeed in her self-analysis? Is she going to achieve her liberation? In the words of Peter Brooks, the reader, in short, is *Reading for the Plot*. For Brooks, the plot is "a structuring operation elicited in the reader trying to make sense of those meanings that develop only through textual and temporal succession."[7] The key term is desire, "always there at the start of a narrative, often in a state of initial arousal, often having reached a state of intensity such that movement must be created, action undertaken, change begun." In fact, an analysis of the beginning of almost any novel will find "the image of a desire taking on shape, beginning to seek its objects, beginning to develop its textual energetics" (37–38). Novel or not, the beginning of *An Interrupted Life* is certainly a case in point. By linking the beginning of narrative to making love, Hillesum attributes the desire for plot literally to Eros.

Shared by writers and readers, plot brings together the producers and recipients of a text. Hillesum's journal is definitely audience-oriented—what Lynn Z. Bloom calls a public private diary. As Bloom explains, truly *private* diaries are more or less incomprehensible for outside readers, whereas *public* private diaries, even without an editor's notes, "form coherent, freestanding texts that are more or less self-explanatory if the entries are read in toto" (30).[8] Bloom also asserts that for the professional writer—and Hillesum can be regarded as one, even though she was not published during her lifetime—"there are no private writings":

> The private performance may be less polished than the manuscript destined for publication from the outset, but once a writer, like an actor, is audience-oriented, such considerations as telling a good story, getting the sounds and the rhythm right, supplying sufficient detail for another's understanding, can never be excluded. (24–25)

An Interrupted Life contains many of the features of a public private diary. It is a discursive text. The diarist uses rhetorical questions and counterarguments, as well as the first person plural. Dialogues are the cornerstones of Hillesum's writing.

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She addresses herself, God, and people she is thinking about. Some entries even turn into (unsent) letters.

Finally, the reader soon learns that the plunge into writing is itself a response to an encounter that had taken place earlier that morning: a kind of a wrestling match between the diarist and a man referred to as "S." Hillesum had become acquainted with a therapist named Julius Spier, a German Jew and charismatic "psychochirologist" whose methods included palm reading and tussling with patients. Though she sought help for her frequent headaches and bouts of depression, above all she wanted a cure for her "spiritual constipation" (4). This first entry records a change in their relationship. Physical contact that at first felt innocent has taken hold of Hillesum's fantasies. The erotic plot thickens. To the previous questions, the reader now asks what role is this man going to play in Hillesum's life—this "54-year old in whom the struggle between the spirit and the flesh is still in full cry" (2)?

The reader of course is looking for plot partly because the diarist is looking for one, both for her life and for the text aimed at representing it. As Carolyn A. Barros notes, autobiographies are *narratives of transformation:* "autobiography mimics, as it constructs, a being *in* time and in conflict *with* the times. Change is the effect of emplotting or inscribing the 'life.' To inscribe the self as beginning, coming into conflict, and changing is to narrate" (6).[9] For Hillesum, the change results from contact with a person who, she believes, will not only put an end to her at least partly psychosomatic ailments, but also free her from her textual, sexual, and spiritual constraints.

The roles of therapist and patient were soon abandoned. Hillesum became Spier's assistant, friend, disciple, and later, lover.[10] Throughout the diary, Hillesum struggles to overcome her jealousy and her dependency on love relationships in general. And yet, though she wanted to move from *Eros* to *Agape*, from erotic to all-encompassing love, the erotic plot does not disappear for good, as Jopie Vleeschouwer, an inmate at Westerbork, enters the scene as Spier exits it. Eager to go back to the camp, Hillesum contrasts Spier with Jopie in a dramatic manner: "It is odd how this man has sprung so suddenly, almost noiselessly, into my life, vital and inspiring, even while my great friend, the one who attended at the birth of my soul, lay in his bed full of pain and turning into a child" (224–25). The diarist

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acknowledges a development: something has come to an end, while something new has begun. This discovery has both a retrospective and prospective aspect—looking back, but also looking forward.

Definitions of the diary as a genre stress the present: the diarist's focus on the events and reflections of the day. A diary is not retrospective in the way an autobiography is, since it is not written from a single point in time, nor can the diarist know what lies ahead. The diary can, however, move swiftly between past, present, and future. As Susan Suleiman puts it, the diarist cannot write about future events "without rewriting the manuscript ex post facto, but she can break out of the lockstep in which the chronological format confines less skilled writers" (239). The narrative structure can become quite complex, as in this passage written on Spier's birthday. Hillesum imagines herself years later, looking back on that day. The narrative point of view is projected into the future, as the protagonist herself is described through the eyes of others:

> 26 APRIL 1942. Just a small red, faded anemone. But I like the idea that in years to come, I shall chance upon it again between these pages. By then I shall be a matron, and I shall hold this dried flower in my hands and say with a touch of sadness: 'Look, this is the anemone I wore in my hair on the fifty-fifth birthday of the man who was the greatest and most unforgettable friend of my youth. It was during the third year of the Second World War, we ate under-the-counter macaroni and drank real coffee, on which Liesl got 'drunk', we were all in such high spirits, wondering if the war would be over soon, and I wore the red anemone in my hair and somebody said, "you look a mixture of Russian and Spanish," and somebody else, the blond Swiss with the heavy eyebrows, said, "A Russian Carmen," and I asked him to recite a poem about William Tell for us in his funny Swiss burr.' (128–29)

This is the novelistic imagination at work.

* * * * *

For many readers of Hillesum, it may come as a surprise that the beginning of *An Interrupted Life* is not the first, but the second entry in the original notebook. Hillesum's diary starts with a letter, written in German, dated March 8, 1941.

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Dear Mr. S.,

I just wrote an entire story for you but I think I'll spare you from it. Now, while reading it again, I already have to smile about it. It is full of pathos, and self-important now that it is written down. And as I sit here quietly at my trusty desk, the blood is rushing lively through my veins, thanks to your exercises, and I feel the desire to stroke my head in a motherly fashion and say: 'Well, my dear little one, it'll all work itself out. Just don't take yourself and your feelings and thoughts so seriously. Actually you should somehow feel a little bit ashamed of yourself.'

Do you know that yesterday, when I couldn't do anything more than gawk at you, I felt such a clash of contradictory thoughts and feelings that I felt myself shattered by it, and could have screamed out loud if I had restrained myself less. It was a strong erotic feeling for you that I thought I had already overcome. And at the same time, a strong resistance or antipathy to you, and there was also suddenly an infinite feeling of loneliness, a feeling that life is so terribly hard and that one has to do everything by oneself. And help from the outside cannot possibly be provided. Insecurity, fear—everything was there.

And all of a sudden a little piece of chaos was peeking at me from deep within my soul. As I cycled home after leaving you, I would have liked to have been run over by a car, and thought: 'Well, I must be mad like my entire family.' A thought that I always have when I'm somehow desperate. But now I know again that I'm not crazy, and that I just have still to work a lot on myself to become an adult and a 100 percent human being.

And you will help me with this? So now I've written you a few words which were a great effort for me. I don't like writing. It makes me feel so inhibited and insecure. And to think I want to become a writer!

Dear Mr. S., good-bye and thank you for all the good things you have already done for me.

Etty Hillesum (*Etty* 3)[11]

This is a different way to start a diary. The letter (sent or unsent?) works as a kind of preface to the actual *journal intime*, and can be read in no less a "literary" way. But now, the epistolary novel is evoked. On the other hand, the presence of Hillesum's signature points to the autobiographical pact, and therefore calls forth a referential reading. Though not essential for the understanding of the diary, this letter's very existence, however,

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is a reminder of the fact that the abridged version is necessarily different from the original manuscript. Beginning *in medias res*, the editor's version is more powerful, more "artistic." A similar editorial choice shapes the conclusion of *An Interrupted Life* as well. The unabridged version ends with the exclamation, in German, of one of Spier's sayings (da Costa 164): "MAN MUSS SEINE PAUSEN WAHRHABEN WOLLEN!!!" [One must be ready to take a break!!!]. The abridged version omits this, ending instead with a statement that not only contributes to the sense of completion or wholeness of the text, but could also be read as Hillesum's testament: "We should be willing to act as a balm for all wounds" (243).[12]

Every edition is a product of its time, reflecting the expectations of the assumed audience and the personal preferences of its editor. In his introduction, J. G. Gaarlandt describes how painful it was for him to cut Hillesum's diary to a suitable length for publication. Since a 400-page diary by an unknown author would have been too risky a venture, Gaarlandt tried to "convey the contents of the exercise books as carefully as possible," while still "taking out repetitions and many quotations" (xvii). He does not, however, describe his principles for selection, nor does he indicate all the cuts he has made. That Hillesum occasionally switches from Dutch to German goes unmentioned, and many of her numerous notes about psychology and such figures as Freud, Jung, and Adler have been silently erased.[13]

For Philippe Lejeune, a diary is primarily an act, a way of living, a work in progress (*va-et-vient, un travail*) while the writer is alive (63–64). It is a text or genre only secondarily, becoming a text with the death of the diarist. For this reason, Lejeune claims that unpublished diaries are "monstrous," and close to "unreadable." And yet, when published, the diary can lose what might be called its original charm, often becoming instead a hybrid form resembling the epistolary novel or the diary novel (64). Though some diaries are readable even in their unexpurgated form, there is a lot of truth in Lejeune's claim. What I would add, however, is that no matter how faithful it may be, no edition can escape creating a shape that was not originally there. Editors and publishers create new structures. At the same time that the cutting of quotations masks the diary's original intertextualities, new voices and new texts get introduced into

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the scene of reading. Though the diary text is itself abridged, *An Interrupted Life* adds an introduction, endnotes, and an appendix that includes excerpts from seven letters which Hillesum sent from Westerbork, and a letter, written by Jopie Vleeschouwer, describing Etty's last days before deportation to Auschwitz. All those additions move the book in the direction of a biography or a biographical novel. Since the reader now has information on events preceding and following the time of the diary keeping, the author's life becomes "known." Though the narrative can create suspense about the details of her life, the end is certain. Even though no author or no director controls everything—unless we believe in absolute fate, that everything is written beforehand in the book of one's life—the audience knows more than the actors on stage. This is dramatic irony. Even as we read, we know that Hillesum will never become the matron who will find a pressed flower in her diary.[14]

* * * * *

For Hillesum, beginning a diary was an act of courage. It meant breaking her internal resistance, letting go. A method of self-analysis, a tool for therapy, and a mode of spiritual reflection and self-discipline, the diary was to pave the way toward "serious" writing—novels, poetry, short stories.[15] Diary keeping is often described as spontaneous, unmediated writing, in which little attention is paid to style and structure.[16] But Hillesum is an extremely self-conscious and critical diary writer, as both the letter beginning the original diary and the first entry of *An Interrupted Life* demonstrate. Hillesum continually reminds herself that she is not writing a masterpiece but trying to overcome the psychological block hindering her creativity. The diary writing is "a sort of a rough draft," with things jotted down in the hope that "all the pieces will fit together in the end" (34). And yet, she cannot help apologizing for her style. She calls the words she uses "plain and necessarily clumsy" (149). She criticizes her desire to "produce immediate aphorisms and eternal truths from the simplest experiences" (149). She mocks the entire effort to draw herself "life-size in words, in colourful, sweeping words" (57). Her voracious reading is held responsible for her "laziness," because Hillesum feels that she often allows the words of others to express what she ought to

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be formulating herself (35). This over-critical yet highly ambitious attitude makes even a simple translation from Russian into Dutch extremely difficult: "the whole of Russia spreads out before my mind's eye and I feel I must write another *Brothers Karamazov*, at the very least" (47).[17]

As time passes, her self-instructions continue to appear. "Back into darkness," she commands, "into your mother's womb, into *the collective*. Break free, find your own voice, vanquish the chaos within" (57). She orders herself to "Sweep together all the scattered pieces and mold them into a whole" (126), to "Verbalise, vocalise, visualise" (217). And "Above all: be steadfast. Don't let the days crumble away between your clever fingers" (126). Such exhortations do not, however, lead to action. Hillesum even finds her situation laughable. She could write "whole chapters" on how she would like to write, but "it is quite possible that apart from these words of wisdom I shall never put pen to paper" (143–44). Though she identifies with Rilke, who wanted to follow Auguste Rodin's example and adopt a definite daily schedule and discipline,[18] faith and doubt, belief and disbelief in her own talents fluctuate throughout Hillesum's diary (102). And in the end, the anxious need to create is overshadowed by both the urgency of the historical situation, and by her growing spirituality.[19]

While Hillesum frets that her "real" writing is being postponed, however, a poetics is surely developing in the pages of her diary. Her prose—devoid of big words, simple, natural, born out of inner necessity, readable, comprehensible, whole—increasingly approaches the standard she sets for what a literary work should be like. Hillesum compares this ideal for prose with a Japanese print:

> That's how I want to write. With that much space round a few words. They should simply emphasise the silence. Just like that print with the sprig of blossom in the lower corner. A few delicate brush strokes—but with what attention to the smallest detail—and all around it space, not empty but inspired. The few great things that matter in life can be said in a few words. If I should ever write—but what?—I would like to brush a few words against a wordless background. To describe the silence and the stillness and to inspire them. What matters is the right relationship between words and wordlessness, the wordlessness in which much more happens than in all the words one can string together. (143)

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As Robert A. Fothergill has written, "one of the most important effects of keeping a diary is the awareness thereby generated of patterns and processes at work in the life of the writer." As these patterns of awareness become actual subjects within the diary, they also become "the source of structural 'themes' that may give to the work a highly sophisticated design" (41). Ultimately, "as a diary grows to a certain length and substance it impresses upon the mind of its writer a conception of a completed book that it might ultimately be, if sustained with sufficient dedication and vitality" (44). As I've already noted, in Hillesum's case, what Fothergill describes as the result of the writing process is there at the very beginning. Hillesum knows her diary is a literary work. And yet, as she fills page after page, she becomes even more aware of and interested in the continuity being created:

> Such a strong sense of: here on these pages I am spinning my thread. And a thread runs through my life, through my reality, like a continuous line. There is the Gospel of St Matthew morning and night, and now and then a few words on this paper. It's not so much the imperfect words on these faint blue lines, as the feeling, time and again, of returning to a place from which one can continue to spin one and the same thread, where one can gradually create a continuum, a continuum which is really one's life. (113)

In her own diary entry for April 20, 1919, Virginia Woolf has famously described the goal for such writing as "something loose knit, & yet not slovenly, so elastic it will embrace any thing, solemn, slight or beautiful that comes to my mind." A diary, she goes on to say, can be thought of as a "deep old desk, or capacious hold-all, in which one flings a mass of odds & ends without looking them through." Ideally, after a year or two, the writer will find that "the collection has sorted itself & refined itself & coalesced, as such deposits so mysteriously do, into a mould, transparent enough to reflect the light of our life, & yet steady, tranquil composed with the aloofness of a work of art" (266). As the previous quotation from Hillesum indicates, she too saw the diary as a text produced through a process of spinning or weaving. The constraining "tightly-wound ball of twine" mentioned in the first entry of *An Interrupted Life* becomes, through writing, the spun thread of her life. But for

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Hillesum, such metaphors, though essential to the process of self-construction, can also be signs of derivativeness, or even intellectual laziness. After writing the "spinning" passage quoted above, Hillesum immediately asked herself if she had composed it under the influence of Rilke's letters. Even as she strives for coherence in her outlook on life, she can charge herself with being "still too careless on the whole" (113)—an accusation which may apply to her life, her diary, her literary work, or all three.

But the impulse toward establishing coherence through a recurring, "integrative metaphor" (Bloom 29) profoundly shapes Hillesum's writing, and especially when she meditates on the tree (or two trees) which can be seen from her window. This view becomes an inner landscape, reflecting her changing moods. During the nightly air raids the trees look menacing, their branches, which have sometimes bowed down "under the weight of the fruit of the stars," now "like daggers piercing the bright spring air" (99). On another occasion, the tree is "poor, ravaged, lonely," as "A hesitant star climbed up its austere body, rested for a moment in the crook of one of its limbs (?!good!) and then lost itself in the wide sky, no longer caught up in the branches" (109). Not simply mirrors of Hillesum's states of mind, these tree vignettes are also sketches for future use, as Hillesum's evaluation in brackets "(?!good!)" proves. As Hillesum herself recognizes, tracing the distinct and various representations of the tree establishes a coherent narrative of transformation: "The tree is still there, the tree that could write my life story. But it is no longer the same tree, or is it I who am no longer the same?" (208).

* * * * *

Hillesum's metaphors, which tie together disparate concerns, find a parallel in her practice of intertwining stories of love, spirituality, and creation. Allusion is a crucial component of this process. Hillesum's spiritual transformation, the move from Eros to Agape, began well before she met Spier, although he strongly influenced her interest in the Bible and Christian mysticism—Thomas à Kempis, St. Augustine, and Meister Eckhardt in particular.[21] St. Augustine's presence forges a link with the tradition of spiritual autobiography, or conversion narratives, his *Confessions* being of course the prototype of the

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genre. Like Augustine, Hillesum's literary musings arise from her steadily increasing practice of meditation, of turning inwards. It is there she finds the impulse towards spirituality. "Something has happened to me and I don't know if it's just a passing mood or something crucial," she writes, for while cycling she had started to "babble" a prayer, asking God to take her by the hand and lead her in her desire to spread her "genuine love for others" (64). For Hillesum, the spiritual is not only within, but an interlocutor. Prayer, for example, is "a silly, naive or deadly serious dialogue with what is deepest inside me, which for the sake of convenience I call God" (192). That dialogue soon pervades her diary, as prayers, which the editor has separated from the text by adding quotation marks, gradually take up more space in the text. In time, Hillesum feels prepared to speak outside of her text. When Spier dies, she determines to adopt her spiritual leader's role: "And I shall be the mediator for any other soul I can reach" (210). The writer, the listener, has become the speaker. The disciple has become an apostle.

As is so often the case, Hillesum establishes an emblem for this cluster of concerns. Appearing some twenty times in the text, the act of kneeling—a gesture not part of her Jewish heritage—develops into a leitmotiv. The same elements are mentioned again and again—the head down, the hands together, kneeling on a rough mat in the bathroom, or among crumbs from the breakfast table. Hillesum is always surprised by the urgency of her desire to kneel, and that act itself becomes a potential subject for writing. One proposed idea for a novel: "The girl who could not kneel or something like that" (59). A couple of pages later Hillesum elaborates on this idea, as spirituality, personal history, and fiction converge:

> Still a lot of shame to get rid of. And there is God. The girl who could not kneel but learned to do so on the rough coconut matting in an untidy bathroom. Such things are often more intimate than sex. The story of the girl who gradually learnt to kneel is something I would love to write in the fullest possible way. (62)

The significance of kneeling expands beyond the religious to become part of Hillesum's all-encompassing desire to create. This act, "as intimate as gestures of love that cannot be put into words either, except by a poet" (76), continues to reappear as

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the diary progresses. "The girl who could not kneel" is mentioned twice more as a working title for a novel (79, 109–110). Near the diary's end, she identifies the proposed narrative as her own: "What a strange story it really is, my story: the girl who could not kneel. Or its variation: the girl who learned to pray" (240). The diary in a sense becomes the narrative work Hillesum considers. Almost like a bildungsroman, or a portrait of the artist as a young woman, the diary has told us the story of how the protagonist grew into someone capable of writing the narrative we now read (cf. Kankimäki, "Kirjallisuuden").

Hillesum also drew her art and spirituality together through her ongoing meditation upon Rilke, the writer most often mentioned and quoted in *An Interrupted Life*. She "soaked" up Rilke's letters, wanting his work and life to become a part of herself (106). Rilke was, for Hillesum, an artist *par excellence*, a poet, a craftsman, a household god whose books became sacred objects. In fact, those images of monastic life which appear in Hillesum's diary can most often be traced to Rilke's writings on the vocation of the artist. Rilke's title, *The Book of Hours*—one of the books that Hillesum took to Westerbork—refers to the monastic schedule of prayers, and the persona in "Monastic Life," the volume's first part, is a monk and an icon painter. *The Book of Hours*, however, is not a religious text *per se* but the work of a theologian of creativity. At one time kneeling became for Rilke a part of the working method he was striving for.[21] In a June 29, 1906, letter to his wife, he tells her about his decision to confine himself for the sake of his work: "So will I kneel down and rise up, every day, alone in my room, and I will consider sacred what happened to me in it: even the [work] not having come, even the disappointment, even the forsakenness" (224).

This tension between the artist's desire to remain in secluded study and the impulse to make art a tool for social and religious struggle in the world—even if a world behind barbed wire—steadily increases over the course of the diary. Hillesum cherishes the idea of a convent, where she would immerse herself "in the wisdom of the ages and in myself" (36), and she also loves her room. Its desk lined with dictionaries, volumes of Rilke, Dostoyevsky, and St. Augustine. Its bunch of flowers. At first this desk, a symbol of her artistic and scholarly self, is seen as opposite to the "real world": "Reality does fascinate me, although only from behind my desk,

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not in the living and the doing. To understand ideas and people you must go into the real world" (48). She reminds herself that God must be sought "amongst the people, out in the world" (65). Anticipating changes in her life, the diarist prepares to accept them, to leave her room, "the most dependable refuge" (136), and enter the crowded camp. But not to leave her sense of the spiritual. The room/world opposition collapses: eventually, Hillesum can write that it will not matter whether she will be sitting "at this beloved old desk now, or in a bare room in the Jewish district or perhaps in a labour camp under SS guards in a month's time—I shall always feel safe in God's arms" (185). Her writing has therefore not been an escape into art, but a movement through art towards engagement: "After all, it has not been 'literature' and 'aesthetics' alone I have been busy with here at my desk during these last few years" (192). Art gives way to social commitment. The border between inner and outer is dissolved; the desk has become internalized.

Nazi oppression accelerated this change in Hillesum's worldview, paradoxically helping her achieve, at least in the pages of her diary, her ideal of wholeness. After two months in Westerbork she can trace her development from a time when she had "no idea what to make of life" to a moment when she could "feel the contours of these times with my fingertips":

> How is it that this stretch of heathland surrounded by barbed wire, through which so much human misery has flooded, nevertheless remains inscribed in my memory as something almost lovely? How is it that my spirit, far from being oppressed, seemed to grow lighter and brighter there? It is because I read the signs of the times and they did not seem meaningless to me. Surrounded by my writers and poets and the flowers on my desk I loved life. And there among the barracks, full of hunted and persecuted people, I found confirmation of my love of life. Life in those draughty barracks was no other than life in this protected, peaceful room. Not for one moment was I cut off from the life I was said to have left behind. There was simply one great, meaningful whole. (219)

Such a worldview, and artistic ideal, is not of course without its ruptures and contradictions. Love and compassion for other people do not lessen her desire to remember everything that happens to her and the people around her, a desire which

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approaches a kind of naturalism: "So I make a mental note of every small gesture, every utterance, every facial expression, and I do so with almost cold detachment" (177). Before going back to Westerbork, she describes her "demonic urge to watch everything that happens. A wish to see and to hear and to be present, to worm out all of life's secrets, to observe with detachment what people look like in their last convulsions" (205).

"Cold detachment," a "demonic urge" to observe people "in their last convulsions"—such aspirations may seem odd coming from the woman whose love knows no limits, but accepting the fact of such suffering was a necessary tenet in Hillesum's philosophy of life. She knew terror, persecution, and death, and yet in her writing she found life beautiful and meaningful. Resistance or acquiescence? Saintliness or madness? Tzvetan Todorov perhaps puts it best when he declares that in Hillesum's "most exalted moments, there is something superhuman—and therefore, inhuman—about her: she does not altogether belong to this world. True, she prefers ordinary virtues (caring) to heroic virtues (war), but she goes much further. Instead of trying to do something about the causes of evil, she is content to be 'the balm for all wounds.' She lives not in resignation but rather in joyful acceptance of the world and thus of evil as well" (208).

* * * * *

In *The Sense of An Ending*, Frank Kermode makes a distinction between *kronos*—chronological time, passing time, waiting time—and *kairos*—the time of crisis, the significant time, a point in time filled with significance, charged with meaning derived from its relation to the end (35–64). I am arguing that Hillesum's diary belongs to *kairos*, and not simply because of the crisis in her personal life but because she records apocalyptic times. As quotations from the New Testament appear more frequently in the diary, the subtext of her days of waiting for that final departure for Westerbork becomes that of *Imitatio Christi*.[23] "Chronicle" or "testimony" do not fully convey Hillesum's idea of history, or the work she would have liked to have written. In numerous entries she does speak about her desire to contribute to the writing of history once the war is over. But what Hillesum wanted to write is different from what she actually wrote. Her diary contains little about the transit camp of Westerbork. For

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Auschwitz, we have no record at all. Nor was recording everyday life during the Nazi occupation her primary aim. Regardless of the horrors surrounding her, what was valuable, and even joyous, lay within. On the day the yellow star was instituted, for instance, she saw a cycling man, whom she describes as wearing his yellow star triumphantly, happily: "And all that yellow—I suddenly had a poetic vision of the sun rising above him, so radiant and smiling did he look" (134). Hillesum looks at the man "as one might at the first crocus in spring, with pure enchantment," a feeling she continues to have even in the most dire circumstances. These are the landmarks of her life. Such an insight arouses in Hillesum "just enormous faith and gratitude that life should be so beautiful, and that makes this an historic moment, that and not the fact that S. and I are on our way to the Gestapo this morning" (88).

The power of such moments does not of course shield Hillesum from the horrors surrounding her, or a sense of the need strongly to bear witness. After her first day of work at the Jewish Council, she felt that only "an entirely new language" could express the things she had experienced (194). And only a few days before, she had written down her wish to wield her fountain pen as a hammer to "beat out the story of our fate and a piece of history as it is and never was before" (181).[24] In her book *Writing as Resistance*, Rachel Feldhay Brenner argues that the "metaphor of language as a hammer communicates the seriousness of Hillesum's artistic undertaking to become the chronicler of her time." But Feldhay goes on to suggest that the hammer metaphor also "communicates the difficulty in narrating a history 'as it is and never was before'":

> The chronicler of the Holocaust can no longer use a language that communicates either the sense of natural order in the individual life that ends in death, or the eschatological course of history that, in the indefinite end of time, will conclude in the Apocalypse. The actualization of apocalyptic destruction defies the traditional concept of the chronicle as affirmation of meaning in history. This reality requires a "new narrative," a narrative that is capable of contending with the "improbable possibility" of the destruction of the European Jews. (144)

For Brenner, it is impossible for this new narrative to emerge out of aesthetic traditions: "Long before post-Holocaust skepticism

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about the art of the Holocaust, Hillesum realized that the event of the Holocaust had locked art and life in an asymmetrical relationship" (144). Hillesum, she argues, arrived "at a realization that she will never be able to measure up as an artist, that the apocalyptic horror of history will forever escape the language she commands" (145). But throughout her diary, Etty Hillesum acknowledges the inadequacy of language to express all of her feelings and experiences, good and bad. She writes to herself that "no words will ever be able to contain all of you. God's world and God's heaven are so wide" (57). For Hillesum, even the smallest observation may be infinite: "And then [Spier] gave me that famous look of his which I would need a whole lifetime to put on paper" (63). Hammer strokes, beating out a story—yes, these are conventionally powerful images, and they do catch some part of Hillesum's aspiration. But in her expansive yet fragmentary poetics, a whisper has an equally important role to play. Thinking about her plans to record these days, her imagination lights upon the image of a Japanese print: "later, when I have survived it all, I shall write stories about these times that will be like faint brush strokes against the great wordless background of God, Life, Death, Suffering and Eternity" (180). And short days before the diary ends, she declares that "My impressions are scattered like glittering stars on the dark velvet of my memory" (240).

James A. Young has stated that for many Holocaust diarists "bearing witness was less 'a literary' act and more a 'biological necessity'; for some it was even a 'national obligation'" (406). But as passages like those above suggest, for a Holocaust diarist like Etty Hillesum, the need to testify sat within a sustained literary dedication. A return to Rilke is perhaps instructive. Near the beginning of the diary, Hillesum places his name in a defiant manifesto: "A poem by Rilke is as real and as important as a young man falling out of an aeroplane" (41–42). But even in her last entries, she celebrates this frail man, who "did most of his writing within protective castle walls," as one of those "sensitive artists," who because of a spiritual nature and "the purest and most fitting expression of their deepest insights," would make such writing important "even during more turbulent and debilitating times" (242). Perhaps this is escapism; it may also be an effort to come to terms with her situation. But it is significant that *An Interrupted Life* ends with praise for a poet, and an emphasis on the transcendence of art.

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NOTES

1. *An Interrupted Life* 66. Hillesum's diary, augmented with some letters written in 1943, was edited by J. G. Gaarlandt, and published in the Netherlands in 1981 under the title *Het verstoorde leven*. The book had a wide readership and was translated into a variety of languages. The British version is called *Etty: A Diary 1941–43*. In this article, I will use the American edition, *An Interrupted Life: The Diaries of Etty Hillesum 1941–43*, Arnold J. Pomerans' translation of Gaarlandt's work. Since this abridged and translated edition is the one that the majority of Hillesum readers encounter, I am focusing my study on it. But I will also occasionally refer to the critical edition of the original Dutch-language diary, *Etty: De nagelaten geschriften van Etty Hillesum 1941–1943*. Hillesum's letters were first published in the Netherlands in 1982 under the title *Het denkende hart van de barak*; the English translation, *Letters from Westerbork*, appeared four years later. There is also a joint edition of the diary and letters, with a preface by Eva Hoffman (Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 1996), and *"Men zou een pleister op vele wonden willen zijn,"* a collection of reviews and reactions to Hillesum's life and work.
2. Among the many studies, see Brenner, Ergas, Halperin, and Woodcock.
3. The quotation is from Scholes 7.
4. Mia Kankimäki has examined Hillesum's diary as a literary work in her Master's thesis, "Kirjallisuuden ameebat. Luokittelu ja lukutavat autobiografisessa kirjallisuudessa," and in a subsequent essay, "Kirjoittamisesta ja elämän tarkoituksesta." Denise de Costa's *Anne Frank and Etty Hillesum* also touches on themes I write about, but she reads Hillesum mainly through the theoretical concepts of Hélène Cixous, with little concern for the genre of diary and its interaction with other genres.
5. One critical exception is Philippe Lejeune, who in his most recent work, *Les Brouillons de soi*, discusses editing and rewriting diaries.
6. "Shame" is not quite accurate: "shyness" or "awkwardness," as the word is translated in the Finnish (*ujous*) and Swedish (*blyghet*) editions, would be closer to *schaamtegevoel*. I would like to thank Cornelia Moore for her comments on the original Dutch-language text.
7. In Brooks' view,

> plot belongs to the reader's "competence," and in his "performance"—the reading of narrative—it animates the sense-making process: it is a key component of that "passion of (for) meaning" that, Barthes says, lights us afire when we read. We can, then, conceive of the reading of plot as a form of desire that carries us forward, onward,

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through the text. Narratives both tell of a desire—typically present some story of desire—and arouse and make use of desire as dynamic of signification. Desire is in this view like Freud's notion of Eros, a force including sexual desire but larger and more polymorphous, which (he writes in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*) seeks "to combine organic substances into ever greater unities." Desire as Eros, desire in its plastic and totalizing function, appears to me central to our experience of reading narrative. (37)

8. A public private diary is marked by "foreshadowing and flashbacks; emphasis on topics rather than chronology; repetition of philosophical themes and pervasive issues; character depiction; scene setting; and the use of integrative metaphors, symbols, and other stylistic devices. All of these techniques help to develop and contextualize the subject, and thus aid in orienting the work to an external audience" (29). As for the contrasting voice, in "public private diaries, the author creates and presents a central character, herself, as seen through a central consciousness, also herself. When the writer is skilled, both are sophisticated, artistic constructs with a persona analogous to that of the heroine in a drama, who speaks in a distinctive voice" (31).
9. Since "Even if the narrative under consideration is a diary, a set of letters, an oral account, a collection of photographs, or a hymn, someone is telling someone else that something happened to *me*," therefore even "a published sequence of a writer's letters may be taken as a narrative of transformation, in which the writer's multiple voices, directed toward multiple recipients, change with receiver and time" (8).
10. Though their relationship could hardly be called monogamous. There were plenty of devoted women around Spier, who was also engaged to a young woman living in London. Hillesum herself had a steady relationship with "Papa Han," an elderly man who owned the house where she lived, and she was also attracted to women: "I am, of course, erotically receptive in all directions—to S.'s demonic mouth, to Liesl's trim little figure and waving blond hair no less than this girl [her student] with her slim and lively boy's face" (108).
11. Thanks to Markus Faigle, Jeannette Koijane, and Mark Anderson for their help in translating this passage into English.
12. A more accurate translation for balm would be "plaster," in the British sense of bandage; for Americans, the connotations are of course rather different.
13. On the whole, my overall impression is that Hillesum is less "saintly" in the unabridged diary, which among other things is more open in sexual matters. See, for example, the passage in

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which Hillesum and Spier discuss ways women can achieve orgasm in intercourse (*Etty* 16).

14. Toward the end of her diary, Hillesum herself writes that her life is "not yet finished, that it is not yet a rounded whole. A book, and what a book, in which I have got stuck half-way. I would so much like to read on" (232). Life indeed should follow the ideal of narrative coherence. But in interpreting this principle one has to keep in mind the situation of the diarist: an early death was not a theoretical possibility but a probable fact. Being able to read one's life presupposes the right to live it. One might compare Hillesum's situation with that of a terminally ill patient or a prisoner awaiting execution, but the Holocaust victim knew that even if he or she survived, millions of others would not. Mass destruction sets a unique context of its own.

15. Though Hillesum had many "scribbling blocks" for jotting down ideas, her diary was definitely a writer's notebook, too. "I've been so full of creative impulses, busy covering sheets of paper with a novel," she comments at one point. On a later occasion, she writes that "All my tenderness, all my emotions, this whole swirling soul-lake, soul-sea, soul-ocean, or whatever you want to call it, wants to pour out then, to be allowed to flow forth into just one short poem" (94). The events of the day, the people she meets, the thoughts which idly cross her mind—any or all could be placed in her diary for later reference. Take, for example, this note after a student's visit: "Yes, Loekie, one day I shall write a short story about you, and then you will walk with your long, dancer's legs over oh, so many lines of my exercise book" (108).

16. De Costa, for example, claims Hillesum "was concerned with neither beginnings nor endings, structure nor style" (192).

17. Hillesum's desire to write, and her anxiety about it, go back to her youth. Sitting in her father's study "at about the age of 15," for example, she "suddenly needed to write":

> And I still remember what I wrote: 'red, green, black. Through the leaves of the green tree I see a girl in a bright red dress.' Etcetera. That was the only way in which I could express all the vehement feelings inside me. Later, too, on the train to Paris. Excited by the rhythm of the train, by the many impressions—there I sat with a miserable little notepad clutched in my fingers, and again needed to write. And I wrote something like: 'grey, dark, black, but inside it was bright orange and crimson.' And then, in that hurtling train, I also wrote: 'It is certain that the world dies a separate death for each one of us, and yet the world still exists.' How odd. I remember that I thought this sentence immensely impressive and that, for a time, it relaxed me from my inner constriction. (124–25)

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18. As Rilke wrote to Lou Andreas-Salomé on August 10, 1903, "I must learn to work, Lou, I need to so much! *Il faut toujours travailler—toujours*—[Rodin] said to me one day" (123–24).

19. That need to create, however, does not die. In *Letters from Westerbork*, Hillesum's description of writing an article she had promised to an underground paper starts from the same self-reflexive gesture, the fear of blank paper, familiar from both beginnings of her diary:

> One summer evening [1942] I sat eating red cabbage at the edge of the yellow lupine field that stretched from our dining hut to the delousing station, and with a sudden inspiration I said, "One ought to write a chronicle of Westerbork." An older man to my left—also eating red cabbage—answered, "Yes, but to do that you'd have to be a great poet."
>
> Yes, he is right, it would take a great poet. Little journalistic pieces won't do. . . . All I really want to say is this: I am no poet. And I am rather at my wits' end to know how to honor my promise to K. . . . And so I find myself at an unheard-of late hour facing a blank piece of paper after all. (23–24)

20. Japanese prints appear in Rilke's letters, too. He once wrote to Clara Rilke about the "contours" of a seagull: "so sure and necessary, feather upon feather, and yet as delicate as in a Rodin drawing. Or in Japanese prints; of them the color of the whole too reminds one" (178–79).

21. The tension between Eros and Agape, and the connection between desire and writing, are both established at the beginning of *An Interrupted Life*, as this early entry suggests:

> full of unease, a strange, infernal agitation, which might be productive if only I knew what to do with it. A 'creative' unease. Not of the body—not even a dozen passionate nights of love could assuage it. It is almost a 'sacred' unease. 'Oh God, take me into Your great hands and turn me into Your instrument, let me write.' (31)

This link between sexuality and sanctity holds firm throughout the narrative—most strikingly, perhaps, in a passage from the unabridged diary in which Hillesum mentions reading St. Augustine and Casanova's memoirs in the same morning—the one denying the flesh, the other flouting its delights (*Etty* 406).

22. In a letter to Frieda von Bülow, Rilke also links kneeling and prayer, when he mentions the "kneeling power" of the worshippers before an image of the Madonna (31–32).

23. Hillesum alludes to Christ's passion in Gethsemane—"'Not my will, but Thy will be done'"—and a little later, looking back over

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her life, she concludes: "I have broken my body like bread and shared it out among men. And why not, they were hungry and had gone without so long" (236; 242).

24. Rilke also employed the hammer metaphor. In a letter to Lou Andreas-Salomé, he wrote about the necessity to "find the tool of my art too, the hammer, my hammer, so that it may become master and may grow above all noises." Like his master Rodin, Rilke stressed that art was the product of handiwork: "a loyal, daily work that makes use of everything must after all be possible here too!" (124).

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Reviews

Franklin Speaking?

Jill Ker Conway. *When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography.* New York: Knopf, 1998. 205 pp. ISBN 0-679-44593-5, $23.00.

Any book by Jill Ker Conway demands respect. A distinguished feminist scholar, she is also a fine autobiographer. *The Road from Coorain* and *True North* established her as a leading voice of the genre. Her academic work investigating the suppression and release of the female voice is no less powerful, and the two volumes she edited entitled *Written by Herself* are essential reading for anyone interested in women's memoirs. Somehow she has also managed to find time to serve as vice president at the University of Toronto and to spend a decade as president of Smith College. Now she is a visiting professor in M.I.T.'s Program in Science, Technology, and Society. This book opens with a typically provocative question: "Why is autobiography the most popular form of fiction for modern readers?" (4), and goes on to reveal a mind thoroughly engaged with a conspectus of theoretical and practical issues at the root of literary self-construction. Indeed, one might see her own experience haunting these reflections, a life in which education offering escape from an Australian sheep station, the mystery of her father's death, and the combination of executive and creative power all merge to provide her point of view. "In a long life as a feminist," she remarks, "the question I have been asked most frequently is 'How do you make yourself heard?' . . . We're heard when we speak confidently out of our own experience" (180). This principle informs everything she writes.

When Memory Speaks is a structure strung between two chapters like the entrance and exit pillars of a suspension bridge. The opening chapter, "Memory's Plots," offers the thesis. The skeptical postmodern world, she argues, has lost patience with realist fiction and male history, yet still craves knowledge of "how the world looks from inside another person's experience" (6). Hence the popularity of autobiography. Conway then provides a formalist analysis of the "archetypal life scripts" of Western society and its colonies. Fundamental to this is the notion of life as an odyssey. Achievement is the product of agency, and the material details of the external life become metaphors for the transformation of consciousness "making the journey of initiation the journey of conversion" (7). Thus we have a variety of male "heroes" from St. Augustine (spiritual) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (secular) to Benjamin Franklin (economic), James Joyce (artistic), and Malcolm X (ethnic). This male consciousness of agency is founded on the Western notion of continual "progress," imaged, particularly in America, by frontier battles with virgin territory. Women's autobiographical writing,

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however, is different. Although it maintains the form of an odyssey, it generally disavows agency. This tradition begins with theological speculation within closed communities of nuns. Dame Julian of Norwich "possesses a formidable knowledge of Scripture, but it is the vision of God she wants to convey rather than how she feels about it" (12). Such female self-elision developed into the "archetypal form for the bourgeois female history" in the "secularised romance, the life plot linking the erotic quest for the ideal mate with property and social mobility" (13). The visionary encounter with God is replaced by the romantic search for the immaculate male who will "complete" the intrinsically "incomplete" (and by implication "incompetent") female. Ambition is regarded as unseemly, physical strength (as in frontierswomen's narratives) played down. Even when the woman professional emerged as a "potentially revolutionary social type," she "told her story as a philanthropic romance" in which success "just happened" to her (15).

The last chapter, "Word and Image," is an exercise in autobiography. Conway walks out from behind her screen of objective discourse and speaks directly to the reader. That word "agency" which has recurred throughout now takes on a personal dimension. "If we see the past as fully determined," she writes, " . . . we see ourselves as victims of those forces, with our best hope a kind of stoic resignation. If we see our past as a moral and spiritual journey in time, our imagined future will continue that quest" (176). Clearly Conway prefers the latter attitude. This is a feminist issue in that female autobiographers are seen all too often to disguise their own agency and to settle instead for a kind of romantic victimhood, while their male counterparts write women out of their lives. It is a (mild) call to arms.

The intervening chapters, then, flesh this out. Conway investigates the images of the secular hero and of the romantic heroine; she looks at the autobiographies of empire; there are two chapters on feminist issues, one on homosexual and transsexual narratives, and one, "Grim Tales," on the life stories of those from poor and/or dysfunctional families. The usual pattern is to set up a debate between three or four texts to develop the male/female disjunction of the thesis. It is highly selective, concentrating on American women's writing. One would have liked to see how *The Book of Job* fitted with her ideas about Augustine's *Confessions*, how recent British autobiographies—Doris Lessing's *Under My Skin*, Muriel Spark's *Curriculum Vitae*, Blake Morrison's *When Did You Last See Your Father?*, John Mortimer's *A Voyage Round My Father*, for instance—tallied with her theory. These limitations often nag at the edges of one's consciousness as qualifications of the central idea. But it is a good idea, and the art of a convincing polemicist is precisely the art of rhetorical reduction. The book is well-written, cogently argued. Ultimately it presents its position as subjective and the entire text as another form of autobiography. Quite apart from these virtues, it acts as an excellent introduction to a wide range

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of reading many of us will either not have encountered or will not have subjected to formal analysis.

Nevertheless, some omissions are more seriously baffling and relate to category confusion. One of the basic questions investigated is: "What constitutes an autobiography?" Where it suits Conway, she is happy to include "fiction" like Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Sometimes it is difficult to tell in her first chapter whether she is speaking of novels or of memoirs. (Becky Sharp is cited as an anti-heroine of male discourse.) Sometimes biographies (of parents) are read as the autobiographies of the children who write them. Conway can justify this with the escape clause of that first sentence: autobiography *is* fiction rather than documentary history; all history is in some sense fiction. But that basic question is never teased out. If we can use *Portrait*, why can't we use other autobiographical novels—*David Copperfield* or *The Mill on the Floss*? Why can't we use Jane Austen's letters or Fanny Burney's *Journals*? The clearest omission is surely *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. There is nothing on the Brontës. An obvious chapter in a book like this might have examined the relationships between famous writers and their partners, as recorded in their public and private writings: William and Dorothy Wordsworth; William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, P. B. and Mary Shelley; George Eliot and G. H. Lewes; Virginia and Leonard Woolf; Ford Madox Ford and Stella Bowen; Joseph and Jessie Conrad; D. H. Lawrence and Jessie Chambers. One could go on. The book seems both to raise the complex issue of the fictional status of autobiography and to back off from it into the safe territory of considering only books published as memoirs which are then read as factual statements.

Lying behind this, there is another problem. Conway's sharp intelligence doesn't help her much when it comes to literary criticism, literary theory, or even to a discussion of the postmodern condition. Large swathes of the book constitute plot summary, which frequently make it read like a collection of reviews or a descriptive bibliography. These "reviews" are vivid rehearsals of the life-stories told but rarely move the argument forward. They are also rather literal-minded and insensitive to linguistic nuance. Sometimes she even repeats a plot summary. There is not much sense, despite the formalist analysis of genre markers, of the debates which have riven post-war cultural analysis: of the ways in which literary language defamiliarizes functional language, of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign, of the sense of endless anteriority which has both plagued and stimulated twentieth-century writers. There has been an explosion of feminist writing engaged with these issues and, for instance, the notion of multiplicity and multiple selves.[1] None of it is referred to directly. Much work, for instance, has been done on women's writing of the First World War.[2] No mention is made of this. "If postmodernism

1. See, for example, Smith and Anderson.
2. See, for example, Tylee and Ouditt.

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means anything," she states, "it's the abandonment of the idea everyone over fifty was raised on—of linear development or universal progress." Everyone? Over fifty? Doesn't modernism abandon this idea? The implication, itself problematic, is that postmodernism is a post-World War Two phenomenon. Evelyn Waugh denied universal progress in a 1932 radio broadcast, Beckett's *Trilogy* was begun in that decade. And what about Pirandello, Samuel Butler, Pope, Shakespeare's and Webster's tragedies? Do the countless dystopias count for nothing? Who wrote that life was "nasty, brutish and short"? Conway's title is a version of Nabokov's but *Speak, Memory* is ignored.

The difficulty here is that the voice behind this text, for all its nods towards the consciousness of ambiguity, is itself decided, as though ambiguity were precisely the condition from which women have suffered throughout the centuries. What we have, then, is a political, attractive, but rather old-fashioned feminist agenda. The women she admires most are those displaying "executive talent" like Jane Addams, and her treatment of Addams is typical (108). *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910) obliterates her agency in social reform made plain in her letters and diaries. This is seen to be the lot of women until the late twentieth century: to be "in denial" of their talents, at least in the public male-dominated world, and to see their own decisive actions as unbidden vocation.

It is a convincing, if somewhat simplistic, argument. Conway is happier with the emergence of the unapologetic virago. Emmeline Pankhurst, repulsing the force-feeders in her prison cell by brandishing a heavy earthenware jug above her head, stands like an icon in this book, a Statue of Liberty. And why not? Of course we all cheer as the repulsive doctors and their lackey wardresses scuttle off. Conway, however, seems to find it difficult to sympathize with subtler forms of resistance. No reference is made to French feminism. And, on the American scene, Kate Millet is rejected as passé. "Millet," she says, "buys the radical feminist view that individualism is a sin, and that what distinguishes women's culture is that women's groups function by consensus, without leaders. The feminist doctrine of the day taught that leadership was a male ego trip which women didn't want or need" (132). True, but there is no mistaking the tone of those words: "doctrine" and "of the day." It has a whiff of the right-wing. All that cooperative nonsense is behind us, she seems to say. "Motherhood" gets short shrift. She is politely impatient with women like Mabel Dodge Luhan who say that they were "just naturally fluctuating and flowing all the time . . . in and out of the people I was with" (116). Such an attitude, Conway comments, prefigures "the views of many late-twentieth-century feminist psychologists"—but none of them is named or valorized. Instead, we seem rather to be in the brave new (and now itself rather dated) world of executive power-dressing with female role-models who are decisive.

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Ultimately, this power of female decision becomes the essential issue of interpretation. Women's victimhood derives from their failure publicly to acknowledge their agency. Their writings are thus often in the passive voice. Motherhood is not "agency"; women who fall hopelessly in love—especially with their fathers as in Kathryn Harrison's *The Kiss* (1997)—are passive victims. The act of autobiography is an intervention, particularly for women, in that the writer can reimagine the past and create a future. In short, the ideology here is founded on the notion of "progress" and fixed determinants, and appears to be opposed to the postmodern view of the world. Conway believes there to be a moral imperative to rewrite inherited narratives and to accentuate the positive. One admires the use of experience to "reject out of hand the notion of female passivity and the lack of intellectual drive" (177). At the same time, however, so many of the generalized extrapolations would have left George Eliot (not to mention Angela Carter and Beckett) gasping with incredulity.

The whole point of Harrison's remarkable book is that it *does* acknowledge agency in an incestuous relationship. Conway can't ignore this, but she patronizes her subject by insisting that she was a victim, just as she suggests that most of the other powerful women cited here were (unknown to themselves) also victims. It is not just agency that matters but acknowledgment of agency. Without this, Conway says, it is almost impossible to reason about the morality of one's actions (179). Is it? Aren't there more ways than one to intervene in, or ignore, male discourse? Is moral reasoning the prerogative only of Conway's style of feminism? Wouldn't a lot of women say of her that she is, like Margaret Thatcher, imitating male systems of power? This is a stimulating book and it is a pleasure to read something driven by firmly held beliefs, but it might have been a better argument if it had tried to answer some of the questions it provokes. What she admires most is the "drive to improve the moment" epitomized by Benjamin Franklin (183). It is a log cabin-to-capitalist independence story for every life, with the good psychiatrist as its secular hero.

Martin Stannard

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Susan Clair Imbarrato. *Declarations of Independency in Eighteenth-Century American Autobiography.* Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1998. 192 pp. ISBN 1-57233-012-0, $32.50.

With textual examples ranging from the diary of a woman who began American life as an indentured servant to the autobiographies of Founding Fathers John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, Susan Clair Imbarrato supplies abundant evidence for her argument about the nature of self-construction in eighteenth-century America. Her interest focuses on the relation between acts of self-representation and the ethos of the new Republic. Pointing out the development from seventeenth-century emphasis on community to nineteenth-century Romanticism, with its stress on the individual, Imbarrato shows how eighteenth-century writing about the self helps to effect a transition between the two.

The study organizes its six principal texts into three pairings exemplifying different modes of self-rendition. Elizabeth Ashridge, a Quaker woman, and Jonathan Edwards represent the seventeenth-century spiritual practice of self-examination in their diary records of conversion experiences. Dr. Alexander Hamilton, an eighteenth-century bon vivant, and Elizabeth House Trist, a woman traveling alone to the frontier for reunion with her husband, produce personal travel narratives. Adams and Jefferson write political autobiographies, extended accounts of their lives and times that Imbarrato pairs interestingly with samples of their letters. The sequence of works, some intended for publication, others not, moves toward secularization and increasing concern with a world outside the self.

The context established for examination of these cases includes autobiographical works of the period (notably Benjamin Franklin's) as well as autobiographical theory. Imbarrato attempts to situate her objects of study historically and to analyze them in relation to the problems always at issue in life writing. She considers in particular the question of fictionality and the tension between the growing authority and the continuing uncertainties of writers about themselves. The six autobiographies she considers at length exemplify varied techniques partly corresponding to their diverse personal purposes and intended audience.

Imbarrato's treatment of the travel narratives exemplifies the strengths and weaknesses of her book as a whole. The relevant chapter (Chapter Three), entitled "Declaring the Self in the Social Sphere," pretty much takes for granted the participation of travel narratives in the autobiographical tradition, although its introductory section emphasizes the didactic and public purpose of such narratives, even when they are not intended for publication. Imbarrato points out that "the travel narrative validates individual perspective and encourages individual investigation" (40)—a statement undeniably true, but one that does not fully justify including such accounts as "eighteenth-

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century American autobiography." Does any first-person factual narrative automatically qualify, no matter what its purpose? The critic does not engage with this fundamental theoretical question.

Her account of the actual narratives in question, though, is both engaging and suggestive. She provides wonderful quotations from her texts; she conveys a vivid sense of the personalities that emerge from the stories the travelers tell. Hamilton proves rather disagreeable in his self-satisfaction and self-indulgence, but he is a fine raconteur. Trist, more appealing and far less self-assuming, tells less dramatic stories, on the whole. But her record of, for example, her response to the recurrent necessity, on the road, of sleeping in the same room with men rings with vivid poignancy and illuminates the frontier situation. Imbarrato seems to disapprove of her for imposing her own standards (she gets up before daylight in order to dress unseen), but her solution to the problem struck me as ingenious and appropriate. Finally Imbarrato suggests that both Hamilton's narrative and Trist's foretell later developments in American fiction. Imbarrato fails, however, to develop this potentially interesting point sufficiently to make it persuasive.

This study's most important contribution lies simply in its bringing the specific group of texts to academic attention rather than in its critical analysis. The works Imbarrato considers are by no means unknown. All have been edited in the twentieth century; Adams and Jefferson are of course especially familiar. But by creating juxtapositions, quoting extended passages, and specifying grounds for attention, Imbarrato invites and enables readers to take the writing of famous and obscure, male and female, with equal seriousness. She considers gender issues without making excessive claims or vast generalizations; she locates striking literary moments—Trist's discovery, after months of traveling, that her husband had died; Hamilton's account of tricking a gullible country man about his identity. (He claims, among other things, to be a salesman of air.)

Unfortunately, the book is much less compelling than its examples. Imbarrato writes badly: clumsily, repetitively, often ungrammatically. (One must deplore the lack of competent copy-editing, evident not only in grammatical mistakes but in such usages as *phenomena* employed as a singular noun.) She seems mainly concerned to establish categories and place texts in them; she seems ignorant of what lies outside her immediate concerns. Her allusions to eighteenth-century English fiction, for instance, show only the most superficial knowledge. Her presentation manifests uncomfortable rigidity, lacking freedom, speculative energy, and analytical depth. Although she appears to have read all conceivably relevant secondary material, she makes only mechanical use of most of it: often a citation seems introduced mainly to prove that she has done her homework. Her thesis about the development from community to individualism and from self-examination to self-knowledge is unexceptionable, if far from

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startling. Her effort to place individual acts of writing in a national context is admirable and provocative. But the quality of her analysis—which concentrates on supporting her thesis and rarely moves beyond it—and of her prose unfortunately falls far below that of her enterprise.

Patricia Meyer Spacks

Karen A. Winstead. *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997. 201 pp. ISBN 0-8014-3333-9, $35.00.

Biography's sacred predecessor, hagiography, comprising saints' lives, martyrs' passions, and miracle collections, flourished for well over a millennium as the dominant biographical genre of the long medieval period (ca. 400–1500). Since then it has not been highly valued. Until recently, hagiographic writings were the object of only reluctant attention by positivist historians and biographers in search of medieval hard facts, and were all but ignored by literary historians as tediously unworthy of serious critical study. Literary postmodernism, however, has de-emphasized aesthetics in favor of cultural and political issues, and new historicists have widened the literary canon to include forms of discourse formerly considered marginal or non-literary. These trends have helped stimulate scholarly and critical interest in the long neglected saints' legends of early and later Middle English, although many remain unprinted or barely accessible in rare nineteenth-century editions. Representative of the change in attitude is Karen Winstead's new book on the late medieval English legends of early Christian virgin martyrs (chiefly Agatha, Agnes, Anastasia, Cecilia, Christina, Juliana, Katherine, and Margaret). Despite its narrow scope, it is likely to encourage further careful attention to Middle English saints' legends in general, since it provides a valuable model for approaching vernacular hagiographies diachronically in relation to contemporary historical and cultural trends.

The book does not pretend to be a general introduction to its subject. Winstead eschews questions of aesthetics, poetics, and literary quality, along with the numerous linguistic and textual problems surrounding the Middle English hagiographic corpus. She also bypasses Latin liturgical sources, calendar customs, relics cults, and other ecclesiastical evidence some would consider essential for understanding the reception of a saint's legend over time and in different communities. Winstead's focus is consistently cultural rather than literary-historical: she asks what "work" might these legends of virgin martyrs have been designed to do? What broad cultural trends do they express or respond to? How did the largely non-clerical audiences, for whom the vernacular legends were presumably intended, understand and react to such anti-social fiction? Hardly

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heroines who self-assertively defy parental and secular authority, miraculously endure the grisliest of tortures, and embrace death by execution in order to preserve their virginity and faith?

Whereas saints' lives in the past have been dismissed as monotonously imitative and lacking in individuality, Winstead's overall argument emphasizes their diversity. Just as most of the Middle English saints' legends depart from their Latin sources, rejecting the meditative, devotional character of the latter in favor of narrative interest, so successive generations of Middle English hagiographers differ from one another in continually reinterpreting the traditional legends according to their changing perceptions of the needs of society and church, especially with regard to the role of women. Specifically, Winstead ponders the extent to which the retelling of a female martyr's story would be likely to encourage the reader to identify with and emulate the saint's posture of resistance to social and sexual norms, or, conversely, to hold the reader (especially the female reader) at an admiring distance from the martyr's extreme behavior, thereby neutralizing the potentially destabilizing effects of her tale. At different points in the book, as a basis for her own approach to reading the vernacular legends, Winstead cites cogent historical examples of how these ancient wonder tales continued to have immediate meaning and relevance for medieval people. Thus, a young bride-to-be, Christina of Markyate, in the late eleventh century, was reportedly inspired by the story of Saint Cecilia to try in vain to persuade her prospective husband to agree to a celibate marriage, and then to defy family and bishop by becoming a hermit. Somewhat later, Ailred of Rievaulx encouraged female recluses in their cells to meditate on the story of Saint Agnes in her brothel to help themselves overcome sexual temptation. From the late fourteenth century, Winstead repeatedly invokes the now celebrated case of Margery Kempe, who in the eyes of many of her contemporaries identified rather too closely with certain of her favorite saints, including Saint Katherine, who not only enjoyed an intimate relationship with Jesus, as Margery claimed for herself, but was also, like Margery, loquacious and argumentative.

In keeping with her close attention to the historical background of her chosen texts, Winstead structures her study chronologically. For example, the first main chapter after the introduction deals with the so-called *Katherine*-group of closely related alliterative prose legends written in the Southwest around 1200 (*Julienne*, *Katerine*, and *Margarete*), which are frequently associated with several other devotional works, written specifically for female recluses, from the same region and period. These, the earliest Middle English hagiographies, are analyzed by Winstead as the most faithful to their Latin sources, in that they preserve the latter's lengthy sequences of prayer and catechetical instruction, while at the same time rendering the virgins in more human and sympathetic terms and elaborating

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on their aggressive resistance to their secular male suitors and persecutors. The *Katherine*-group legends thus introduce a variety of narrative details clearly designed to encourage female religious readers to identify closely with the virgin heroines, and to persevere in their vocations in the face of external and internal resistance. Winstead, following earlier suggestions by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, attributes such emphases in part to the fact that twelfth-century England witnessed a revival of monastic and eremitic life among women as well as men.

By contrast, the vernacular legends in the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century collections reflect a changed religious and social climate. In Winstead's view, they meet the needs of a more obviously mixed, secular audience by presenting their heroines much more starkly as "fractious viragoes" whose behavior is so outrageous and superhuman that their stories become bizarre spectacles eliciting wonder and amazement, and providing a sort of carnivalesque release. Among the various background factors adduced by Winstead here is the more stridently defensive posture of the church in relation to the laity and a growing late medieval anxiety about social instability in general and autonomous women in particular.

The later chapters of the book discuss in more detail the works of certain post-Chaucerian authors active in the first half of the fifteenth century, notably John Lydgate, Osbern Bokenham, and John Capgrave. Winstead characterizes the hagiographic productions of Lydgate and Bokenham as "decorous lives," aimed at an elite audience of more sophisticated lay readers than those of the earlier legendaries. These new (and predominantly female) readers of vernacular hagiography were swept up in a late medieval wave of devotion, striving to incorporate semi-monastic routines into their domestic lives while continuing to fulfill the responsibilities of lay aristocratic life. In the work of Lydgate and Bokenham, the original Latin legends' emphasis on prayer and devotional practices is restored, but the heroine's aggressive posture is minimized in favor of a new attention to refined manners, wise speech, and works of mercy (Winstead makes good use here of parallel depictions of the virgin saints in fashionable books of *horae*). The female martyr is thus once again available for emulation as well as admiration, but in a form that is non-threatening to prevailing social norms. Winstead locates Lydgate's compositions of this sort in the historical context of the reign of Henry V, which witnessed a conservative reaction against Lollard non-conformists and the excesses of individualistic religious enthusiasts like Margery Kempe.

The preceding summary hardly does justice to the wealth of insight and illustration in Winstead's clearly written, highly intelligent, and lucidly organized book, which deserves an audience among students of biography, and religious and gender history, as well as among Middle English specialists. In closing it should be mentioned that, among the work's few negative features, the author's sense of historical context

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appears heavily dependent on secondary sources, which at times threaten to overwhelm her critical readings. Finally, some readers will be surprised that the currently hot topics of body and sexuality, which are undeniably problematic aspects of the virgin martyr legends, claim so little of Winstead's detailed attention, at least in comparison with other recent studies, such as those by Brigitte Cazelles and Sheila Delany, of female images in late medieval vernacular hagiography.

E. Gordon Whatley

Robert E. Gilbert. *The Mortal Presidency: Illness and Anguish in the White House.* New York: Fordham UP, 1998. 353 pp. ISBN 0-8232-1836-8, $39.00 (hardbound); ISBN 0-8232-1837-6, $18.95 (paperback).

Robert E. Gilbert is the foremost expert on the health of American presidents. For that matter, there is no one writing on the leadership of any specific country that achieves the depth of understanding that Gilbert brings to the topic.

We all know that our own ability to carry on our work is affected by our physical health, and we recognize that our ability to function can be even more greatly altered by emotional pain or simple lack of mental sharpness. And we know that our physical health and our mental states each affect the other. A headache not only makes us less able to concentrate, it often makes us more subject to anger or to an abrupt decision. Add to these problems the fact that psychoactive drugs are commonly prescribed for a very great variety of illnesses, and that recreational drugs, including alcohol, are very common, and one can see that the health of leaders—who tend to be in or beyond middle age—is an important consideration in understanding what happens in politics.

The Mortal Presidency is the best book on the topic of presidential illness. It has now been reissued in a second edition (the first was published in 1992 by Basic Books) with added material. The book examines the presidencies from Washington through Reagan, with much briefer discussions on health-related matters in the Bush and Clinton presidencies. There is a problem with writing on the health of recent presidents. We know that reliable health information on presidents rarely appears until after their death, often at least ten years after that. Even then, our understanding must await the publication of scholarly material. Since the end of the second world war there have been ten presidents. Five are still living!

Gilbert's analysis is not only detailed and nuanced; more importantly, it clearly relates the health of the president to the politics of the time. Wilson's stroke led to the presidency being virtually dead in the water for the rest of his term. Coolidge's clinical depression on

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the death of his son changed his personality and created quite a different presidency than would have almost surely been the case had his son not died. Lyndon Johnson's exaggerated and self-destructive ambition that was fueled by an early fear of failing his mother is implicated in some of his best, and some of his worst, policies. These are just some of the fascinating and perceptive analyses offered in this book. Any careful reviewer would find something with which to find fault—the allegations surrounding amphetamine abuse by Kennedy should have been given more attention, and Reagan's distant management style might have been considered as more of a style than as a defect bordering on pathology.

Gilbert was selected in 1995 to be a member of what was to become President Clinton's Working Group on Disability of United States Presidents. Among other matters (such as the organization of the White House Medical Unit) this body considered changes in the Twenty-fifth (disability) Amendment to the constitution. The report was made to the President after a White House conference in the Fall of 1997. *The Mortal Presidency* includes a chapter on this important and controversial topic. Gilbert argues that though the Twenty-fifth Amendment is not capable of meeting every problem that is likely to arise, it is the best that we can do constitutionally. He does, however, recommend that we should be more cautious in choosing our vice presidents, and toward that end suggests that each nominating convention should be given a free vote on three vice presidential nominees supplied by the presidential nominee and that the vote should take place no sooner than forty-eight hours after the presidential nominee has been selected and submitted the names.

In sum, this is a superb book. *The Mortal Presidency* is one of the books that I assign to my students, and one that all students—undergraduates and professors alike—of the presidency should own and study.

Robert S. Robins

The Notorious as Cultural Signposts

Tithecott, Richard. *Of Men and Monsters: Jeffrey Dahmer and the Construction of the Serial Killer.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1997. 192 pp. ISBN 0-299-15684-2, $14.95.

Seltzer, Mark. *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture.* New York: Routledge, 1997. 302 pp. ISBN 0-415-91481-7, $18.99.

Notoriety and celebrity occupy similar spaces in the contemporary public sphere. If we think for a moment of the public spaces occupied by O.J. Simpson, it becomes clear that the celebrated and the notorious

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often blend into the same entity. Here was a college and then professional football star, a television color sports commentator, and a serious and comic actor becoming the accused of a gruesome double murder. Indeed, his notoriety in the murder trial and the civil trial depended on the preexistence of the well-liked public personality OJ. The incongruities of one public profile as a role model of successful African American (like Mike Tyson before and after him) with a particularly visceral murder produced a discursive proliferation: OJ as an entity moved beyond celebrity status or notoriety into the site for a massive public debate about race, wealth, and the American justice system.

The notorious, for all their similarities to the representations of celebrities, ultimately establish a different engagement with the public sphere that leads to a much different social and cultural function. Notoriety is a focus on spectacular breaks with the accepted rules and regulations of a particular culture. When the notorious do not have a preexistence as a celebrity in the public consciousness, they lead the culture onto a narrative road map that, in the tradition of Levi-Strauss, isolates on the binary quality of the transgression itself: the legal and the illegal, the normal and the abnormal, the human and the inhuman, the natural and the unnatural. There may be all forms of transgression that cross the line about what is permissible in contemporary culture, and that boundary has shifted. We can only look back now in disbelief about Ingrid Bergman's "shocking" baby Isabella, born out of wedlock to Roberto Rosselini in the 1950s, leading to a decade of blacklisting in Hollywood. But the ultimate transgression remains murder. Although one could argue that war, self-defense, and capital punishment are elaborate social/institutional tools that make it temporarily permissible, murder's quality of being beyond the boundaries of any culture makes it a discursive site for the investigation of the contemporary self. Its supreme taboo status produces a desire by the culture to see the other side. Much as the gruesome fairy tales in their depiction of death, cannibalism, and mutilation have fascinated children, the real-life murderer fascinates an entire culture into establishing a distinction between the culture and what it is not. The voyeuristic magnetism of comprehending what is incomprehensible within the limits of culture usually means we cannot look away from the horror film, the murderer's biography, the newspaper article on the death scene, or the television news' partial images of a massacre.

Two recently published books on serial killers make worthwhile efforts at unpacking the cultural value of the most notorious. Through different starting points and clearly distinct agendas, the two authors have provided richly textured readings of contemporary subjectivity. Both books transcend their object of study into a reading of contemporary culture and the play of personality, the public organization of the self, and the establishment of a public order in defining the culture itself.

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In Of Men and Monsters: Jeffrey Dahmer and the Construction of a Serial Killer, Richard Tithecott explains that he wishes "to write a history of the serial killer's empowerment: it is a history which has correspondence with the histories of gender, race and class" (6). Privileging a Foucauldian "archaeology" and genealogy of power, Tithecott manages to set up the discursive cocktail that became the most notorious of serial killers, Jeffrey Dahmer. It would be hard to imagine someone unaware of who Jeffrey Dahmer was, and certainly the book cannot lay claim to a narrative and linear account of his crimes and trial. In other words, this is not a biography, but rather a study of the manufacture of a particular personality. Embedded in the fabric of manufacture are the large cultural tropes that Tithecott fingers in his introduction so that the author can successfully claim that the culture as a whole is part of the construction of Dahmer. It is through different forms of cultural value and different techniques of othering that we are able to see how the serial killer is deployed within the culture.

Although Tithecott deals less with the judicial discourse than one would expect, he does identify in a provocative way the contestation over language and criminality between the psychiatric profession and the FBI Behavioral Science Unit (BSU). The assessment of why the serial killer kills becomes backgrounded as the psychiatric profession of looking at causality and motive is transformed via the BSU into a study of type. Indeed, serial killing is labeled the motiveless crime (28), and through the ascendancy of the FBI model of criminality—where a serial killer's exhibition of organized or disorganized killing becomes a defining characteristic (22)—the serial killer can be more easily equated with evil. The insanity defense, the common use of psychiatry in murder trials, becomes inadmissible if a personality disorder becomes the causal feature of the serial killer. The serial killer as evil and therefore outside of culture and civilization constructs the contemporary monster. As demonstrations of evil, Tithecott explains, the crimes situate the serial killer as something that emerges from nature (28). The FBI's capacity to define the serial killer thus serves "as a kind of ultimate referent for their procedures, their level of fundings and their discourse" (28).

Tithecott cleverly links the labeling of the serial killer as monster to a strengthening discourse of individuality emerging in contemporary society. Dahmer's abnormality is personal, aligned with the private world of family and not some social responsibility: "society is a dirty word or 'myth' as Thatcher (in)famously put it. Rugged (manly) individualism is valorized over (effeminate) society" (115). In the BSU's work the dysfunctional family becomes the private breeding ground for the future serial killer, where clearly articulated and stable entities of masculinity and femininity are somehow skewed. Tithecott builds a powerful thesis from this individuating discourse, which produces the monster as emerging from nature and the lack of the social in the meaning of the serial killer. First, a denial

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of a social responsibility for misogyny and therefore our construction of masculinity is left "uncritiqued" (58). Building from this lacuna of inquiry in contemporary culture's reading of the serial killer, Tithecott explains that the inexplicability of the serial killer makes him "a figure of nature, and in the process misogyny, for example, becomes 'natural'" (59). This naturalization is "a factor in our failure to take responsibility for collective fantasies, for the fantasies of a violent society" (60).

The individuating discourse that Tithecott has identified courses through the representation of Dahmer as serial killer. The difficulty in capturing Dahmer is that he resembles normality, which makes him all the more fascinating. He is normal looking, which we can equate with white and from the middle class. His apparent homosexuality after capture becomes highlighted; his victims' maleness and youth are emphasized, while their ethnicities (Black or Hispanic) become a problem in the discourse that is never fully dealt with. Homosexuality can be clearly demonized as abnormal, but "Dahmer's possible racism is much more of a taboo subject . . . and that taboo helps to shield the partnership of whiteness with civilization" (71). Dahmer treads the boundaries of the binary oppositions operating in the culture:

> Our fascination with Dahmer is perhaps related to this inability to settle on how we are to depict him, in our inability to unproblematically conflate the oppositions of heterosexuality/homosexuality and civilization/savagery. . . . Like [Hannibal the Cannibal] Lecter, Dahmer is placed on a threshold of cultural constructions and is perceived powerful as a result of his access to both sides of the border. (88)

Dahmer's power is that he is outside the boundaries of the culture while playing within. It is a mask of identity that allows him to evade capture; once his true identity is revealed as that of a serial killer, his apparent cannibalism, which was by all evidence very insignificant, becomes central in defining his nature outside of civilization.

Considering that serial killers are predominantly white, Tithecott hypothesizes that the "serial killer myth can be read as an exaggeration of the power of those threatened, as a sign of revenge upon a changing society" (144). Through this conceptualization, Tithecott further elaborates on the contemporary self and how the serial killer embodies a sense of omnipotence that corresponds with a more general desire within the culture for greater control, just as that ability to control by the white middle class is ebbing. Moreover, serial killers' loner status—along with their binary doppelganger, the solo police detectives who are attempting to capture them—is also something that is celebrated in contemporary culture: clearly in each of their activities they articulate agency and can be seen in a perverse turn as ultimate expressions of individuality, equal to the vigilante heroes presented in our film culture.

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Tithecott's work is a remarkable study that provides a model for how critical inquiry into contemporary cultural phenomena can be undertaken. He has been able to integrate Foucault's conception of discourse and power through a well-managed utilization of popular primary sources. *Geraldo* becomes the basis for understanding contemporary subjectivity when it is aligned with Jonathan Demme's film *Silence of the Lambs;* popular biographies of Dahmer are placed alongside police accounts to reveal the layers of meaning and representation that have been placed on him. Dahmer becomes through these layers a culture myth that is beyond his material entity and more powerful than his gruesome seriality. Dahmer as myth in the hands of Tithecott becomes a comprehensible lens "to illustrate [society's] preoccupations, anxieties and fantasies" (179).

Where Tithecott could have explicated the phenomenon of Dahmer more completely is in the will to narrativize; whether the FBI or newspaper accounts or *Geraldo* or ourselves, in reading these texts for meaning, there is a clear desire to wrest the enigma of motivelessness into some form of closure. If Tithecott had integrated some narrative theory into his study of power, it would have provided a better explanation of the continuing fascination that is devoted to Dahmer; because of his dance with key cultural binarisms, the will to narrative and closure—the very wound that is perpetually opened by Dahmer—is never closed and never completely resolved.

Mark Seltzer's *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture* has much grander objectives than Tithecott by trying to embody an era in the term "wound culture." In this intellectual project, Seltzer is expanding on his previous work on machine culture, and indeed sees through the activities of serial killers a clear link between machine and wound culture.

Less systematic than Tithecott's work, Seltzer's study of the serial killer builds an argument through a general gestalt. Claims are made that seem quite outrageous—for instance, "serial killing, by all accounts, became a career option at the turn of the century" (1)—but through surrounding documentation Seltzer's position on wound culture and the concept of "stranger-intimacy" correlate into an effective reading of a strain and the very strains of contemporary culture.

The strength of Seltzer's work is that he identifies the simultaneous enigma of the serial killer in the audience—"the pathological public sphere"—and in the serial killer. Seriality, relatively unexplored in Tithecott's work, becomes the channel through which Seltzer connects the machine world to the world of the serial killer. Robert Ressler's original mid-70s FBI-embraced definition of the serial killer expressed a link between representation and what the British designated as "crimes in series" (64). Ressler explained that the perpetual dissatisfaction of Saturday movie matinee serials, which always left the narrative unresolved so that the audience would return, is emblematic of serial killing. Thus as Seltzer puts it, "the real meaning of serial killing is a

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failed series of attempts to make the scene of the crime equivalent to the scene of the fantasy—that is (taking Ressler's profile a bit further) a failed series of attempts to make the content of the act and the fantasy of the actor, act and motive, perfectly coincide" (64). Where this takes Seltzer is that the serial killer's identification is linked through desire and its satisfaction to repetition *and* representation. The production of the subject is dependent on the a priori existence of the image—to see and then deny the fantastic representation from desire as the self. Serial killing is the transposition or translation of representation (the unconscious in Freudian terms), which becomes the transposition or translation of the self into the death of others. Tangled into this play of fantasy and representation is one of the key forms of identification—sexual difference, which may work to threaten and challenge identification itself. With Seltzer's own translation of representation into repetition he makes it possible to engage in two forms of analysis: first, the fictional, as key representations become an important terrain to reveal the fascination with killing, where serial killing becomes one of the key genres of popular film, television, fiction, and nonfiction writing; and second, the sociocultural, as the phenomenon of serial killing is derived from cultural tensions in the formation of contemporary identity.

Seltzer sets out to explore those twentieth-century tensions—specifically machine culture, and to a lesser extent consumer culture. Machine culture, which is Seltzer's manner of expanding the metaphor of industrial culture into the organization of everyday life, thereby describes a disciplining of the self. Consumer culture implies an ability to make and remake the self endlessly.

I had some confusion as to what could be included in machine culture, but it seems to include all forms of technological mediations of the self and others. Thus machine culture produces reproductions in the Walter Benjamin "work of art" sense, and is expressed by cultural technologies of television and film. What is reproduced endlessly in voyeuristic film, in television news, and dramas is that which is produced by the serial killer—"stranger-intimacy":

> These disorders of distance and identification mark the intimacy spectacles of the pathological public sphere. These mediated intimacies orbit scenes of violence. There is a public gathering around scenes of violence, but a crowd gathering of a peculiar kind: a public at once thrilled, remote, and distant. . . . The modern crowd takes part in public violence at a "distance from events" that has, at the same time, a heightened immediacy. (183)

Seltzer comes very close to aligning himself with the death/sex/mutilation fantasies expressed in David Cronenberg's film and J. G. Ballard's novel *Crash* (1997), as machine culture devolves by the mid-to-end of the twentieth century into what he terms "wound culture":

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> In wound culture, the very notion of sociality is bound to the excitations of the torn and opened body, the torn and exposed individual, as public spectacle. . . . The notion of trauma has thus come to function not merely as a sort of switchpoint between bodily and psychic orders; it has, beyond that, come to function as a switchpoint between individual and collective, private and public orders of things. (253–54)

Into this mixture of stranger-intimacy and the pathological public sphere, Seltzer paints the apparent invisibility of the serial killer, which I relate to his reading of consumer culture. They are everyday and ordinary, and in this way Seltzer is invoking the notion of the Baudrillardian simulacram that serial killers produce in their representation of normality. In trying to distinguish his approach from the idea that serial killers are "social mirror-effects" and just "condensed symptoms of the social," Seltzer explains: "It is necessary to consider . . . not how the psychotic and psychotic violence is 'culturally representative' but instead the manner in which the psycho is *nothing but representative:* not similar to someone or something but *just similar*" (126–27). In other words, the serial killer in his normality is a simulation of social space or inscripted completely with the social norms.

Because of the gestalt-effect of Seltzer's book, it is best to look at its overall value rather than pin the author down to passing flourishes of overstatement. The book provides a reading of what Friedrich Kittler describes as "discourse networks"; where Kittler works on the discourse networks of 1900, Seltzer endeavors to update to the millennium. Through subjectivization, repetition, reproduction, routinization, identification, and quantification, industrial culture transforms into machine culture, but machine culture does not adequately describe the intimate and often violent spectacle that Seltzer sees proliferating in the world of fantasy and representation and the world of murder and detection. The emergence of the serial killer, identified as well as materially present in machine/consumer culture, is emblematic of some of the clear contradictions emerging in American culture. A representative regime of mediated forms of ultimate intimacy, whether through talk shows or murder voyeurism in film-viewing, in contradistinction to the "public" distance of any mediated image, presents the continual boundary-shifting of the public and private in contemporary culture. And through the ocular device of a twentieth century phenomenon, both identified and identifying, of the serial killer, Seltzer's book presents a partial view of that shift. But Seltzer's work stretches the metaphor of a "wound culture" beyond its capacity. He has correctly identified a narrative network among bodies, identities, machines, public and private spectacle, and violence, but wound culture does not fully express that network. Nevertheless, Seltzer has made an engaging attempt.

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Both Tithecott's and Seltzer's books represent some distinctly new forays into understanding contemporary subjectivity. Serial killers allow for the investigation of not only private psychoses, but, as Seltzer's work demonstrates, the extreme importance of the spectacle in the construction of that subjectivity. It may be useful then to think of subjectivity involving the public, and the term I've used elsewhere, "public subjectivity," could be employed to describe the mediated interaction that is part of identity and identification (Marshall 1997). It seems also essential in charting this new public sphere that the spectacle that produces both the celebrity and the notorious also produces a generalizable sense of narcissism (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998). The concept of the continuous spectacle reorients the organization and the representation of the self. Serial killers represent the pathological version of the public self, or what could be described as the public narcissist self. Further research and thinking needs to be undertaken in the biographical study of the popular to understand the shifting divides between the public and the private in contemporary culture. These two books should be seen as a stimulus to that wider domain of research on public subjectivity.

P. David Marshall

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Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing editors Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Gloria Fisk, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, Gabriel Merle, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Albion*, *The Guardian Weekly*, *The Historian*, *Le Monde des Livres*, *Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR)*, *New York Review of Books*, *New York Times Book Review (NYTBR)*, *The New Yorker*, *Sight and Sound*, *Times Literary Supplement (TLS)*, *Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP)*, *The Weekend Australian*, and *Women's Review of Books*.

Algren, Nelson. See **Beauvoir, Simone de.**

Ali, Muhammad

King of the World: Muhammad Ali and the Rise of an American Hero. David Remnick. New York: Random House, 1998. 326 pp. $25.00.

Remnick "does a fine job analyzing Ali's impact on boxing and his even greater influence on American society. . . . 'When you want to talk about who made me,' [Ali] once told a reporter, 'you talk to me. Who made me is me.' Anyone who reads Remnick's eloquent tribute to the champion will have no doubt about that."

Carolyn Hughes. *LATBR*, Nov. 8, 1998: 4.

"Remnick describes well the inability of conventional commentators to take this new phenomenon's measure. In fact, he sometimes seems even more interested in the fight writers than in the fights—an assessor of the Pindars who sing modern epinician odes. His case that Ali introduced a new era rests heavily on the new kind of coverage he prompted in talented writers. Celebrators of the old sports myths, like Jimmy Cannon, found themselves being shoved aside by young journalists with some of whom Remnick seems to identify himself—people interested in psychology (Gay Talese), civil right Robert Lipsyte, Jack Newfield, Pete Hamill), social rankings (George Plimpton), or mysticism (Norman Mailer). Big Thinkism had arrived."

Garry Wills. *NYRB*, Feb. 4, 1999: 40.

"If Remnick has not come up with new material for 'King of the World'—no small task after a score of books on the subject—he's drawn wisely from that body of work to define the arc of Ali's ascendancy from superconfident adolescent to the Islam-inspired but ecumenical spiritual ambassador (only Ali was multidimensional; he could reach out to the world like Mother Teresa, but, as they say in Gleason's Gym, she couldn't lick Sonny Liston, Joe Frazier, and George Foreman)."

Budd Schulberg. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 11–12.

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"David Remnick is no fan of boxing, which he calls 'a sport designed to stun the brain' and 'finally indefensible,' but he gives us an eloquent picture of a man destroyed by his game and ennobled by life, a man who doesn't have to show anything anymore because he has become a symbol and symbols don't have to do but only to be."

Heywood Hale Broun. *WP*, Nov. 2, 1998: 33.

Althusser, Louis

Lettres à Franca (1961–1973). Louis Althusser. Presented by François Matheron and Yann Moulier Boutang. Paris: Stock, 1998. 832 pp. F170.

The main interest of these impassioned letters lies in casting an original light on one of the crucial periods of the philosopher's life.

Elisabeth Roudinesco. *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 30, 1998: 1.

Anne of Austria

Anne of Austria. Ruth Kleinman. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1996. 350 pp. $23.50.

"Kleinman's scholarly, entertaining biography . . . deserves praise for having restored this neglected historical figure to the forefront of our historical inquiry."

Steven G. Reinhardt. *The Historian* 61 (Fall 1998): 200–201.

Aragon, Louis

Chroniques, 1918–1932. Louis Aragon. Edition established, presented, and annotated by Bernard Leuilliot. Paris: Stock, 1998. 500 pp. F150.

This is the first of the six volumes collecting all the "actes de parole"—articles, reading notes, open letters, lectures—written between 1918 and 1932 by the author of *Le Paysan de Paris.* A reference book, a historical document, the memory of a work, but also a paradoxical autoportrait.

Josyane Savigneau. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 4, 1998: 12.

Arden, Thomas

Thomas Arden in Faversham: The Man Behind the Myth. Patricia Hyde. Faversham: Faversham Society, 1996. 615 pp. £37.50.

"Hyde corrects a number of relatively minor errors in the record of Arden's life pieced together by previous scholars. One has to admire her stunning detective work, but ultimately her biography is ineffective and tedious. . . . Hyde's most serious failure as a biographer, however, is that she never gives readers a reason to care about her subject."

Eric J. Carlson. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 279–80.

Attlee, Clement

Attlee. Robert Pearce. New York: Longman, 1997. 206 pp.

"'Attlee' is an important reassessment of a pivotal figure in the Labour

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Party's development. While its brevity and clarity make it suitable for an undergraduate text, the book's thoughtful synthesis of recent research should attract a wide readership among British historians.

Harold L. Smith. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 380–81.

Baker, Ella

Ella Baker: Freedom Bound. Joanne Grant. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998. 288 pp. $24.95.

"[Grant] has written a spirited, detailed, affectionate and balanced biography chronicling Baker's lifetime of indefatigable dedication to progressive causes."

Margo Culley. *Women's Review of Books* 16.1 (Oct. 1998): 7.

John Bayley. See **Murdoch, Iris.**

Beauvoir, Simone de

A Transatlantic Love Affair: Letters to Nelson Algren. Simone de Beauvoir. New York: Free Press, 1998. 559 pp. $27.50.

"In the end, the self-reflexive romance of 'A Transatlantic Love Affair' demonstrates a sadly Cartesian proposition: I write love letters, therefore I love."

Mim Udovitch. *NYTBR,* Nov. 8, 1998: 37–38.

Bem, Sandra Lipsitz

An Unconventional Family. Sandra Lipsitz Bem. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 192 pp. $20.00.

"Try as she might, Bem cannot unravel the interwoven strands of work, family and intimacy that make up her life. Nor should she: the interconnections are the most intriguing and revealing parts of the book."

Diane N. Lye. *Women's Review of Books* 16.3 (Dec. 1998): 11.

Berlin, Isaiah

Michael Ignatieff. *Isaiah Berlin: A Life.* New York: Metropolitan Books/ Henry Holt, 1998. 356 pp. $30.00.

"...Ignatieff was Berlin's own choice as a biographer; for the last ten years of Berlin's life he visited him week after week, taping their conversations together, reading the letters Berlin gave him, and exploring the unpublished essays and lectures still awaiting the attentions of Berlin's devoted editor, Henry Hardy. Although Berlin insisted that he would not influence what Ignatieff wrote —'*Apres moi, le deluge,*' he told him—and refused to read a word of it, he was in fact rather less able than most of us to let other people think what they wished about him or his work. He would cheerfully belittle his own scholarship—but was deeply wounded if others did so, and the mixture of what Ignatieff calls 'pre-emptive' self-degeneration and sensitivity to criticism was visible in other matters, too. It is a tribute

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to Ignatieff's tact as a biographer that his book shows so little evidence of what must have been some interesting battles for his allegiance."

Alan Ryan. *NYRB*, Dec. 17, 1998: 29.

"'Isaiah Berlin' is an undertaking of considerable merit. It gives us a rounded view of an extraordinarily distinguished mind and prepares the ground for future studies of Berlin's work and the place of his life and experience in it."

Steven Marcus. *NYTBR*, Nov. 29, 1998: 7–8.

Bernini, Gianlorenzo

Bernini and the Art of Architecture. T. A. Marder. New York: Abbeville, 1998. 336 pp. $95.00.

"Throughout his long march across Bernini's career, Marder is in command of his subject even if he rarely allows himself the luxury of standing back from the case in hand to comment on the philosophy behind Bernini's architecture. But that is a small deficit in a sumptuous book that places Bernini's buildings back in the center of his art."

Bruce Boucher. *NYTBR*, Dec. 6, 1998: 58–59.

Bernis, François, Cardinal de

Bernis, le cardinal des plaisirs. Jean-Marie Rouart. Paris: Gallimard, 1998. 248 pp. F110.

Rebuked by Cardinal Fleury as a needy young priest, then poet about town, protégé of Madame de Pompadour, then ambassador in Venice and later in Rome, then Minister for foreign affairs pleading for peace in wartime, finally an old man enamoured of a young princess and a sage stripped of all his possessions by the Revolution but forgiving and happy, such was Bernis: a great figure of Louis XV's reign, called up here vividly and passionately.

Pierre Kyria. *Le Monde des Livres*, Aug. 28, 1998: 2.

Billings, Hammatt

Accomplished in All Departments of Art: Hammatt Billings of Boston, 1818–1874. James F. O'Gorman. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1998. 291 pp. $39.00.

"... O'Gorman's thorough 'introductory story' provides fine material for the formation of a new and expanded social, cultural and architectural history. One hopes that future historians will take up the challenge to integrate his findings into a more critical framework."

Suzanne Stephens. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 38.

Brittain, Vera

Letters from a Lost Generation. Vera Brittain. Ed. Mark Bostridge and Alan Bishop. London: Little, Brown, 1998. 428 pp. £18.99.

"There is nothing to touch Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* as an account of the first world war from the female point of view. In that

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memoir Brittain gave us the tale of a cool young woman who fell into the emotional and physical fury of the war and took her readers with her. I opened this volume of letters with the expectation of revisiting the experience and it certainly replays some of the same themes; but it has its own, rather different strengths. Neatly edited by Mark Bostridge and Alan Bishop, this book doesn't confine itself to Vera's experience. It is a collection of the letters that she wrote to her brother, Edward; her beloved fiancé, Roland Leighton; their two friends Victor Richardson and Geoffrey Thurlow; as well as the letters that they wrote to her and to one another. . . . The light is thrown onto the men in her circle, the four beautiful and intelligent young men who left school in 1914 and were all dead by 1918."

Natasha Walter. *The Guardian Weekly*, Dec. 13, 1998: 28.

Brown, John

Le Pourfendeur de Nuages. Russell Banks. Translated from English (*Cloudsplitter*) by Pierre Furlan. Arles: Actes Sud, 1998. 772 pp. F179.

Through the harsh, painful voice of his son Owen Brown, Russell Banks calls up in a narrative-confession the fights and intimate dramas of the famous American abolitionist. True, it is a terrible story full of sound and fury, and one wonders if it is not told by a madman. Banks affirms he has respected historical facts but felt "free to fictionalize the characters" as long as he was faithful to reality and environment.

Martine Silber. *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 30, 1998: 3.

Cassatt, Mary

Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman. Judith A. Barter. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago/Abrams. 376 pp. $65.00.

"This book, while by no means revolutionary, expands upon what has been a limited, sentimentalized view of Cassatt."

Andrea Barnet. *NYTBR*, Nov. 1, 1998: 22.

Chanel, Gabrielle "Coco"

Chanel: Her Style and Her Life. Janet Wallach. New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1998. 192 pp. $35.00.

"...a fascinating and visually stunning biography by Janet Wallach, the author of 'Desert Queen,' a biography of Gertrude Bell."

Lynn Karpen. *NYTBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 62.

Chaplin, Oona O'Neill

Oona, Living in the Shadows: A Biography of Oona O'Neill Chaplin. Jane Scovell. New York: Warner Books, 1998. 354 pp. $25.00.

"Scovell tells this story gracefully and with intelligence, but her subject ultimately defeats her. No member of the O'Neill or Chaplin families agreed to interviews, and again and again we read of Eugene or Charlie and Oona destroying personal papers in order to thwart an

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effort like this one. Based almost entirely on secondary sources, 'Oona" reads like a college thesis on Eugene O'Neill and Charlie Chaplin. The reader longs for more details about Oona's activities, Oona's thoughts, and Oona's reactions."

James Spada. *NYTBR*, Nov. 29, 1998: 11.

Charles I

Charles I. Michael B. Young. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 223 pp. $17.95.

"This is not just another biography of Charles I. Young works through the reign of Charles I chronologically, primarily clarifying historiographical debates. . . . [T]he only criticism that might be leveled is that Young places greatest emphasis on the 1620s and 1630s when, clearly, the 1640s most befuddle. . . . This book helps scholars [look for answers in the archives] by demystifying historiography."

Mark Charles Fissel. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 295–97.

Chateaubriand, François

Chateaubriand: Biographie Morale et Intellectuelle. Jean-Paul Clement. Paris: Flammarion, 1998. 700 pp. F149.

"Jean-Paul Clement has written a rather luscious biography in the grand manner; it is generously proportioned, scrupulously edited and . . . modestly priced. . . . Jean-Paul Clement is a scholar of immense authority, who is able to bring together a vast range of material from Chateaubriand and his circle."

Robert Tombs. *TLS*, Nov. 27, 1998: 3–4.

Clair, René

Le Mystère René Clair. Pierre Billiard. Paris: Plon, 1998. 480 pp. F165.

"The great merits of Billiard's flowing biography, which draws on a wide range of data, is that it puts Clair and his films into historical perspective and does not bother with such irrelevancies as the danger of his being forgotten. Far from being a commemorative book designed as a monument to its subject, it helps to create a complex and lively picture of one of the pioneers of French cinema by rescuing Clair from the menace of being typecast as an academic director."

Jacques Mandelbaum. *The Guardian Weekly*, Dec. 6, 1998: 18.

Clemenceau, Georges

Clemenceau l'intraitable. Jean-Jacques Becker. Paris: Liana Levi, "Curriculum" Series, 1998. 156 pp. F78.

Not a full life but a sketch, from a recognized specialist of the Great War indulging for the first time in the biographical vein. Becker portrays here a Clemenceau at once singular and splendid—who would have deserved a more rigorous edition.

Philippe-Jean Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 4, 1998: 5.

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Clinton, DeWitt

The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769–1828. Evan Cornog. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 224 pp. $45.00.

"In Cornog's telling, the life and times of DeWitt Clinton make a fascinating guide to the complex interaction of personality, popularity, and policy in our infant republic."

The New Yorker, Dec. 7 & 14, 1998: 200.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor

Coleridge: Darker Reflections. Richard Holmes. London: HarperCollins, 1998. 622 pp. £19.99.

"Holmes' gift for sympathy does not desert him, though it results in a flatter, more somber tone than before. He still prefers to look with Coleridge . . . rather than look at him . . . a generous account of a remrkable genius."

Rosemary Ashton. *TLS*, Oct. 23: 27.

Dali, Salvador

Jan Gibson. *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dali.* New York: Norton, 1998. 798 pp. $45.00.

"The book provides not so much a cautionary tale as a trustworthy, even-handed account of a life that continues to haunt our imagination."

Michael Peppiatt. *NYTBR*, Nov. 8, 1998: 11.

Deamer, Dulcie

The Queen of Bohemia: The Autobiography of Dulcie Deamer. Dulcie Deamer. Ed. Peter Kirkpatrick. St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 1998. 239 pp. $29.95 Aus.

"In his introduction to the book, its editor Peter Kirkpatrick, who contributes excellent explanatory notes, writes: 'If Deamer's greatest fame continues to rest with her extraordinary career as a bohemian, that need not imply a devaluing of her achievements as a writer.' Since it was completed by 1965, it remains a mystery why this sprightly and delightful set of memoirs never achieved publication until now."

Clement Semmler. *The Weekend Australian*, Dec. 5–6, 1998: 13.

Delacroix, Eugène

Delacroix. Barthélémy Jobert. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998. 336 pp. $65.00.

"The general impression . . . created, of a fiery and radical artist, is very much modified by this splendid new biography. . . . Far from being a revolutionary . . . he preserved a careful detachment from all 'schools' and always tempered his Romanticism with a fealty to the classical style."

Christopher Hitchens. *LATBR*, Dec. 6, 1998: 10.

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"In his scrupulously documented book, Jobert portrays Delacroix as a thorough professional. He certainly took seriously the advice he had received in a letter from Stendhal: 'Neglect nothing that can make you great.' As Jobert shows, he played the art world game to the full, seeking out commissions, seizing every opportunity to exhibit, and taking care not to alienate critics, while privately disdaining them. He even applied no fewer than eight times for membership in the Academie des Beaux-Arts before he was elected at last in January 1857."

Henri Zerner. *NYRB*, Jan. 14, 1999: 10.

Dormoy, Marx

Marx Dormoy. André Touret. Nonette: Puy-de-dôme 63440, "Ed. Créer," 1998. 256 pp. F150.

Dormoy, Léon Blum's Minister of the Interior after Salengro's suicide, was a great figure of the Front Populaire. All the antirepublican factions hated him. He was one of the "eighty" who said no to Petain in 1940. From then on, his life was menaced, and he knew it. "If I should be suicided . . . "—a time bomb was the answer to this hypothesis. His was an exceptional life, devoted to the public good, and part and parcel of our history.

P. R. I. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 11, 1998: 11.

Drake, Francis

Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate. Harry Kelsey. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 566 pp. $35.00.

"At the least 'Sir Francis Drake' is going to be important to scholars for all its detailed findings on Drake's early career. What it does not do is give us the whole picture."

N. A. M. Rodger. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 34.

Dudley, John

John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504–1553. David Loades. New York: Clarendon/Oxford UP, 1996. 333 pp. $80.00.

"Ultimately . . . Loades' useful book falls short of a satisfactory synthesis. It is also disappointingly bloodless. Dudley apparently possessed an extraordinary persona, or force of character; the Spanish merchant, Antonio de Guaras, was awed by his 'great courage,' or spirit. One awaits an account that brings this spirit closer to the page."

Dale Hoak. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 275–76.

"One might have wondered whether we needed another study of Northumberland, but David Loades's new book is quite different from that by [Barrett] Beer and is, therefore, welcome. . . . Loades's chapters about Edward's reign are detailed, but curiously enough they contain practically no generalizations about the character and policies of Somerset and Northumberland. . . . All of this leaves us more or less where we were before now."

Stanford Lehmberg. *The Historian* 61 (Fall 1998): 202–203.

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Duras, Marguerite

Marguerite Duras. Laure Adler. Paris: Gallimard, 1998. 636 pp. F155.

"Adler says Duras did not like the idea of someone writing her biography. She jealously kept that task for herself. . . . Adler has the good sense not to challenge the writer's truth. She records it and charts its development and transformation by examining Duras's books, their various drafts, and her notes. The kind of truth a biographer tries to piece together is of course quite different: it is the most accurate possible reconstruction of actual facts. A good biography confronts those two realities without ever deciding which should take precedence over the other. Adler's great achievement is to have done that with unswerving rigour. . . . Adler's investigation cannot be faulted."

Pierre Lepape. *The Guardian Weekly,* Sept. 27, 1998: 18.

Eliot, George

George Eliot: A Life. Rosemary Ashton. New York: Penguin, 1997. 465 pp. $32.95.

"While the thoroughness of [Gordon] Haight's [1968] biography precludes, perhaps, an actual need for another life of Evans . . . [b]y introducing information from her own discoveries and from the most recent sources available, Ashton helps keep readers apprised of the newest interpretations and evaluations of Evans' life and work."

Beverly Schneller. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 324–25.

Finney, Charles G.

Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelism. Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996. 317 pp. $15.00.

"No higher praise can be given to this well-written book than to recommend it as a worthy addition to the highly successful Library of Religious Biography."

John W. Oliver. *The Historian* 61 (Fall 1998): 157–58.

Fonda, Peter

Don't Tell Dad: A Memoir. Peter Fonda. London: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 576 pp. £17.99.

A "blinkered exercise in self-obsession, whose title provides the key to the biggest obsession of all: that father Henry is responsible for everything that ever went wrong with young Peter's life."

Nick Roddick. *Sight and Sound* 8.10 (Nov. 1998): 34.

Fouquet, Nicolas

Fouquet. Jean-Christian Petitfils. Paris: Perrin, 1998. 612 pp. F149.

Like all victors finally vanquished, Fouquet has always been a fascinating figure. If Petitfils, whose book is remarkably well documented and written, does not bring many new facts, he replaces his hero in his time, shows in a brilliant synthesis the way the State

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functioned in the seventeenth century, eludes no enigma related to the fall of the Finance Superintendent, and finally concludes that, falling to grasp the spirit of his time, his eviction was inevitable.

Françoise Bayard. *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 2, 1998: 6.

Frank, Anne

Anne Frank: The Biography. Melissa Müller. Trans. Rite Kimber and Robert Kimber. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 1998. 330 pp. $23.00.

"The domesticating voice of 'Anne Frank: The Biography' dissolves a sense of what, for lack of a better word, might be called evil. There is, as well, little sense of surrounding history, without which the dark events Müller describes cannot be understood."

Jonathan Rosen. *NYTBR*, Nov. 1, 1998: 18.

Freud, Sigmund, and Ernest Jones

Sigmund Freud-Ernest Jones Correspondance (1908–1939). Ed. Andrews Paskauskas. Intro. Ricardo Steiner. Translated from English and German by Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat, with Marielène Weber and Jean-Pierre Lefebvre. Paris: PUF, 1998. 940 pp. F438.

This correspondence is exceptionally rich. It traces the destiny of psychoanalysis. It also gives us a wonderful dialogue between two great intellectuals (radically different), who were also men with their sufferings, sorrows, and illnesses, and who lived through the rise of nazism. The interest of the book is also topical: we understand how puritan America, obsessed by a perverse conception of sexuality, finally destroyed a science she had worshipped.

Elisabeth Roudinesco. *Le Mondes des Livres*, Sept. 25, 1998: 11.

Garrison, William Lloyd

All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery. Henry Mayer. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 708 pp. $32.50.

"Henry Mayer's massive, clearly written, often gripping biography of Garrison is a great story. . . . 'All on Fire' is an unabashed work of hagiography. . . . But it is a shame that Mayer sought to make Garrison a 'hero,' a task that invariably corrupts any evaluation of a historical figure."

Benjamin Schwarz. *LATBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 10–11.

"Mayer, who previously wrote a life of Patrick Henry, says that he spent nearly 10 years on Garrison largely because of his own experience in the protest movements of the 1960's, when moral indignation revved to a high pitch transformed America. He claims for Garrison 'a place as central in the history of the 19th century as that of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the history of the 20th.'"

Carla Davidson. *NYTBR*, Nov. 1, 1998: 38.

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Gide, Andre

Andre Gide: A Life in the Present. Alan Sheridan. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1998. 709 pp. £25.00.

"Given the immense number of documents, "Alan Sheridan's courage is to be applauded. In any case he has not relied exclusively on published material, numerous *inedits* are also cited here." Sheridan makes texts available "in elegant and acccurate renderings."

David H. Walker. *TLS*, Nov. 27, 1998: 4–5.

George III

George III: A Personal History. Christopher Hibbert. London: Viking, 1998. 464 pp. £20.00.

"In this excellent new biography, Christopher Hibbert goes light on the political side and offers a personal history of the king. . . . Hibbert sustains our interest with short, vigorous chapters, supported by a most helpful bibliography and first-class illustrations. . . . He is particularly good on the later years of George's life."

John Cannon. *TLS*, Oct. 23, 1998: 40.

Goldberg, Arthur J.

Arthur J. Goldberg: New Deal Liberal. David L. Stebenne. New York: Oxford UP, 1996. 539 pp. $45.00.

"All in all, Stebenne's biography gives us more than just a portrait of a political 'type' or a chronicle of an individual life. It renders a compelling portrait of the history of the U.S. political economy circa 1940–1970."

Gilbert J. Gall. *The Historian* 61 (Fall 1998): 176–77.

Gonzalez-Crussi, Frank

There Is a World Elsewhere: Autobiographical Pages. Frank Gonzalez-Crussi. New York: Riverhead/Putnam, 1998. 209 pp. $23.95.

"The book's chief pleasure ironically proves to be its greatest unfulfilled promise. The good doctor's prose is measured and self-assured with allusions to classical texts. Here is a wonderfully lively, promiscuous mind, unashamed of its erudition. The voice attains a richly spun, mandarin quality; the text comes to have the feeling of so much silk. That is, until one realizes that what is often being told is an anecdote of astonishing hardship or cruelty."

Rafael Campo. *The Guardian Weekly*, Dec. 20, 1998: 18.

Hahn, Emily

Nobody Said Not To Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn. Ken Cuthbertson. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998. 376 pp. $29.95.

"Ken Cuthbertson presents Emily Hahn's life—including a 50-year career as New Yorker writer—in a biography so workmanlike that the sound of hammers practically echoes."

Karen Ray. *MYTBR*, Oct. 11, 1998: 21.

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Hart, Basil Lindell

Alchemist of War: The Life of Basil Lindell Hart. Alex Danchev. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998. 369 pp. £25.00.

"Alex Danchev is remarkably widely read and employs an exhuberant prose style . . . but he is an idiosyncratic biographer. . . . [I]t may be stated that this is an interesting book, not for the most part glossing over the subject's faults and limitations, but almost conveying the impression that they might be regarded as virtues."

Brian Bond. *TLS*, Nov. 13, 1998: 6.

Heaney, Seamus

Seamus Heaney. Helen Vendler. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 188 pp. $22.95.

"Helen Vendler's compact study 'Seamus Heaney' traces the full arc of Heaney's career with lucid efficiency. A rapid series of close readings emphasizes the literary ancestry and techniques of individual poems. Each of Vendler's seven chapters summarizes the central themes of one or more of Heaney's books, then describes his 'second thoughts' on these themes in later books."

Edward Mendelson. *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 10–11.

Hellman, Lillian

A Likely Story: One Summer with Lillian Hellman. Rosemary Mahoney. New York: Doubleday, 1998. 275 pp. $23.95.

"At times I wondered if the story of her own mother, painful and loving, triumphant and sad, is one Mahoney needed to write but has not yet attempted. Perhaps now that her animus toward Hellman is cleared away, she can turn her sharp descriptive eye and writerly gifts to a potentially more personal and more universal family story."

Sharon O'Brien. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 30–32.

Hickok, Lorena. See **Roosevelt, Eleanor.**

Hitler, Adolf

Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of His Evil. Ron Rosenbaum. New York: Random House, 1998. 444 pp. $30.00.

"Among the recent books on the subject, Ron Rosenbaum's stands somewhat apart. First, it is the work of a journalist, at a time when Hitler studies have beome pretty much the preserve of academics. Secondly, it is concerned not so much with the story of Hitler himself, not in the first instance at least, as with 'the story of the stories'—with Hitler's interpreters, and what they have made of him. How did he come to be the thing he was? How much cold calculation went into his career, how much fanaticism? How far was his 'greatness' the product of external circumstances? How can we account for his sheer evil? Looking for the answers that have been proposed to such

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questions, Rosenbaum has conducted a one-man trek across extensive tracts of scholarship and speculation. In the course of it, along with his forays into the archives, he has interviewed numerous specialists—historians, philosophers, theologians, miscellaneous pundits. He describes his meetings with them, expounds their views, and debates the issues with himself."

John Gross. *NYRB*, Dec. 17, 1998: 12.

Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris. Ian Kershaw. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998. 845 pp. £20.00.

"Kershaw is a renowned historian of the Nazi era. . . . He is the first biographer of Hitler to have used the complete Goebbels diaries and the entire compass of Hitler's speeches." This is "undoubtedly the most complete historical account of Hitler's life up to 1936. . . . Kershaw's book is thoughtful, but there is little in it that is unexpected or truly arresting."

Saul Friedlander. *TLS*, Oct. 2, 1998: 13–14.

Hoffman, Abbie

Steal This Dream: Abbie Hoffman and the Countercultural Revolution in America. Larry Sloman. New York: Doubleday, 1998. 437 pp. $27.50.

"Until an adequate history is available, one could do a great deal worse than understand the 1960's through the raw memories of the several dozen participants in the Movement collected in 'Steal This Dream,' by Larry Sloman, who is also co-author of books with Howard Stern."

Straughton Lynd. *WP*, Oct. 5, 1998: 33.

Hugo, Victor

Victor Hugo: A Biography. Graham Robb. New York: Norton, 1998. 682 pp. $39.95.

"Four years ago, Graham Robb published a splendid biography of Balzac. He has now applied the same winning methods—sharp judgment, wit, lively style, and vast information—to the writing of a new biography of Hugo. If his *Victor Hugo* does not afford the same delights as *Balzac*, it is, I think, through no fault of the biographer. It simply would be unfair, and foolish, of us to expect that the same methods applied to a different object may achieve identitical results.

Balzac is an essentially endearing character. But if one had to describe Hugo's multifaceted personality, a hundred adjectives come to mind, yet 'endearing' would certainly not be one of them. In fact, it is precisely when dealing with figures such as Hugo that one feels obliged once again to question the desirability, if not the feasibility, of literary biography."

Simon Leyes. *NYRB*, Dec. 17, 1998: 48.

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Jacob, Alexandre

Les Vies d'Alexandre Jacob (1879–1954). Bernard Thomas. Paris: Ed. Mazarine, 1998. 366 pp. F120.

Ship's boy at 12 before entering the burglary career, 27 years of hard labor, 17 escapes, pardoned by President Albert Lebrun, then stallholder, not without his love stories (the last one highly romantic), a sucide accompanied by a note of excuse for not washing his linen before—such a biography defies any novel. Well set in its social and political context, it is the life of a man half Robin Hood half Mandarin, who was an anarchist rather than a bandit.

Cécile Prieur. *Le Monde des Livres,* July 24, 1998: 27.

James, Henry

A Private Life of Henry James: Two Women and His Art. Lyndall Gordon. London: Chatto and Windus, 1998. 500 pp. £20.00.

"Her book is an admirably scholarly one, and especially in the case of Constance Woolson, it offers a great quantity of new information."

P. N. Furbank. *TLS,* Nov. 13, 1998: 8.

James, William

Genuine Reality: A Life of William James. Linda Simon. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998. 467 pp. $35.00.

"Simon's new biography is perfunctory on the intellectual accomplishments of its subject: pragmatism, for instance, gets nine pages. But she makes a contribution on the personal side by emphasizing, more fully than any early biogapher, the persistence of James's ill health. For James was depressive all his life. And this may be the diagnosis that explains the insufficiency of all other diagnoses. Biographers prefer to assume that James was despondent in the years after his graduation from medical school because of some problem—a family problem, a sexual problem, a career problem, an identity problem, a philosophical problem. But depression is not a problem; it's a weather pattern. Under its cloud, *everything else* is a problem. When the weather changes, these problems disappear, or become '*challenges*' or '*opportunities*'—until dark skies return."

Louis Menand. *NYRB,* Dec. 17, 1998: 81.

Jesus

The Hidden Jesus: A New Life. Donald Spoto. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 336 pp. $24.95.

"Donald Spoto was a New Testament scholar before he wrote a slew of celebrity biographies on the likes of Ingrid Bergman, Alfred Hitchcock and Marilyn Monroe. Now he tackles the only name any bigger: Jesus of Nazareth. Spoto's inquiry is a personal statement of faith."

Alexandra Hall. *NYTBR,* Oct. 11, 1998: 21.

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Jewett, Helen

The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York. Patricia Cline Cohen. New York: Knopf, 1998. 417 pp. $27.50.

"Cohen's marvelous book allows us to understand why Jewett's contemporaries interpreted her story in all these ways [as a morality tale warning against excessive passion, ambition, and independence], while inviting us to investigate the richer, deeper meanings it offers us today."

Susie Linfield. *LATBR*, Nov. 8, 1998: 8.

"At the heart of [Cohen's] account of the Jewett case is a masterful piece of detective work. [Cohen] examines clues neither the police nor the prosecutors thought worth pursuing."

Kathy Peiss. *Women's Review of Books* 16.2 (Nov. 1998): 9.

Jones, Ernest. See **Freud, Sigmund.**

Kalman, Tibor

Tibor Kalman: Perverse Optimist. Ed. Peter Hall and Michael Bierut. Princeton: Princeton Architecture Press, 1998. 420 pp. $60.00.

"A witty, eclectic tome of images and writings—half catalogue, half manifesto—spanning the career of the graphic artist Tibor Kalman, the man behind Benetton's *Colors* magazines; a Communist-theme apartment building called Red Square that hastened the gentrification on the Lower East Side while seeming to subvert it; and the new Forty-second Street, for which he claims full responsibility."

The New Yorker, Dec. 7 & 14, 1998: 200.

Kennedy, Robert F.

RFK: A Candid Biography of Robert F. Kennedy. C. David Heymann. New York: Dutton, 1998. 596 pp. $27.95.

"This is a solid biography, although Heymann—previously the biographer of Jackie Kennedy Onassis, Barbara Hutton, and Elizabeth Taylor—doubtless means for it to be a teaser, too. Hollywood, the jacket tells us, has already signed on."

Bob Sherill. *WP*, Oct. 26, 1998: 33.

Labadie, Joseph A.

All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement. Carlotta R. Anderson. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1998. 328 pp. $34.95.

"Though her subject is interesting, Anderson's biography is marred by excessive detail and hampered by irrelevant tangents. Subject, biographer and labor history would have been well served by an equally dogged editor."

Laura Green. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 37.

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Lang, Fritz

Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast. Patrick McGilligan. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 540 pp. $19.95.

"McGilligan hones in on the dark side of Lang's genius, including the bulldozing way in which he coaxed good performances out of an otherwise undistinguished actress, Joan Bennett."

The Guardian Weekly, Dec. 20, 1998: 18.

Lenin (Vladimir Ilitch Ulyanov)

Lénine: Le chef de sang et de fer. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse. Paris: Fayard, 1998. 682 pp. F168.

The author proposes a synthetic vision, in which her judgments are severe but just, of the only charismatic leader "to have enjoyed an exceptional posthumous destiny."

Marc Ferro. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 25, 1998: 9.

Lerner, Max

Max Lerner: Pilgrim in the Promised Land. Stanford Lakoff. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 323 pp. $25.00.

"A life as colorful as Lerner's poses a special challenge to a biographer. Should you focus on the rich story of the man's intellectual development or explore his psyche? Lakoff, a professor emeritus of political science at the University of California, San Diego, and a former student of Lerner's, has gamely attempted both in his concise and thoughtful new biography. Strong as an analysis of Lerner, it is somewhat less so as a portrait of the man."

David Greenberg. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 29.

Levi, Primo

Primo Levi: Tragedy of an Optimist. Myriam Anissimov. London: Aurun, 1998. 452 pp. £20.00.

"The failings of the first biography of Levi to appear in English are ascribable to uneven writing and patchy research. . . . Anissimov offers a mostly competent account of the major phases of Levi's life, although with nothing like the precision and detail one might wish for."

Robert Gordon. *TLS*, Oct. 9, 1998: 3–4.

Levine, James

James Levine: His Life and His Music. Robert C. Marsh. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribners, 1998. 336 pp. $27.50.

Marsh's and Levine's "talks are the basis for this down-to-earth, highly informative, sometimes funny discussion of Levine's conducting and his preferences in music."

Peggy Constantine. *NYTBR*, Nov. 1, 1998: 22.

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Lindbergh, Charles

Lindbergh. A. Scott Berg. New York: Putnam, 1998. 628 pp. $30.00.

"A. Scott Berg has produced a characteristically workman-like survey of the many things that Lindbergh did and some of the things that he was. Berg is at his best with the two great news stories of Lindbergh's life. . . . Berg gives almost equal space to Anne Morrow."

Gore Vidal. *TLS*, Oct. 30, 1998: 3–6.

"Berg's book is a comprehensive and invaluable text, not the least when he writes of the historic flight itself."

T. H. Watkins. *WP*, Oct. 5, 1998: 32.

Under a Wing: A Memoir. Reeve Lindbergh. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 223 pp. $23.00.

"Her [Reeve Lindbergh's] Lindbergh is a distant mysterious figure . . . but one given to moments of tenderness and physical affection that add softness to the portrait."

T. H. Watkins. *WP*, Oct. 19, 1998: 32.

Lowell, Robert

My First Cousin Once Removed: Money, Madness, and the Family of Robert Lowell. Sarah Payne Stuart. New York: HarperCollins, 1998. 244 pp. $25.00.

"This story about family craziness seems, in and of itself, so remarkably and cheerfully sane. It is a survivor's story with so much intelligence, humor and affection brought to bear that even the monsters it occasionally offers up are appealing."

Reeve Lindbergh. *NYTBR*, Nov. 8, 1998: 15.

Lucheni, Luigi

Mémoires de l'assassin de Sissi. Luigi Lucheni. Edition established and presented by Santo Cappon. Paris: Ed. Le Cherche Midi, 1998. 235 pp. F98.

Thanks to the *Memoirs* of the assassin of the Empress of Austria and to the investigation led by Santo Cappon, we know better the geographical itinerary and the moral evolution which led the anarchist Lucheni to murder Sissi.

Roland Jaccard. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 11, 1998: 7.

Marcos, Ferdinand and Imelda

America's Boy: The Marcoses and the Philippines. James Hamilton-Paterson. London: Granta, 1998. 462 pp. £20.00.

"The central message of Hamilton-Paterson's narrative is that Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos who ruled the Philippines for twenty years were merely the product of an opportunistic culture scarred by a damaged childhood."

James Putzel. *TLS*, Nov. 6, 1998: 27.

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Marshall, Thurgood

Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary. Juan Williams. New York: Times Books, 1998. 460 pp. $27.50.

"Williams touts Marshall as a courtroom genius, on a par with Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln, but he is not blind to the great man's failings. . . . Williams' command of the court years seems shaky, especially compared to his smoothly entertaining, sometimes riveting account of the justice's earlier career."

Linda Mathews. *LATBR*, Oct. 4, 1998: 6.

"The book is a strong piece of journalism crammed with fascinating detail, done in an unassuming style driven by the factual narrative."

David K. Shipler. *NYTBR*, Nov. 29, 1998: 12–13.

Matisse, Henri

Hilary Spurling. *The Unknown Matisse, A Life of Henri Matisse: The Early Years, 1869–1908.* New York: Knopf, 1998. 480 pp. $40.00.

"Hilary Spurling brings a British passion for idiosyncratic details to the Cartesian French cultural world of distinct ideas, aesthetic movements, agreed values. Matisse's world is not her world—she had to learn her French on the job—and she does not bring to Matisse the instinctive sympathy that is such a delight in her life of Ivy Compton-Burnett. But she does bring a relentless curiosity, a scholarly patience, and a brilliant narrative skill to her work, and her account of Matisse's first 40 years is gripping, full of shocks and colour, judicious and informative. . . . But there is nevertheless something daunting—and perhaps unavoidably absent from this rich biography. . . . The essential Matisse is contemplative. Hilary Spurling has written a marvelous account of everything else around him."

A. S. Byatt. *The Guardian Weekly*, Dec. 6, 1998: 28.

"Any number of artists' biographies follow a similar trajectory from failure to triumph. What makes Spurling's life unusual is that she has uncovered a secret family history which goes a long way toward explaining the enigma of Matisse. Why did the artist who saturated his paintings in sensuous color, who painted Mediterranean sunlight pouring through open windows, and loved the patterns of Moroccan carpets and French silks appear to have been such a cold fish? Why is the impression so widespread that Matisse was detached and self-satisfied? Why was he so fantastically protective over his private life? Spurling brushes aside all our preconceptions to reveal a personality—and a personal history—none of us had guessed at."

Richard Dorment. *NYRB*, Jan. 14, 1999: 25.

"'The Unkown Matisse' is a work of deep research and intense concentration, full of archive-sweat, legwork and looking. Securing the trust of the Matisse family was central to Hilary Spurling's

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enterprise, but her tenacity in hunting down obscure documentation and forgotten dramatic personae is most impressive."

Julian Barnes. *NYTBR*, Nov. 29, 1998: 6.

"*The Unknown Matisse* is a superb achievement, fully justifying its provocative title and successfully marrying scholarship of a very high order with a vivid, energetically paced text."

Elizabeth Cowling. *TLS*, Nov. 20, 1998: 18.

Meyer, Mary

A Very Private Woman: The Life and Unsolved Murder of Presidential Mistress Mary Meyer. Nina Burleigh. New York: Bantam, 1998. 356 pp. $23.95.

"The whispers about plots in Mary Meyer's death have held over the years, but the truth seems to have been as tragic and mundane as it appeared to be—her murderer was freed because of circumstances and a brilliant defense. In the end, she comes across as a not untypical woman of the 1960's."

Patricia O'Brien. *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 30.

Michaels, Lisa

Split: A Counterculture Childhood. Lisa Michaels. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 320 pp. $23.00.

"Intimacy is the memoir's strength; solipsism its weakness. . . . Michaels may not have much to say about Vietnam, but she's endlessly eloquent about today's hot topic: the survival of families."

Suzanne Ruta. *Women's Review of Books* 15.10 (July 1998): 18.

Michelet, Jules

Michelet: Les travaux et les jours, 1798–1874. Paul Viallaneix. Paris: Gallimard, "Bibliothèque des histoires," 1998. 592 pp. F190.

Modern critics set little store by Michelet: he was a romantic necromancer, his method and his facts were uncertain. The author admits Michelet's life was fairly restless and encroached on his work, and that he was not equal to the big political events of his time, but praises in him the pioneer who exploited Paris archives, and the prophet who extolled the role of women in history and who, in a time of rampant racism, saw in ethnic fusion the secret of progress—two decidedly modern views.

Philippe-Jean Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres*, Aug. 28, 1998: 2.

Monroe, Marilyn

Barbara Leaming. *Marilyn Monroe.* New York: Crown, 1998. 464 pp. $27.50.

". . . as we learn from 'Marilyn Monroe,' Barbara Leaming's engrossing new biography, no one worked the drugstore scene (not to mention the prescription counter) more shrewdly than Monroe, and no one displayed

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such a furious desire to live and succeed in the face of greater, more overwhelming odds. The chief virtue of this retelling of the oft-told tale is that the author restores Marilyn's humanity, gives flesh and blood, intelligence and initiative, to the archetypal dumb blond."

Molly Haskell. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 8.

More, Hannah

Hannah More: A Critical Biography. Charles Howard Ford. New York: Peter Lang, 1996. 309 pp. $69.95.

"Readers will find Ford's treatment a useful and thought provoking, although certainly not definitive, survey of More's work."

Julie S. Gilbert. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 321–22.

More, Thomas

The Life of Thomas More. Peter Ackroyd. New York: Nan A. Talese/ Doubleday, 1998. 447 pp. $30.00.

"Ackroyd sees More simply as a particularly sensitive, and elegantly playful, representative of a vibrant, late-medieval, Catholic England. The key word here—and the core of the analysis—is vibrant. For Ackroyd, More's Catholicism—the faith he died for—was a tangible, sensual, dynamic way of life, a way of both being in the world and not being in it, a culture that had by no means run out of steam by the 1530's."

Andrew Sullivan. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 8–10.

Murdoch, Iris

Elegy for Iris. John Bayley. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 275 pp. $22.95.

"Santayana said that everything in nature is lyrical in its ideal essence, comic in its existence and tragic in its fate. In its evocation of the lyrical, the comic and the tragic, this splendid book enlarges our imagination of the range and possibilities of love."

Mary Gordon. *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 5–6.

Naipaul, V. J., and Paul Theroux

Sir Vidia's Shadow: A Friendship Across Five Continents. Paul Theroux. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 368 pp. $24.00.

"Apart from its exceptional articulacy, this was a long-term intimacy like any other between flawed individuals. Sadly, it seems to have been that articulacy that has unbalanced this scenario. A mean remark between friends is just that; a secret exposed, a small unlovely facet of the whole person to which the other has been made privy. Once such expressions are written down and nailed to print they are transformed into declarations."

Sally Vincent. *The Guardian Weekly*, Dec. 13, 1998: 29.

"For most of its length it is a complicated but ultimately exhilarating portrait of its complicated subject. Theroux, whose acerb work has

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been helped and influenced by the acerb Naipaul, is a thorn bush writing about a thorn bush. The prickles fit together in complimentary fashion. . . . Until the end, that is, when Theroux looses a lethal blast of defoliant. It is his own leaves that drop off."

Richard Eder. *LATBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 2.

Newhouse, S. I., Jr.

Citizen Newhouse: Portrait of a Media Merchant. Carol Felsenthal. New York: Seven Stories, 1998. 512 pp. $29.95.

"What this book is, then, is a rather dull hatchet job. The contradictions of the Newhouse family, which through its various publications, including Vogue and Vanity Fair, has done so much to promote the culture of celebrity while remaining intensely private, remain unexplained."

Tom Goldstein, *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 17.

Newsholme, Arthur

Sir Arthur Newsholme and State Medicine, 1885–1935. John M. Eyler. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997. 422 pp. $64.95.

"This is one of the best books I have read for a long while, meticulously researched and clearly the product of many years' labor. The footnotes alone are worth reading. . . . [Eyler's] reconciliation of welfare, liberty, and evolution makes [Newsholme] seem a modern figure in light of contemporary discussions of citizenship. Eyler's rediscovery is well-timed."

Virginia Berridge. *Albion* 30 (Summer 1998): 356–57.

Nureyev, Rudolf

Nureyev: His Life. Diane Solway. New York: William Morrow, 1998. 625 pp. $27.50.

"Diane Solway's 'Nureyev: His Life' is an impressive feat of reporting that gives a fuller, more balanced account of the life and career than the recent biographies by Otis Stuart, which Solway corrects on a number of points, and by Peter Watson."

Jennifer Dunning. *NYTBR*, Nov. 1, 1998: 30.

Pétain, Philippe

Pétain, le soldat, 1914–1940. Guy Pedroncini. Paris: Perrin, 1998. 528 pp. F169.

The author persists in his wish to restore the image of the victor of Verdun. In order to build up his panegyric (Pétain was always right, Pétain foresaw everything), he suppresses information running counter to his purpose, and he excludes from his study the controversial years (1940–1945).

Marc Ferro. *Le Monde des Livres*, Nov. 6, 1998: 6.

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Pope, John Russell

John Russell Pope: Architect of Empire. Steven McLeod Bedford. New York: Rizzoli, 1998. 230 pp. $60.00.

"While this book achieves a partial success as a presentation of Pope's architecture, it fails to probe his work's complex significance in American cultural and architectural history."

Thomas S. Hines. *NYTBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 60.

Porter, Cole

Cole Porter: A Biography. William McBrien. New York: Knopf, 1998. 459 pp. $30.00.

"... McBrien's achievement is substantial. No previous biography of Cole Porter has been so painstakingly researched, and this one may well survive as the definitive account of his life, at least for the wealth of information it provides."

Alexander Chancellor. *NYTBR*, Nov. 29, 1998: 9.

"McBrien's "biography of Porter has the appearance of a major undertaking but almost none of the weight. McBrien's admiration for Porter's music and his sympathy for Porter himself are abundant, but the end result of this 400-page wallow in high-end gossip is to belittle Porter, however inadvertently, and to heighten rather than resolve the mystery with which he is surrounded."

Jonathan Yardley. *WP*, Oct. 19, 1998: 34.

Potter, Dennis

Dennis Potter: The Authorized Biography. Humphrey Carpenter. London: Faber and Faber, 1998. 672 pp. £20.00.

"Solidly researched, intelligently written.... The marshalling of letters, unpublished scripts and interviews with those close to Potter is impressive, but the author seems to have little passion for his subject."

Sight and Sound 8.10 (Nov. 1998): 34.

Powell, Dawn

Dawn Powell. Tim Page. New York: Henry Holt, 1998. 352 pp. $30.00.

"This biography, written by the chief music critic for the Washington Post, is a powerful book, partly because of its author's skill and partly because Powell herself was indomitable and undeviating."

The New Yorker, Nov. 9, 1998: 103.

"Page, the chief music critic for the Washington Post, has done more than write the first Powell biography. To a large extent, we must thank Page for allowing us to read her at all. . . . He edited her diaries for publication and is now the executor of her literary estate. Outside of her family, no one loves this complicated woman or her work as much as Page."

Lisa Zeidner. *NYTBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 10.

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Presley, Elvis

Elvis Presley 1956. Martin Israel. New York: Abrams, 1998. 96 pp. $17.95.

"Two months after Elvis Presley released his first album in March 1956, a photographer for Seventeen magazine named Martin Israel caught him on tour at the University of Dayton. 'Elvis Presley 1956,' a gritty compilation of dozens of previously unpublished black and white photos, was the result."

Eric P. Nash. *NYTBR*, Nov. 8, 1998: 23.

Rivera, Diego

Dreaming with His Eyes Open: A Life of Diego Rivera. Patrick Marnham. New York: Knopf, 1998. 350 pp. $35.00.

"We're not precisely meant to like the great Mexican muralist Diego Rivera (1886-1957) after reading Patrick Marnham's urbane and entertaining biography, 'Dreaming with His Eyes Open,' but it's hard not to find him compelling in that way roguish, larger-than-life characters can be."

Michael Kimmelman. *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 7.

Rodgers, Richard

Richard Rodgers. William G. Hyland. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 362 pp. $30.00.

"Hyland's style is discreet and dispassionate. . . . Hyland so scrupulously avoids the sensational and gaudy that you would think [Mary Rodgers'] litigators were hovering in the wings, almost 20 years after her father's death."

Steven Bach. *LATBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 4.

Romanov, Alexei

The Escape of Alexei, Son of Tsar Nicholas II: What Happened the Night the Romanov Family Was Executed. Vadim Petrov, Igor Lysenko, and George Egorov. New York: Abrams, 1998. 240 pp. $29.95.

"What makes myths more salable than history? Why do we persist in believing fantasies in the face of all facts? It is simply inconceivable that anyone survived that brutal execution. Fifty shots were fired at 11 people and all of their bodies subsequently bayoneted. Yet legends are retold of miraculously escapes—first of Anastasiya and then, when she was dug up along with the others, of the Czarevich. Oleg Filatov or Michael Gray—neither is believable and neither is the last adventurer."

Orlando Figer. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 46.

Roosevelt, Eleanor, and Lorena Hickok

Empty Without You: The Intimate Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt and Lorena Hickok. Ed. Rodger Streitmatter. New York: Free Press, 1998. 307 pp. $25.00.

"Although this collection does not definitively answer the question

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of whether Roosevelt and Hickok had an affair, it does document the American landscape as seen by two intelligent, influential women who loved their country, and each other, with a passion that is rare."

Johanna Berkman. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 46.

Sade, Donatien Alphonse François, Comte de, dit le Marquis de

At Home with the Marquis de Sade: A Life. Francine du Plessix Gray. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 492 pp. $27.50.

"In Gray's boldly imaginative retelling, the long-suffering spouse of history's most infamous rake becomes a praiseworthy enabler of greatness."

Emily Eakin. *NYTBR*, Nov. 8, 1998: 8.

AND *Sade: A Biographical Essay.* Laurence L. Bongie. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 336 pp. $29.00.

"Gray skillfully weaves . . . the varied historical background—royal, revolutionary, and Napoleanic . . . but [she] resorts frequently to conjecture to fill the many gaps. . . . Gray describes a despicable, if sometimes charming, man without ridding herself of the sentimental illusion of greatness in his sheer excess. . . . Bongie has fewer illusions and delusions. But his exhaustive scholarship at times makes him myopic and prevents him from presenting a full-length portrait of an evil man. These two books do not contribute either significant new information about Sade or a clearer understanding of his case.

Roger Shattuck. *LATBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 10–11.

". . . Sade had had his detractors, of course, going back to his own contemporaries, who had nothing good to say about his avowed writing and knew next to nothing about the later works judged to be 'sadistic.' But he could not be knocked off a pedestal until he had been placed on one. Now, after some hard knocks delivered in the two recent biographies, he is tottering badly.

The first, by Francine du Plessix Gray, is the gentler of the two. It does not attack Sade directly, but it nudges him from the center of the story in a way that makes room for a substitute hero: his wife. Not that the marquise had any claim to be divine. She was neither attractive nor witty, nor even interesting. But she stood by her man. While he spent half of their married life in prison, going to seed and feeling sorry for himself, she labored selflessly to supply his needs and get him released. When he finally waddled out in 1790, she had had enough. He got what he deserved, a contested place in literary history. She got what she wanted, liberty and obscurity—and an uncontested divorce.

The second book, by Laurence Bongie, illustrates negative biography at its most extreme. Bongie finds nothing good to say about his subject. As a child, he argues, Sade was a spoiled brat. As an army officer, he was a misfit; as a husband, a brute; as a philosopher, a

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plagiarist; as a prisoner, a self-pitying hypocrite; as a revolutionary, a trimmer; and as a figure in literary history, a mistake. Bongie's all-out, undisguised hostility to Sade gives his story energy, despite its detours and excessive detail. It is less a biography than an indictment; and to the reader familiar with the heroic version of the story, it has an irresistible fascination: What damning piece of evidence will turn up next? And what is driving it all?

Taken together, the two biographies provide a fresh view not only of Sade, but also of the current state of literary studies. Du Plessix Gray and Bongie organize their narratives in the same manner as their predeccesors: childhood, the five notorious criminal 'affairs,' the prison years, the Revolution, and old age in the madhouse of Charenton. But they focus on the women in Sade's life. Du Plessix Gray concentrates on his wife, Bongie on his mother and mother-in-law."

Robert Darnton. *NYRB*, Jan. 14, 1999: 19.

Schwarcz, Vera. See **Zhang Shenfu.**

Sebastian, Mihail

Journal. Mihail Sebastian. Translated from Rumanian (*Jurnal*) by Alain Paruit. Pref. Edgar Reichman. Paris: Stock, "Nouveau Cabinet Cosmopolite," 1998. 576 pp. F160.

Although the writer Sebastian was slow to understand the nature of the Rumanian régime of Ion Antonescu (the French defeat of 1940 will open his eyes), his journal reveals the various stages of the antisemitic hatred in Rumania. In fact, it is so explosive a text that it nearly caused a *Historkerstreit* because it damaged the reputation of such major thinkers as Eliade and Cioran.

N. W. *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 23, 1998: 7.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley

A Traitor's Kiss: The Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, 1751–1816. Fintan O'Toole. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 519 pp. $30.00.

"If we ask to what age Sheridan belonged, the answer Fintan O'Toole wishes to impress upon us is the Enlightenment, and the tail end of the Restoration. He wishes to stress Sheridan's political character as a supporter of both the American and the French Revolution. . . . O'Toole's book, one feels, is written first and foremost for an Irish reader, because the burning issues in it are Irish ones, even though most of the story takes place in England."

James Fenton, *NYRB*, Feb. 4, 1999: 42.

"There have been many biographies. After [Thomas] Moore's, the most compelling was by Walter Sichel, whose monumental narrative, 'Sheridan' (1909), is a study in eighteenth-century culture as much as the history of one man. In the nineteenth century, fueled by William

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Cobbett's tirade against Sheridan, 'The Political Sheridan' (1804), the chroniclers of his life considered his politics to be of paramount importance, but their counterparts in the twentieth century emphasized his art. Now, at last, in 'A Traitor's Kiss,' his art and politics are interpreted as equivocal aspects of the same wounded sensibility."

Peter Ackroyd. *The New Yorker*, Dec. 7 & 14, 1998: 190–97.

Smith, W. Eugene

W. Eugene Smith: Photographs, 1934–1975. Gilles Mora and John T. Hill. New York: Abrams, 1998. 352 pp. $75.00.

"This volume shows Smith's uncompromising aesthetic sensibility in the service of an abiding and increasingly ambitious humanism."

The New Yorker, Dec. 7 & 14, 1998: 200.

Stalin, Joseph, and Leon Trotsky

Staline. Jean-Jacques Marie. Paris: Ed. Autrement, "Naissance d'un destin," 1998. 224 pp. F89.

The collection intends to study the first years of great men to discover what shaped their character and outlook on life. One difficulty of the present enterprise is the sources: not easily accessible and distorted for propaganda—another being: to what extent is childhood relevent? On the whole, Marie makes a good job of it. We are struck by the similitudes of the two men, including the realization that neither could have accomplished his destiny without Lenin.

Michel Tatu. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 25, 1998: 9.

Steiner, George

Errata. George Steiner. Translated from English by Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat. Paris: Gallimard, 1998. 230 pp. F110.

Such a title for an intellectual autobiography is at once modest and humorous. But the book has also metaphysical ambitions: the history of civilization skimmed over in a few pages, unexpected comparisons between doctrines and authors, short striking formulas, intellectual acrobatics of staggering brilliance. Now, if you tell Steiner you can't follow him everywhere, he'll answer that it is the student who leaves him who has best understood the lesson of the master.

D. D. *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 9, 1998: 6.

Theroux, Paul. See **Naipaul, V. J.**

Tocqueville, Alexis de

Oeuvres Completes. Vol. 14: *Correspondence Familiale.* Alexis De Tocqueville. Ed. Jean Louis Benoit and Andre Jardin. Paris: Gaillimard, 1998. 700 pp. F320.

"This volume . . . demonstrates vividly that he was a man, a vulnerable, volatile, and passionate man and a skilled writer of immense charm."

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The letters provide "an account of his life that no biographer could rival for vivacity and intelligence."

Hugh Brogan. *TLS*, Oct. 2, 1998: 40.

Tripp, Nathaniel

Father, Soldier, Son: Memoir of a Platoon Leader in Vietnam. Nathaniel Tripp. S. Royalton, VT: Steerforth, 1998. 216 pp. $14.00.

"Numerous Vietnam War narratives have commented on the need of men of my generation to live up to their father's service in the Second World War. This book deepens that commentary into a complex and beautiful meditation on the tangled skein of relationships among fathers and sons and wars. . . . If a novel is life patterned through art to arrive at truth, then a memoir can be a search for patterns in one's own life. . . . That search, and the subjective and universal truths the writer discovers and presents elevate the best memoirs to art. *Father, Soldier, Son* is art."

Wayne Karlin. *The Guardian Weekly*, Dec. 20, 1998: 18.

Trotsky, Leon. See **Stalin, Joseph.**

Turner, J. M. W.

J.M.W. Turner: Romantic Painter of the Industrial Revolution. William S. Rodner. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 265 pp. $45.00.

"William S. Rodner's approach in this vigorous study is highly structured, setting his subject in six clear chapters. Rodner writes briskly, and if there is one criticism of the book it is that it does not start early enough."

James Hamilton. *TLS*, Nov. 20, 1998: 19.

Walton, Sam

In Sam We Trust: The Untold Story of Sam Walton and How Wal-Mart is Devouring America. Bob Ortega. New York: Times Business/ Random House, 1998. 413 pp. $25.95.

"However much he admired the man, Ortega seems to deplore the business he created."

Judith Newman. *NYTBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 74.

Webster, Delia

Delia Webster and the Underground Railroad. Randolph Paul Runyon. Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1996. 224 pp. $29.95.

"On one level this book is a narrative of the life of Delia Webster, yet on another it is a look into the entire abolitionist movement and antebellum American society. . . . At times, however, the narrative becomes rather tedious and even somewhat confusing. . . . Runyon's time frame is also confusing. . . . Despite these complaints, Randolph Runyon makes a significant contribution to the history of the

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abolitionist movement by bringing to life a very real personality in that struggle."

Sharon Roger Hepburn. *The Historian* 61 (Fall 1998): 175–76.

Welch, Jack

At Any Cost: Jack Welch, General Electric, and the Pursuit of Profit. Thomas F. O'Boyle. New York: Knopf, 1998. 449 pp. $29.95.

"Thomas F. O'Boyle attempts not merely to condemn Jack Welch, chairman of General Electric and one of the country's most admired businessmen, but to banish him to the darkest exile. Rather than the stunningly successful executive we thought we knew, O'Boyle's 'At Any Cost' presents a thin-skinned monarch who destroyed a company and a culture in the pursuit of short-term profit."

Roger Lowenstein. *NYTBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 58.

Welty, Eudora

Eudora: A Writer's Life. Ann Waldron. New York: Doubleday, 1998. 398 pp. $25.00.

"If the body of [Welty's] work, in its parts and its entirety, contains the story of its writing, then this renders a biography of the 'writer's life' (in the phrase that supplies the subtitle of Waldron's biography, 'Eudora') not only nugatory but an impertinence. The word impertinence is intended in the double sense of irrelevance and rudeness (which one can find most tellingly in Waldron's being aggrieved at not being allowed every confidence of Welty's private life and in her frantic search for explanations of the fiction in what Waldron takes to be Welty's sexual frustration and her despair at having no dates—no dates at all!—in high school)."

James Olney. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 18–19.

Whale, James

James Whale: A New World of Gods and Monsters. James Curtis. London: Faber and Faber, 1998. 455 pp. £14.99.

"Curtis has not only produced the standard work on Whale, but also a long-overdue revaluation of a major director."

Sight and Sound 8.10 (Nov. 1998): 34.

Whistler, James McNeill

The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler. Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi, general editors. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago/ The Arie and Ida Crown Memorial/Hudson Hills Press, 1998. 992 pp. $395.00.

"This 992-page two-volume set also includes 173 letters between Whistler and his printer (a fine technical archive); a chronology of exhibitions, printings and sales; a complete survey of the papers he used and of their watermarks; a concordance; war-

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methods; and more. There are 864 illustrations: color plates, halftones, duotones, and tritones. The accounts of the pictures, the introductions to other materials and the essays are quite accessible, and the printing and production of this formidable monument pay fitting tribute to the intellectual labor it enshrines, as well as to Whistler. It is not too heavy to lift, and, at 14 by 10, by 4 inches on its slipcase, it can be carried home in any old shopping bag."

D. J. R. Bruckner. *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 19.

White, Edmund

La symphonie des adieux. Edmund White. Translated from English (*The Farewell Symphony*) by Marc Cholodenko. Paris: Plon, 1998. 392 pp. F159.

For Edmund White, the atmosphere of the fifties in the U.S. was stifling; everything was programmed to reestablish the middle class, with its rules, its heavy concern for order and morality. In this third volume of his autobiography, the novelist makes himself the memorialist of bygone times (when desire, especially homosexual desire, was frantic) in violent but beautiful pages.

Christine Jordan. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 11, 1998: 5.

Wyeth, N. C.

N. C. Wyeth. David Michaels. New York: Knopf, 1998. 553 pp. $40.00.

"It is a full-scale, many-voiced, deeply researched study—somewhat overproduced one might think, for a figure whose best-known accomplishments are illustrating 'Robin Hood' and fathering Andrew. Yet the author's confidence in his subject in the end seems fairly won: N.C.'s accomplishments turn out to be larger than one might have imagined—he is the Wyeth who counts—and his life is larger than his accomplishments. The Wyeths themselves, the art-obsessed family who were his invention, emerge as both more likable and more Gothic than one had expected: half Pennsylvania Bruegels, half the Addams Family."

Adam Gopnik. *NYTBR*, Nov. 15, 1998: 15–16.

Yeats, Jack

Jack Yeats. Bruce Arnold. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 418 pp. £29.95.

"The early part of this book covers territory already well mapped. . . . The latter part of the book is much better, since . . . [Arnold] is able to draw on fresher material, especially interviews and reminiscences of people who knew the Dublin of that period. . . . A major disappointment is Arnold's failure to deal adequately with the visual."

Jeane Sheehy. *TLS*, Nov. 20, 1998: 19.

Zhang Shenfu, and Vera Schwarcz

Bridge Across Time: Chinese and Jewish Cultural Memory. Vera Schwarcz. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 232 pp. $30.00.

"To probe the meanings of 'cultural memory,' it combines intimate

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biography with panoramic intellectual history. Like a sonata, its main theme—how Judaic and Confucian traditions shape remembrance—keeps returning."

Mary Felstiner. *Women's Review of Books* 16.3 (Dec. 1998): 4.

Collections, Group Biographies, and Other Works of Interest

American Tourists

Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age. Harvey Levenstein. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 378 pp. $30.00.

Levenstein "has combined the pithy, amusing and sometimes embarrassing comments of Americans writing about France with new insights into the cultural history of going abroad."

Deirdre Bair. *NYTBR*, Oct. 25, 1998: 30.

Autobiography Theory

When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography. Jill Ker Conway. New York: Knopf, 1998. 205 pp. $23.00. [Reviewed in this issue]

"This is a book which presents autobiography finally not as an art form, but as a cultural trace. . . . Maybe this is why Conway's most successful portraits are those of the great social and feminist activists."

Patrticia Hampl. *Women's Review of Books* 15.10 (July 1998): 15.

Les Brouillons de soi. Philippe Lejeune. Paris: Seuil, 1998. 430 pp. F140.

Pour l'autobiographie. Philippe Lejeune. Paris: Seuil, 1998. 252 pp. F120.

Philippe Lejeune has been fighting for thirty years to rehabilitate autobiography and affirm that the right to tell one's own life is one of the human rights. These two books explore the social implications and the practice of those "Drafts of oneself."

Jean-Luc Douin. *Les Mondes des Livres*, July 24, 1998: 24.

Baseball Players

The Autobiography of Baseball: The Inside Story from the Stars who Played the Game. Joseph Wallace. New York: Abrams, 1998. 224 pp. $35.00.

"It is getting pretty hard to find much new in baseball oral history. *The Autobiography of Baseball: The Inside Story from the Stars who Played the Game* does not add to the mountain of verbiage. Rather, one might fairly say that the book draws on the words of more than 150 ballplayers past and present in a way that tries to whittle it down some."

George Robinson. *NYTBR*, Oct. 11, 1998: 21.

The Beatles

The Beatles: An Oral History. David Pritchard and Alan Lysaght. New York: Hyperion, 1998. 320 pp. $23.95.

"'The Beatles,' by David Pritchard and Alan Lysaght, two Canadian

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radio and television producers, is a compilation of twice-told tales culled from interviews with the Beatles and their contemporaries and is more seriously in need of editing than the 'White Album.' Far too much of this material has been told more vividly elsewhere."

Eric P. Nash. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 27.

Literary Biography

"One Cheer for Literary Biography." John Updike. *NYRB*, Feb. 4, 1999: 3-5.

"The main question concerning literary biography is, surely, Why do we need it at all? When an author has devoted his life to expressing himself, and, if a poet or a writer of fiction, has used the sensations and critical events of his life as his basic material, what of significance can a biographer add to the record? . . .

We read, those of us who do, literary biographies for a variety of reasons, of which the first and perhaps the most worthy is the desire to prolong and extend our intimacy with the author—to partake again, from another angle, the joys we have experienced from the author's *oeuvre*, in the presence of a voice and mind we have come to love. . . . We read literary biography, often, in a diagnostic mood, as if dealing with a ward of sick men and women. Psychoanalytical theories of compensation and Edmund Wilson's moving essay "The Wound and the Bow" have alerted biographers to the relation of creative drive to a human insufficiency elsewhere. . . . From such examinations it is not a far step to those biographies, of which Lytton Strachey is the patron saint, that ridicule and denigrate their subjects. We read them, perhaps, in order to feel superior to well-known writers. . . .

The more or less meager and ignoble and practical facts tie the author's balloon, his flotilla of balloons, to the earth, and tracing the connections tells us something of the nature of artistic creation. The life of a writer, which spins outside of itself a secondary life, offers an opportunity to study mind and body, or inside and outside, or dream and reality, together as one. Consider the many inventive yet judicious connections Leon Edel makes between Henry James's evolving psyche and accumulating body of work. The many people that James was . . . to some extent unite. If it enhances our access to literature, populating its annals with graspable, provocative personalities, then literary biography does perform useful work."

The Pastons

A Medieval Family: The Pastons of Fifteenth-Century England. Frances and Joseph Gies. New York: HarperCollins, 1998. 352 pp. $27.50.

"The Gieses, who specialize in making the Middle Ages accessible to nonspecialists, have done a wonderful job of linking and amplifying the Pastons' words, creating a true historical novel."

The New Yorker, Oct. 26 & Nov. 2, 1998: 246.

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The Rothschilds

The House of Rothschild: Money's Prophets, 1789–1848. Niall Ferguson. New York: Viking, 1998. 648 pp. $34.95.

"Their enthralling story has often been told before but never in such authoritative detail. Ferguson is a young Oxford don of remarkable energy and proficiency, who has previously written a learned book on German financial history and has just published in England a long book on World War I, as well as this Rothschild history in its 1,300 page entirety. The American publishers have taken pity on their readers' wrists and split it into two volumes: 'The House of Rothschild: Money's Prophets, 1798–1848' will be followed in the fall of 1999 by 'The House of Rothschild: The World's Banker, 1848–1997.'"

Geoffrey Wheatcroft. *NYTBR*, Dec. 20, 1998: 12.

Rwanda Victims

We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda. Philip Gourevitch. New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1998. 358 pp. $25.00.

"The author's account of the genocide and its aftermath—the evasions of the perpetrators, the despair of the survivors, and the successes and failures of those who belatedly responded to the crisis—constitutes a harsh yet elegant moral reckoning."

The New Yorker, Dec. 21, 1998: 98.

"His [Gourevitch's] compelling account should be required reading for those probing the inner workings of modern states. But the queasy and the hero-worshipers should abstain."

Jonathan Randal. *WP*, Oct. 19, 1998: 33–34.

Women

The Erotic Lives of Women. Linda Troeller and Marion Schneider. New York: Scalo, 1998. 208 pp. $45.00.

"Female sexual passion is often portrayed as sophomoric romance or as the ecstasy following a high-end shopping spree. 'The Erotic Lives of Women' is different, and should be honored as one of the most gutsy and imaginative erotic books of the decade. Linda Troeller, an American photographer, and Marion Schneider, a German writer, photographed and interviewed 30 women from the Americas, Europe, the Middle East and Northern Africa."

Susie Bright. *NYTBR*, Nov. 29, 1998: 18.

World War II Leaders

The Victors, Eisenhower and His Boys: The Men of World War II. Stephen E. Ambrose. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 396 pp. $28.00.

"'The Victors' is largely composed of huge blocks of text from five of

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Ambrose's previous histories: 'Eisenhower,' 'Pegasus Bridge,' 'Band of Brothers,' 'D-Day' and 'Citizen Soldiers.' Still, there is a lot to be said for having it all under one cover, for combining Ambrose's compelling portrait of Eisenhower's leadership with the vivid experiences of the infantrymen, and following the campaign from conception to conclusion."

Nathaniel Tripp. *NYTBR*, Nov. 22, 1998: 14.

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Lifelines

Call for Papers. "Identities in Action: An Interdisciplinary Conference." University of Wales Conference Center, Gregynog. Dec. 10–12, 1999. Papers are invited on the theme of identity construction based on studies of groups or individuals in action. The conference aims to gather diverse perspectives on how concepts of identity, alienation and belonging, and modes of language and discourse reveal themselves in cultural and political undertakings; to identify some emerging patterns in the negotiation, rehearsal, and affirmation of identities; and to consider the roles of visual, verbal, and other codes in defining, allying, and mediating cultural positions. Contact Daniel Chandler at dgc@aber.ac.uk or visit www.aber.ac.uk/~dgc/identact.html. **Deadline:** May 1, 1999.

Call for Papers. A Joint Meeting of the Popular Culture Association in the South and the American Culture Association in the South. Roanoke, Virginia.Oct. 7–9, 1999. Send requests for information, 150 word abstracts, completed papers, or proposals for special sessions to the Program Chair, Christina R. McDonald, The Writing Program, MSC 2103, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA 22807; tel.: (540) 568-6004; email: mcdonacg@jmu.edu. **Deadline:** May 15, 1999.

Special Issue. *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme.* "Lives and Experiences of Woman Living in War-torn Societies." The Fall 1999 issue seeks to provide new gendered ways of thinking about international, security, and peace studies, and to identify alternative ways of doing research that links the work of activists and grassroots organizations with academic theory to support the efforts of local and international groups to effect change at regional, national, and global levels. Areas of focus include militarization and its impact on the lives of women, women's role in the construction of the post-war nation, the relationship between war and neoliberalism and economic restructuring and its implications for women, women's roles in peace building and resistance strategies, and women's initiatives and organizing across boundaries. Contact *Canadian Woman Studies*, 212 Founders, York University, 4700 Keele Street, North York, Ontario, M3J 1P3 Canada; cwscf@ york.ca. **Deadline:** May 30, 1999.

The Summer 1999 issue of *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* (19.2) examines the lives and experiences of refugee women living in Canada, focusing on citizenship and identity issues, economic restructuring, systemic discrimination and racism, and directions for changes in policy.

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Call for Papers. *The Langston Hughes Review.* "Hughes' Writing for Children." Papers are invited on the writing Langston Hughes dedicated to children, including poetry, fiction, and nonfiction. Contact Nancy D. Tolson, English Dept., Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61790-4240; ndtols2@ilstu.edu. **Deadline:** June 30, 1999.

Call for Papers. "L. M. Montgomery and Popular Culture." Third Biennial International Conference hosted by the L. M. Montgomery Institute, University of Prince Edward Island. June 29–July 2 2000. Topics include theorizing the aesthetics of popular culture; girl culture; life writing and popular culture; tourist culture; crossing national boundaries; sexual/textual pleasures; and translating literature into popular media such as film, video, television, music, and drama. Contact: Anna MacDonald, L. M. Montgomery Institute, University of Prince Edward Island, 550 University Avenue, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island C1A 4P3, Canada; lmminst@upei.ca. **Deadline:** June 30, 1999.

Calls for Papers. The 1999 Central New York Conference on Language and Literature. Cortland College. **Oct. 3–5. Deadline:** July 15, 1999.

"Knight Prisoner: The Life and Art of Sir Thomas Malory." Contact Marc Ricciardi, 731 Rhinelander Avenue, New York, NY 10462; marccr@worldnet.att.net.

"New Approaches to Edith Wharton's Life and Art." Contact Emily J. Orlanda, English Dept., Susquehanna Hall 2101, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; eo18@umail.umd.edu.

"Asian American Literature: Autobiographical Writings." Contact Zhou Ziaojing, American Studies, Clemens Hall, Rm. 1010, SUNY-Buffalo, Box 604630, Buffalo, NY 14260-4630; zxj@acsu.buffalo.edu.

Special Issue. *Journal of Women's History.* "Age as a Category of Analysis in Women's History." Papers are welcome on any part of the world in any historical period that deal with age cohorts of women, generational interactions, or women's life cycles. The editors are particularly interested in conceptualizing what it means to take age into account along with gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality in analyzing women's lives. Contact the Managing Editors, *Journal of Women's History,* History Dept., Ohio State University, 230 W. 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210-1367; jwh@osu.edu. **Deadline:** August 1, 1999.

Call for Papers. *Jane Sexes It Up,* a collection of essays combining autobiography with reflections on women's lived sexuality and feminist paradigms. The editors are particularly interested in the use of autobiography to establish moments of dissonance between women's sexuality and feminist politics in order to refine and move forward with an inhabitable and politically effective feminism. Building on a tradition of embodied (not essential) consciousness in feminism, the

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anthology seeks to ask still important questions concerning what we can we learn about ourselves and the world from looking at and theorizing our bodies. Contact Merri Lisa Johnston, English Dept., Binghamton University, P.O. Box 6000, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000; br00852@binghampton.edu. **Deadline:** Sept. 1, 1999.

Special Issue. *Journal of African Travel-Writing* seeks papers for a special issue focusing on the experiences of Africans who have travelled voluntarily outside of the continent. Papers are welcome from any discipline and dealing with any time period and any primary or secondary account. Contact Amber Vogel at ottotwo@email.unc.edu, or the *Journal of African Travel-Writing*, P.O. Box 346, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. **Deadline:** Sept. 30, 1999.

Conference. "Charismatic Leaders." Popular Culture Association/ American Culture Association 4th Congress of the Americas. Puebla, Mexico. Sept. 29–Oct. 2, 1999. The Political Charisma in Latin America section will feature theoretical studies of the sources and history of charismatic leadership in Latin America, and the rise of charismatic women, as well as studies of individual leaders, such as Simon Bolivar, Fidel Castro, Cesar Chavez, Benito Juarez, and Juan and Eva Peron. Contact Anita Howard at Nita1312@aol.com, or visit gente.udlap.mx/~rich/congress99/index.html.

Special Issue. *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies.* "Postcolonial Asian America." Reapproaching Asian American cultural production from a postcolonial perspective to reconceptualize what constitutes Asian Americanness, the editors seek a broad range of essays that will explore the multiethnic and multidisciplinary nature of Asian American Studies, and re-interrogate the historical nature of Asian American cultural formation. Contact Tina Y. Chen, English Dept., Box 1654B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37203; tina.y.chen@vanderbilt.edu or Viet Thanh Nguyen, English Dept., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089; vnguyen@rcr.usc.edu. **Deadline:** Oct. 1, 1999.

Call for Papers. *Xcp: Cross-Cultural Poetics*, a scholarly journal of poetry, poetics, ethnography, and cultural and performance studies, seeks submissions for Issues 6 (Spring 2000), "Documentary Poetics," and 7 (Fall 2000), "Everyday Life." Contact Mark Nowak, editor, *Xcp: Cross-Cultural Poetics*, College of St. Catherine, 601 25th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55454; manowak@stkate.edu; www.bfn.org/~xcp. **Deadline:** Oct. 1, 1999 for Vol. 6; Mar. 1, 2000, for Vol. 7.

Conference. "Giving Voice—Oral Historians and the Shaping of Narrative." Oral History Association, Anchorage. Oct. 7–10, 1999.

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Contact Sue Armitage, *Frontiers*, Women's Studies Program, Washington State University, Pullman, WA 99164; armitage@wsu.edu.

Conference. "Slave Narratives: Remembering Our Past, Chronicling Our Present, Predicting Our Future. Wilberforce, Ohio. Oct. 14–16, 1999. Contact Muriel Brailey or Olabisi Gwamna, Humanities Dept., Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, OH 45384; ogwamna@payne.wilberforce.edu or mbrailey@payne.wilberforce.edu.

Call for Papers. "Portraiture and Scientific Identity." National Portrait Gallery (London). June 23–24, 2000. An international conference organized by the National Portrait Gallery and the British Society for the History of Science, in conjunction with an exhibition exploring the portraiture of practitioners of science, medicine, and technology since the seventeenth century in Britain. Contact Ludmilla Jordanova, School of World Art Studies and Museology, University of East Anglia, Norwich, Norfolk NR4 7TJ, UK; l.jordanova@uea.ac.uk. **Deadline:** Nov. 1. 1999.

Essay Prize. *The Henry James Review* announces the inaugural Leon Edel Prize for the best essay on Henry James by a beginning scholar. The prize carries an award of $150 and the publication of the winning essay. The competition is open to applicants who have not held a full-time academic appointment for more than four years; independent scholars and graduate students are welcome. Contact Susan M. Griffin, editor, *Henry James Review*, English Dept., University of Louisville, Louisville, KY 40292; hjamesr@louisville.edu. **Deadline:** Nov. 1, 1999.

Conference. "Collecting and Safeguarding Oral Traditions." Satellite Meeting of the General Conference of the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. Mahasarakham University, Kohn Kaen, Thailand. Aug. 16–19, 1999. Within the context of the UNESCO Memory of the World Program, the conference will deal with various aspects of collecting and safeguarding oral heritages, including sociocultural contexts, collection methodologies and selection criteria, and care, handling, storage and preservation issues. Contact the IFLA headquarters, P.O. Box 95312, 2509 CN The Hague, Netherlands; ifla@ifla.org; www.ifla.org/IV/ifla65/sat-a.pdf.or Ralph W. Manning, National Library of Canada, Ottawa K1A 0N4, Canada; ralph.manning@nlc-bnc.ca.

Archival Service. Dundee University Archives offers a comprehensive genealogical, biographical, and historical research service—designed in particular to assist people who cannot easily visit Scotland—with access to the extensive range of collections held in archives and libraries throughout east Scotland, including parish registers, census sources,

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street and trade directories, labour, business, church, and other documentary sources, newspapers, and government records. Contact Michael Bolik at m.d.bolik@dundee.ac.uk, or www.dundee.ac.uk/archives/researchmain.htm.

New Journal. *Scope: An Online Journal of Film Studies* seeks to provide a forum for a broad range of issues within film studies: from production, distribution, and exhibition, through the promotion, publicizing, and mediation of films, to the practice of textual analysis and the study of audiences and film consumption. The fully refereed journal welcomes contributions from both new and established scholars. For guidelines see www.nottingham.ac.uk/film/journal/submiss.htm, or contact the Editors, *Scope: An Online Journal of Film Studies*, Institute of Film Studies, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD, United Kingdom, or the Director of the Institute, Mark Jancovich, at m.jancovich@ nottingham.ac.uk.

New Journal. *Nineteenth-Century Feminisms*—a biannual devoted to issues of gender, culture, and writing by and about women from anywhere in the Empire, Britain, Canada, or the U.S. in the long nineteenth century (1785–1918). Papers are invited on a variety of subjects, such as the politics of print culture, the production of a female tradition in publishing, women and the academy, censorship of the press, women and periodical publication, women and art history, feminism and race in the nineteenth century, and nineteenth-century women writers in English; and from a wide range of disciplines, including the arts, natural and social sciences, medicine, and popular culture studies. Contact the editors, Joanna Devereux and Lorraine DiCicco, Modern Languages Dept., King's College, University of Western Ontario, 266 Epworth Avenue, London, Ontario, Canada N6A 2M3; jdevereu@julian.uwo.ca; www.odyssey.on.ca/~ncf.

Website/E-Journal. "Domestic Goddesses: AKA Scribbling Women." lonestar.texas.net/~kwells/dgl.htm. A website and e-journal on Victorian Women Writers seeks papers discussing the literature and lives of Louisa May Alcott, Kate Chopin, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Willa Cather, Sarah Orne Jewett, Edith Wharton, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Susan Warner; guides to research are particularly welcome. Contact Kim Wells, editor, Domestic Goddesses Website, at kwells@texas.net.

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A *Biography* Special Issue

The Biopic

The January 2000 issue of *Biography* will explore the Biopic. Guest editor Glenn Man is looking for papers which address the theoretical, generic, historical, cultural, or technical aspects of representing or telling lives in film or video—from Hollywood spectaculars to indie films, from short subjects to A & E Biographies. Interdisciplinary and multicultural approaches are particularly welcome.

Manuscripts should be between 2,500 and 7,500 words, though shorter and longer essays will be considered. Please submit two copies of any manuscript. Since *Biography* has a double-blind submission policy, the author's name should not appear anywhere on either copy, but in the cover letter. Decisions about publication will be received within three months, and comments will be provided for all essays. Consultation on manuscript ideas is welcomed.

For more information, contact the editor of *Biography*, Craig Howes,

by	Email:	biograph@hawaii.edu.
	Telephone:	(808) 956-3774
	Fax:	(808) 956-3774
	Mail:	Center for Biographical Research University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822 USA

Deadline for submissions: August 1, 1999.

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Contributors

Carolyn A. Barros ("Getting Modern: *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*") is Associate Professor of English and Director of the University Honors Program at the University of Texas at Arlington. She is author of *Autobiography: Narrative of Transformation* (U of Michigan P, 1998). Her jointly-edited critical anthology of *Life-Writings of Eighteenth-Century British Women* is forthcoming from Northeastern UP.

Anna Makkonen ("Holocaust Chronicle, Spiritual Autobiography, Portrait of an Artist, Novel in the Making: Reading the Abridged Diary of Etty Hillesum"), Senior Fellow at the Academy of Finland and Visiting Scholar at Columbia University (1998–99), is currently writing a book on women's diaries. She has previously published on modern Finnish literature, reader-response theory, feminist criticism, and auto/biography. Her "Detecting a Diary: A Case Study from 1905" appeared in *Biography* 20.1 (Winter 1997).

Daniel L. Manheim ("The Voice of Arii Taimai: Henry Adams and the Challenge of Empire") is Associate Professor of American literature at Centre College, in Danville, Kentucky.

P. David Marshall (Rev. of Tithecott, *Of Men and Monsters*, and Seltzer, *Serial Killers*) is the Director of the Media and Cultural Studies Centre in the Department of English at the University of Queensland. He is the founder and supervising editor of the internet journal *m/c- a journal of media and culture* (http://www.up.edu.au/mc) and the author of *Celebrity and Power* (U of Minnesota P, 1997) and *Modes for Cultural Analysis* (Sage, forthcoming). He is currently researching the agent/manager and their role in the construction of the public personality.

Robert S. Robins (Rev. of Gilbert, *The Mortal Presidency*), Professor of Political Science at Tulane University, has published widely in the field of politics concerning physically and mentally ill leaders, most recently in his co-authored *When Illness Strikes the Leader* (Yale UP, 1993) and *Political Paranoia* (Yale UP, 1997). Professor Robins served as a member of President Clinton's Working Group on Disability of U.S. Presidents.

Patricia Meyer Spacks (Rev. of Imbarrato, *Declarations of Independency in Eighteenth-Century American Autobiography*), Edgar F. Shannon Professor of English at the University of Virginia, is the author, most

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recently, of *Boredom: The Literary History of a State of Mind* (U of Chicago P, 1995). She is currently studying the construction of privacy in eighteenth-century Britain.

Martin Stannard (Rev. of Conway, *When Memory Speaks*) is Professor of Modern English Literature at the University of Leicester. He is the author of a two-volume biography of Evelyn Waugh (Dent/Norton, 1986, 1992), editor of *Evelyn Waugh: The Critical Heritage* (Routledge, 1984), and of the Norton Critical Edition of Ford Madox Ford's *The Good Soldier* (1995), and he is now writing the authorized biography of Muriel Spark.

E. Gordon Whatley (Rev. of Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*), Professor of English at Queens College and the City University of New York Graduate Center, has edited the Latin life and miracles of Saint Erkenwald of London (Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies 58), and has published a variety of essays on Old and Middle English hagiography, most recently in *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997).

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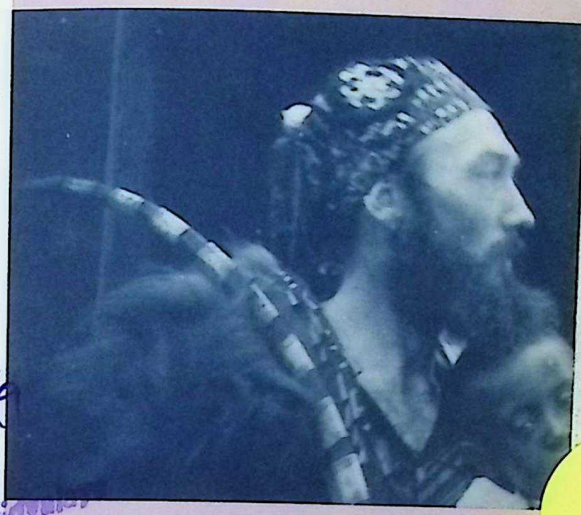

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Editor's Note

Submissions—we need more of them, and of different kinds. Although we would like to see anything which "explores the theoretical, historical, generic, and cultural dimensions of lifewriting," here is a brief overview of what would be especially welcome, and also some comments on our editorial procedures.

At present, *Biography* is looking for ten to twelve substantial articles a year for its three regular issues, and five to ten more, depending on the guest editor's plans, for its Winter special issue. (For information about our forthcoming Biopic issue, consult the announcement which follows *Lifelines*.) In addition, we are interested in receiving shorter, less formal pieces—say 3,000 to 5,000 words—for our "Sketches from Life" feature. (Our book reviews are all assigned, although we would welcome information about any new books we should know about.)

It is usually a good idea to contact us by e-mail about a possible contribution, simply because over half of our rejections result from the essays simply not fitting well with the overall emphasis of the journal. To take the most common instance, unless they foreground some interesting theoretical aspect of the life as representation or narrative, essays which are themselves mini-biographies will not generally be accepted. Our rule of thumb: However odd it may seem, *Biography* doesn't publish biographies, but work about lifewriting.

Our rejection rate is very high, but all authors receive detailed and timely comments on the reasons for rejection. Our policy is to return essays within three months of receiving them—and while circumstances occasionally make us run over a bit, as an author you are certainly entitled to some word on the status of the essay on that ninetieth day. Most of our published authors are initially asked to revise and resubmit, and all acceptances are contingent on authors agreeing to consider editorial suggestions, which can often be quite extensive. The result, however, is that each essay has had a great deal of attention paid to it before publication.

As we move more toward electronic as well as paper publication, we are planning to reproduce more illustrations and graphics with our articles. (For an example, see Panthea Reid's essay in this issue.) We also expect to be publishing color illustrations in the electronic version of *Biography*—more on this in our next issue—so authors should be thinking about what would visually enhance their words.

For over twenty years, *Biography* has drawn virtually all of its contents from the open submission process. We follow a double-blind editorial policy: only after we have reached a decision about the essay does the Associate Editor provide me with the name and address for the decision letter I write to each potential contributor.

I look forward to reading your work.

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Figure 1. Julia Margaret Cameron. "Dejatch Alamayou, King Theodore's Son, and Captain Speedy, Basha Felika." 1868. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, Bath, England.

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Virginia Woolf, Leslie Stephen, Julia Margaret Cameron, and the Prince of Abyssinia: An Inquiry into Certain Colonialist Representations

Panthea Reid

During most of 7 February 1910, Virginia Stephen (later to be Virginia Woolf) wore blackface and a beard. She was posing as an Abyssinian prince, while her brother Adrian represented a translator. Adrian's Cambridge friend Horace Cole, impersonating a member of the foreign office, escorted the entourage to the battleship *Dreadnought*.

In a previous essay in *Biography*, I argue that a letter from Adrian's and Virginia's cousin, William Fisher, had inspired an earlier prank, the "Sultan of Zanzibar" hoax of 1905. A sequel to the earlier piece, this essay should complete the story. We have assumed that Adrian Stephen and Horace Cole, both inveterate pranksters, planned the 1910 charade, and then, when two hoaxers defected, recruited Virginia Stephen and the painter Duncan Grant in last-minute desperation. Virginia herself said she had two days notice and entered the exploit for fun (Stansky 32–33). Unlike Adrian and Horace, she liked the idea of ridiculing the masculine establishment. I suspect that, also unlike them, she saw the exploit in historical-political terms: as commentary on English colonialism, the background for her novel-in-progress, which would become *The Voyage Out*; as a private allusion to the work of both her father, Leslie Stephen, and her great-aunt, Julia Margaret Cameron; and most particularly, as fitting (though belated) response to famous (and infamous) 1867–68 English characterizations of the emperor and prince of Abyssinia.

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At that time Stephen and Cameron had each, in different ways, subverted English misrepresentations of Abyssinian royalty, particularly of Emperor Tewodros (or Theodore) II, ruler of Abyssinia from 1855, and of his son, Prince Alamayou. Given her interest in histories of England and of her own family, Virginia had every reason to know the story that follows.[1]

Theodore by ruthless force had brought some unity and modernization to his Semitic and African peoples. (He echoed past Abyssinian rulers in claiming descent from a union of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.) In the first years of Theodore's reign, an English adventurer and entrepreneur named John Bell, acting as unofficial English ambassador, became Theodore's confidant. The *Illustrated London News* patronizingly noted that, though Bell failed at teaching the Abyssinians "European drill," Theodore was still enamored of all matters British:

> For many hours together would they sit, in a tent upon some hill-side, watched by ignorant savages, while Bell told [Theodore] all the marvels of European civilisation; described England and India; the wealth of London; the gaieties of Paris; the fleets, the armies, the laws, the arts and manufactures of the world; the mighty wars of Napoleon, and the siege of Sebastopol, then going on; the peace and freedom of our social life, the sweet privacy of our comfortable homes. Or he would open that cherished volume of Shakspeare [sic], which Theodore used to call "Bell's bible," and read to his African friend, in such Amharic translation as he could improvise, the novel stories, the glowing sentiments, the teeming fancies of our grandest poetry; the tragedy of Lear, that of Hamlet, that of Othello, or that of Macbeth. (Acton 14)

This report then added that in reading *Macbeth*, "the blood-stained usurper might have seen an image of his own fate." The *News* might have gone on to moralize about Bell's fate too. As part of teaching Theodore European diversionary tactics, John Bell often went into battle dressed as the emperor—an impersonation which in 1860 cost him his life.

As a Christian monarch who thought of himself as something of an apprentice-Englishman, Theodore presumed himself on good terms with Queen Victoria. In 1862 he sent her a detailed request for English artisans and craftsmen to teach trades to his people. Unfortunately, the trade he was most

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interested in developing was gun-making. Even more unfortunately, Victoria and her ministers ignored or misplaced Theodore's repeated requests and inquiries. Meanwhile, the French protested his plans to expel Catholics from Abyssinia and Turks from Palestine, causing Theodore to fume before a group of Europeans he had assembled, "'Who is that Napoleon [III]? Are not my ancestors greater than his?'" (Bates 46).

Without Bell's calming influence, Theodore's resentment of Europeans and disillusionment with Englishmen festered. He ordered an emissary from the London Jewish Mission nearly beaten to death, supposedly for failing to doff his hat when the emperor passed. Then Theodore had all Jewish missionaries put in chains, along with their Abyssinian servants. In early 1864, he summoned, and then incarcerated, the British Consul, making a total of eighteen European prisoners, including two women and three children. For the next four years, Theodore clapped English emissaries into prison, though he defied stereotypes by treating his prisoners well, assigning Abyssinian servants to them all, and concubines to some. When he rearrested the Consul in 1866, after granting him some months of freedom, the emperor hosted a banquet for all his prisoners consisting of "11 cows, 11 baskets of bread, 11 jars of hydromel [a liquor or mead], 5 jars of butter and 3 jars of pepper" (Bates 72). Having honored them, Theodore commodified his prisoners by transporting them to the mountain fortress of Magdala to be held as hostages.

England assembled workmen, equipment, and presents as ransom, but held back from giving them to Theodore until he released his prisoners. He, however, refused to release them until he got the ransom. Simple diplomacy could and should have averted a crisis. Instead the English, enflamed by a bellicose press, refused to compromise with an African potentate who had dared to jail English citizens. A *Punch* cartoon showed Britannia (an hermaphroditic figure in a toga) demanding vindication, in a grotesque representation which exaggerates racial distinctions and caricatures Theodore as a jailer wearing a crown topped by an absurd feathered headdress. The prisoners appear only as desperate hands clinging to bars (Figure 2). With such jingoist images fueling patriotic fervor, in December 1867, a short session of Parliament authorized an Abyssinian War.

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Figure 2. "The Abyssinian Question." *Punch*, August 10, 1867.

Of course these events antedate Virginia Stephen Woolf, but not her father Leslie Stephen. He was a radical opponent of the racism and bellicosity that demanded a military response to what was called "the Abyssinian Difficulty." Such radicalism was a Stephen family tradition.[2] Leslie's father, Sir James Stephen, had drafted the anti-slavery bill of 1832 (Annan 14), and as a Cambridge undergraduate, Leslie Stephen had argued against England's imperialism in Africa, suggesting policies that would have prevented, he would claim years later, the Boer War (*Early Impressions* 37). During the American Civil War, he eloquently exposed the racism, classism, and commercialism

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behind English favoritism toward the American South. After traveling to the northern states in 1863, Stephen issued a pamphlet arguing that slavery was the major cause of the Civil War and that its very existence invalidated the American "Union."[3]

Stephen's progressivism brought him a carte-blanche invitation to write a column for the liberal American journal the *Nation*, and from 1866–1873, in a column titled simply "ENGLAND," Stephen offered America uninhibited, radical, and visionary commentary on the greed, bellicosity, and racism behind British colonialism (Stenfors 13). His first letter of 25 October 1866, for example, attacked the blatant racism behind public support for ex-governor Edward John Eyre, who had brutally suppressed an 1865 Jamaican rebellion (Stenfors 182–92).[4] In his column of 12 December 1867, Stephen expressed "dismal forebodings" that England was planning to invade Abyssinia. He saw the whole expedition as a trumped-up imperialist excuse to teach "King Theodorus a lesson in manners." He deplored the colonialism that combined ignorance of Abyssinian affairs with ill-conceived military chauvinism. As he explained in the *Nation*, "we have been dragged—nobody quite knows how—into the unpleasant necessity of having to go and rescue some thirty English subjects. . . . I sincerely hope that we shall be content without a slice of Africa" (484). A month later Stephen berated the English "capacity for mismanagement" that had already managed simply to lose "a large proportion of the mules which had been bought up regardless of expense" for the Abyssinian expedition (*Nation* 70; Stenfors 204–207).

Despite sensible protests from Stephen and others, and a series of belated negotiations, the British launched from India an elaborate military expedition to rescue English citizens from their chains. Preparing for this assault, Theodore had European artisans living in Abyssinia cast a huge seven-ton mortar which, remembering Bell's lessons in European warfare, he christened "Sebastopol." Headed by General Robert Napier and staffed largely by Indian forces, the British expedition landed at a hot, dusty port on the Red Sea and marched southward for some four hundred miles. Often building roads and bridges as it went along, the operation required 44 elephants and 36,000 draught animals—many of which, as Stephen observed, were lost or stolen. It cost some nine million pounds (Bates 215, chs. 10–11).

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The expedition was accompanied by an official party of photographers. Aside from the weight and cumbersomeness of the two sets of equipment, weighing 1,300 pounds and requiring seven mule trains apiece, and the alternating heat and sand, then rain and mud, of the environment, the photographers also had to cope with the officers' ignorance. Frequently the march would be stopped and the photographers ordered to set their cameras up to record some impossible subject like a mountain peak cloaked in fog and rain (Falconer 56–57). The officers would then "read" the blurred, indistinct prints as evidence of the photographers' ineptitude.

Among the press corps, however, were other artists free from such technical inconveniences and expectations about accuracy. William Simpson of the *Illustrated London News* freely sketched scenes which imposed western values on native subjects, and depicted the British advance only in heroic terms. These drawings were sent home and reproduced as engravings, some as large as 20" x 14." A hundred were published in a single volume, with text by Roger Acton, whose words surpass Simpson's images in belittling the Abyssinians as a people bereft of European restraint:

> There were never such braggarts in the world. Of course, they are too noble for any occupation but fighting; they despise all useful work. Their shameless profligacy is attested by all observers. Their oddly perverted form of Christianity, administered by a swarm of priests and monks, who are no better than other persons, has had little good influence on their morals. Sensual pleasures of every kind, including that of intoxication with strong drink, are commonly indulged in without check or reproof. Neither sex appears to be disgraced by such vices in the esteem of their neighbours and acquaintance; while the gluttony of their feasts is as disgusting as the filthiness of their dress. (3)

Equating difference with degeneracy, Acton's rhetoric displays no empathy for an other people, though it does convey grudging respect for Theodore: "His ardent imagination soon led him to believe that he was called by Divine favour to be the David of his own nation, and to raise Abyssinia to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity" (9).

Theodore had cannon and Sebastopol hauled up to the fortress at Magdala, where he was still keeping the prisoners. When British troops reached the valley below, however,

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Theodore's big guns overshot them. Then, just before Easter, Abyssinian soldiers descended to face their attackers—a disastrous move that was presumably Theodore's attempt to abide by the rules of British chivalry. Thanks to their superior breech-loading rifles, the British unchivalrously killed about seven hundred Abyssinians. Only two British soldiers lost their lives (Bates 185). Depictions by Simpson and Acton to the contrary, the British had prevailed by gun power, not bravery.

Rather than lose more men, Theodore at last released his prisoners, who were rather resentful that rescue meant replacing indulged captivity with military austerity. Their liberators were nonplused to learn that the captives had been more pampered than abused. And the British, given their jingoistic mission, were appalled to discover that they had spent nine million pounds to rescue not thirty English but four British persons (including Irish); the rest were European artisans, many with native wives and children, who chattered at their liberators in German and Amharic (Bates 189–93).

Assuming the confrontation was all over, and still emulating English chivalry and Christian forgiveness, Theodore made a peace offering of a thousand cows and five hundred sheep on Easter. Rather than admit how misguided their operation had been, however, General Napier ignored the peace offer and stormed Magdala to take Theodore dead or alive. Though a correspondent for the *Times* ruefully admitted that "as a patriot, perhaps the less I say of this siege the better" (Bates 191–202), less candidly the *Illustrated London News* in both words and images depicted the siege as heroic. In "The Storming of Magdala on Easter Monday," while native peoples are represented only by a few huts (not Sebastopol), the awesome terrain, so unlike English mountains, is dominated by British troops and their rifles (Figure 3). Another engraving depicts the British in formation decimating pockets of resistance, manned by scarcely clad natives carrying swords and shields (Figure 4). The "Exodus of a Broken Army" represents a virtual flood of defeated Abyssinians from Theodore's mountain stronghold (Figure 5). Ahead of the tide of humanity are a few individualized natives, some in chains, all barefooted, all (including a bare-breasted woman) represented as exotic and alien. The "Departure of the Released Prisoners" isolates the prisoners and erases the African and mixed racial heritage of most of the imprisoned women and children (Figure 6).

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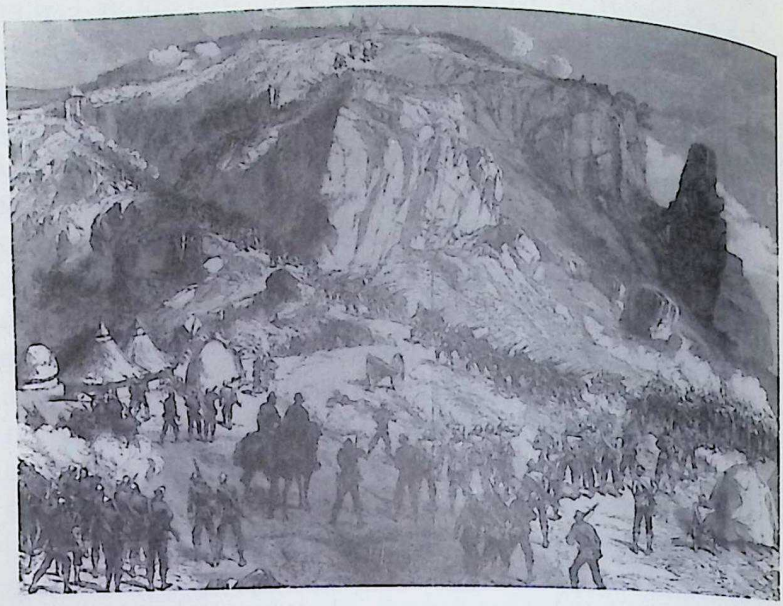

Figure 3. "The Storming of Magdala on Easter Monday."

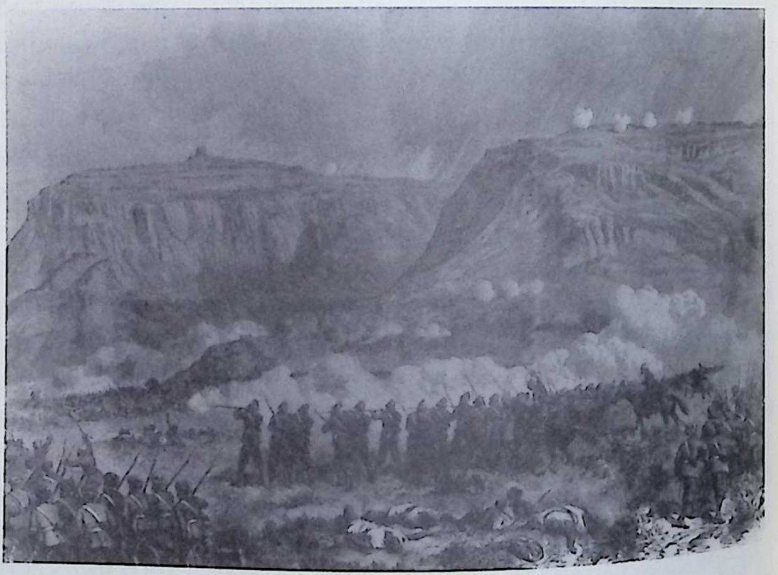

Figure 4. The assault on Magdala.

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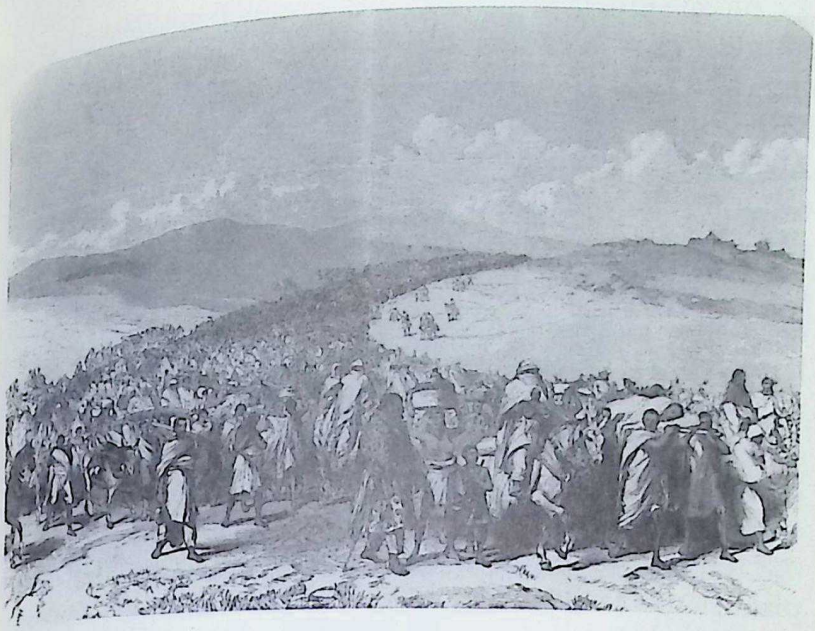

Figure 5. "Exodus of a Broken Army."

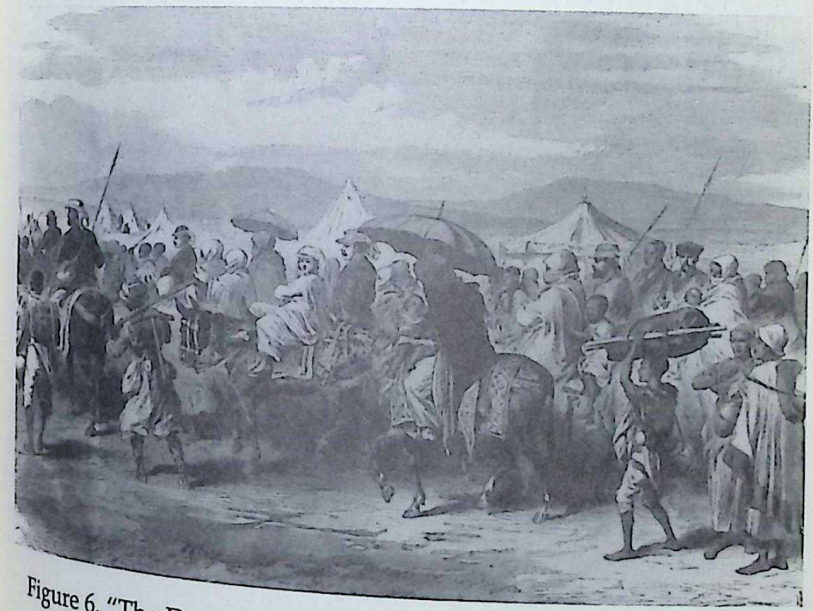

Figure 6. "The Departure of the Released Prisoners."

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As Leslie Stephen argued, and Darrell Bates established over a hundred years afterwards, this campaign was ignominious, even though England did not claim a "slice" of Abyssinia. In his 28 May 1868 column, Stephen concluded that the rout of Abyssinia established only that the British could march "great distances, in spite of great material obstacles, in a thoroughly workmanlike fashion" (430). Though the English press ignored all accusations of ignominious behavior, it did react to the accusations by Stephen and others of waste and mismanagement. Perhaps, the popular press speculated, campaign expenses might be reimbursed by displaying Theodore as a "circus African" and charging admission (Rosen 173). Despairing over his losses and the perfidy of the English whom he had so admired, however, Theodore deprived the English of that opportunity by committing suicide with a handsome engraved pistol, a gift of Queen Victoria (Falconer 56).

Though Acton describes Theodore as costumed in fantastic native regalia (64), in the same *Illustrated London News* volume, Simpson depicts him in death wearing simple, non-aggressive, and non-culture specific clothing. Out of all the engravings, only this one, titled "The End of Theodore," individualizes the emperor (Figure 7). As for Acton, his nearly hysterical account mythologizes Theodore no longer as a David, but as an eagle: "His beak and talons were as strong as ever; his rapacity and cruelty were as sharp. But the hand of Britain was raised afar off. Struck by an expedition, well aimed, and sent, like the missile of a skilful [sic] huntsman, swift and straight to its mark, King Theodore suddenly fell" (17).

Such language was just the sort of nonsense Leslie Stephen most deplored. And he would have been equally suspicious about English sentiment toward Theodore's son, Prince Alamayou (spelled variously by the English). The *Illustrated London News*'s deracinated engraving represents the prince as isolated from people and environment, as much icon as person (Figure 8). After his mother died in a British-led forced march away from Magdala, the royal orphan was put in the care of an adventurer with the improbable name of Captain Tristram Charles Sawyer Speedy, who had betrayed Theodore by bargaining with his rivals to provision the British troops (Bates 138–39).[6] And yet the story handed down and later repeated by Virginia Woolf was that the orphan would not sleep unless cradled in Speedy's arms (*Victorian Photographs* 32).

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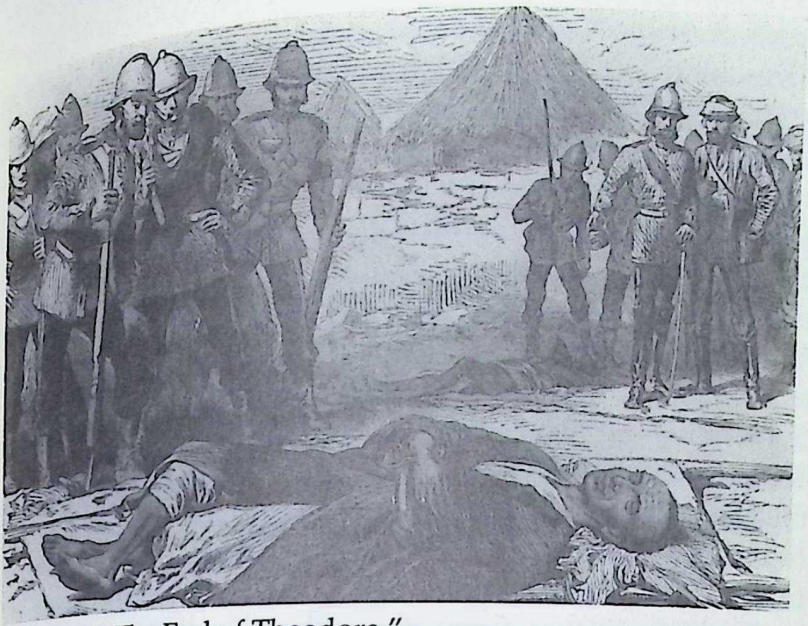

Figure 7. "The End of Theodore."

Figure 8. "Prince Alum-Ahiyou, the Orphan Son of King Theodore."

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Not only did Leslie Stephen's journalism follow the Abyssinian campaign, his personal life kept him in touch with its aftermath. In June 1868, Stephen and his first wife, the former Minnie Thackeray, daughter of the famous novelist, holidayed on the Isle of Wight as guests of her friend, Julia Margaret Cameron, the pioneer photographer. Cameron had photographed Minnie in 1865 and again in 1867 in her wedding dress, but during the Stephens' 1868 stay, she did not ask Minnie, recovering from a miscarriage, to sit for her. Cameron may have taken her one (undated) portrait of Leslie Stephen then. In his velvet jacket, he looks dapper and uncomfortable.[7] If that picture were taken during the 1868 visit, perhaps Stephen's dis-ease was a function of politics, for Mrs. Cameron had recently displayed her overt support for the very colonialism Stephen deplored.

Earlier in 1868 at a Bond Street gallery, in her first major exhibit, Cameron had displayed a photograph of Thomas Carlyle, who had railed against those Englishmen who sided with the North in the American Civil War. His brutal term for liberals such as John Stuart Mill and Leslie Stephen was "Nigger-Philanthropists." Cameron's 1868 exhibit also included portraits of ex-governor Eyre and several of his supporters, including Carlyle, Alfred Lord Tennyson, then Poet Laureate, and the novelist Anthony Trollope. In fact, this display "ultimately lent support to the 'justice' of Eyre's cause" (Rosen 162)—the very cause for which Stephen wanted Eyre tried for mass murder. Cameron also photographed former under secretary for foreign affairs Austen Henry Layard, one of the ministers who had dealt (or not dealt) with Theodore's correspondence, and William Gifford Palgrave, the former Jesuit and English diplomat in Abyssinia—government officials whose diplomacy should have averted the Abyssinian debacle (Rosen 171). Cameron's exhibit, then, lionized the very men ranked against Stephen on the crucial matters of the American Civil War, the Jamaican massacre, and the British invasion of Abyssinia.

On 2 July, just after the Stephens left the Isle of Wight, the *Times* printed the report (dated 18 June), that Prince Alamayou, on his way from Abyssinia to England, had made a "sensation" at Suez, and that he was "beginning to earn a claim" to a name that meant "I have seen the world." The correspondent also assured the British that, "although Abyssinia goes upon the

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principle that 'fingers were made before forks,'" the little prince could handle "a knife and fork at the dinner-table with as much gravity and decorum as if he had been to the manner born" (10).

On the day after that condescending treatment appeared, the *Times* printed the Earl of Malmesbury's "Vote of Thanks" to the Army of Abyssinia, delivered before a cheering parliament, in which he recounted how "Lord Stanley's despatch to the Emperor Theodore informing him that war would be declared against him was written on the 16 of April, 1867, and on the 13th of April, 1868, Magdala was taken and the emperor was no more" (5). That very day Leslie Stephen penned his July column for the *Nation*. Unlike the popular press, which was depicting the expedition as a glorious victory, Stephen wrote of it as a debacle and of Theodore as a victim. He blamed "the inexcusable carelessness of Lord Russell and Mr. Layard ... who contrived between them to insult poor King Theodore after a most unnecessary fashion" (69). Stephen also faulted a chauvinist press that had tried to turn an "unstatesmanlike series of blundering bad management[s]" into an honorable crusade. Stephen's anti-colonial attack on Layard's blundering was distinctly out of sync with his recent hostess's pro-colonial sense of Layard's heroism. And Stephen's opinion of Tennyson, whom he described to his American friend Oliver Wendell Holmes as "the queerest old bloke, to speak irreverently, that I ever saw," was at odds with Cameron's lionizing of her neighbor (*Letters* 1: 203).

Prince Alamayou, Captain Speedy, and a servant arrived in England on 14 July and were taken to meet Queen Victoria at Osborne House, the royal residence on the Isle of Wight. Through either a Mrs. Cotton (who was hosting them in her Isle of Wight establishment) or Tennyson, the energetic Julia Margaret Cameron secured permission to photograph the royal orphan. Before he had spent ten days on the Isle, Cameron began posing Prince Alamayou—alone, with his Abyssinian guard, with Captain Speedy, or with both. That summer she made thirteen photographs of them. In August, she posed Tennyson's maid in a costume borrowed from the Abyssinians. She also photographed General Napier when he called upon the Queen at Osborne House (Wood).

In his August column for the *Nation*, Stephen alleged that "King Theodore was deceived at the last moment, and was led

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to understand that the English commander had accepted his present, and thereby, according to Eastern custom, had agreed to peace." Thus the attack on Magdala was a "breach of faith." With more than a little irony, Stephen also reported that the English refused to hear evidence against Napier, and "Sir Robert, or Lord Napier of Magdala, seems to receive his worshippers with all due modesty and gives general satisfaction" (110). (For the rout of the Abyssinians, Napier was made a peer and given £2,000 a year.)

At the same time Stephen was decrying such blind bellicosity, the Prince of Abyssinia was being treated as an exotic on the Isle of Wight. After meeting him and Captain Speedy at the Camerons, the poet William Allingham noted Speedy's description of overhearing Alamayou and his servant rendering between giggles their representations of polite, boring English conversation: "Attendant comes up in the character of an English lady, shakes hand—'How do you do?' Alamayu [sic] replies—'How you do?' Attendant.—'How you like this country?' Little Prince.—'Ver' mush.' Attendant.—'Ah! you like ver' mush.'—and so on" (166–67). Allingham was again at Mrs. Cameron's when the "pretty boy" Alamayou came to be photographed. He posed in "a little purple shirt and a necklace, Captain Speedy in a lion-skin tippet, with a huge Abyssinian sword of reaping-hook shape" whose point, Speedy explained, could go "into your skull" (167).

At that early stage of photography, the many steps of the wet collodion on glass-plate process demanded Mrs. Cameron's dexterity, while exposures of up to seven minutes tested her sitters' endurance. Like Carlyle and most male sitters, Speedy complained. The Prince did not. He was trying to be a good little Englishman, as when he offered proper kisses to children he met, but he missed class distinctions by also kissing "the snuffy old Postman," who perhaps signified more practical value than upper class English children (Allingham 170). Lady Tennyson reported that Alamayou was overheard, while playing in their gardens, saying "take care—there will be an elephant in that jungle" (221n.).[8]

While the English did not display him as a "circus African," their curiosity about this prince from an other culture was decidedly patronizing, as stories like Lady Tennyson's and the *Times*' assurances that he could use a knife and fork suggest. A

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carte-de-visite by C. Jabez Hughes, a royal photographer, also seems a patronizing demonstration that an African prince could at least dress like an Englishman's son (Figure 9).[9]

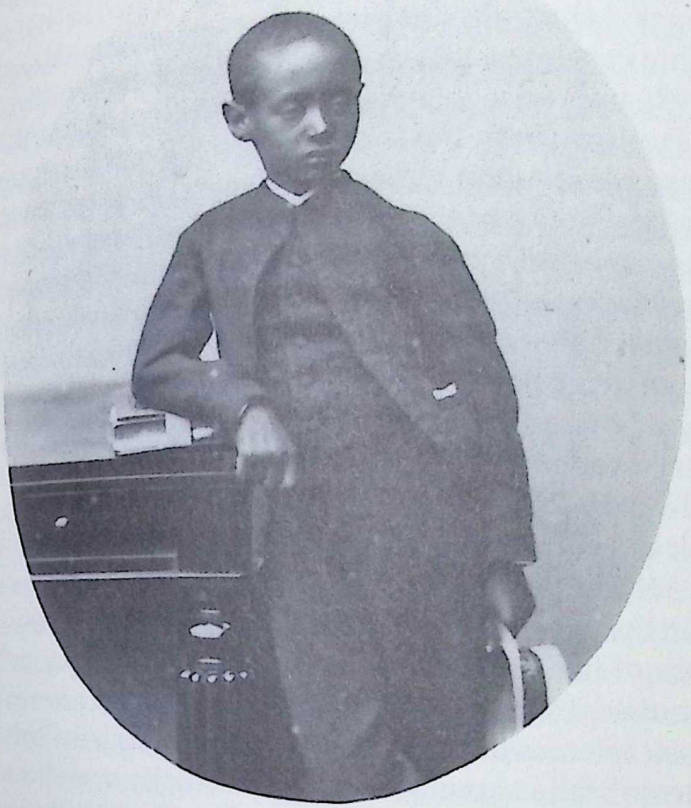

Figure 9. Jabez Hughes. "Dejatch Alamayou, son of King Theodore of Abyssinia." c. 1868. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, Bath, England.

Jeff Rosen argues that beneath Julia Margaret Cameron's photographs of authoritarian men (especially strong fathers and colonial leaders) is an unacknowledged subtext that questions the paternal/colonialist enterprise. We cannot know how conscious that subtext was, or how aware Cameron was of the contradictions between lionizing such colonialists as Eyre and Napier and empathizing with the little prince. But we can see that her tender photograph of the prince and the captain (Figure 1) is a healthy corrective to the *Punch* cartoon's racism,

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the *Illustrated London News*' idealization, and the carte-de-visit's patronizing. Cameron's composition effectively reverses emblems of power and empire. Speedy wears the skins and beads and calicos associated with native peoples, while Alamayou wears the drapery that Cameron usually reserved for Biblical figures. Speedy wields power, while the little prince looks helpless and lost.

Roger Acton also depicted the prince as a promising Englishman who was "learning his alphabet in a cottage"—a decidedly imprecise reference to Mrs. Cotton's Afton Manor—"near Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight." Recasting aggression as compassion, Acton wrote that General Napier "found time to take kind notice of this little orphan, and treated him with a kaleidoscope and a musical box," though Acton claimed that Alamayou preferred "a sword" as his plaything (77). Inflicting this warrior stereotype upon Alamayou, English authorities later took the prince from the affectionate Speedy household and sent him to Cheltenham, then Rugby, and then the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst.

Always fascinated with impersonations, in her introduction to *Victorian Photographs of Famous Men and Fair Women* by Julia Margaret Cameron, Virginia Woolf zestfully tells the story of the "Irish beggar child" Cameron rescued from the streets because of her beauty. Cameron raised Mary Ryan as both a parlor maid and a model. As Virginia tells it, Cameron posed Mary so often as saint, allegorical figure, or lady that a "rich man's son" fell in love with her and actually made her a lady.[10] This story illustrates that impersonating could indeed become identification, and it too carries connections to the Prince of Abyssinia, for the "rich man's son" was Henry Cotton of Afton Manor, later Sir Henry of the Indian Civil Service. He fell in love with and married Mary Ryan in August 1867. Then his sister Tiny Cotton married her mother's house guest, Captain Speedy, in December 1868. Thus the parlor maid was transformed not only into a lady but into the foster aunt of an African prince, while the aristocratic Tiny Cotton Speedy was metamorphosed into a buccaneer's wife and an African prince's foster mother.

Like the orphaned Alamayou, the widowed Julia Duckworth (Julia Margaret Cameron's niece) provoked Cameron's empathy and challenged her aesthetics of

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composition. Though she did pose the young Julia as the Madonna, her niece was one of the few women Cameron normally photographed as herself, not as an unnamed allegorical figure. Julia Duckworth lost her husband in 1870, and Leslie Stephen lost Minnie in 1875. Then in 1878, Julia Duckworth and Leslie Stephen became engaged. Julia spent all the time between the engagement and the marriage on 26 March 1878 nursing her beloved uncle Thoby Prinsep (Reid, *Art* 8), another of the pro-colonial, pro-Eyre figures whose portraits Julia Margaret Cameron had displayed a decade before on Bond Street (Rosen 165). In January 1879, Julia Margaret Cameron died, on the Cameron tea plantations in Ceylon. That November Prince Alamayou, instead of being metamorphosed into a colonial soldier, died of pleurisy (and probably unhappiness) before graduating from Sandhurst and entering the military. On 21 and 22 November 1879, the *Times* gave considerable attention to the funeral of Prince Alamayou at Windsor Castle, where a plaque was set up in his memory.[11]

* * * * *

Given their shared Isle of Wight and Cameron connections, I imagine the Stephens were aware of and distressed by the Prince's fate. His death certainly would have confirmed Leslie's anti-imperialism, and perhaps added to Julia's melancholy.[12] Then Julia Stephen herself died at the age of forty-nine, on 5 May 1895, leaving Leslie Stephen again a widower. He was sixty-two; their youngest daughter, Virginia, was thirteen. Both still numbed by Julia Stephen's early death, daughter and father spent much time together in this period. As the child closest to him, Virginia was expected to comfort an increasingly irascible Stephen in his bereavement and to distract him from his obsessive fears that he had neglected both Julia and his own genius. Proud to be considered her father's successor as potential literary journalist/historian, Virginia enjoyed the run of his vast library. Among the stacks of books she read at age fifteen were *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, a ten-volume life of Scott, Macaulay's five-volume *History*, and her father's life of Fawcett. (She also read Carlyle with, one imagines from later comments, mixed feelings.[13]) In this period, Stephen was assembling his four-volume *Studies of a Biographer*. There he praised Edward Gibbon, as Stephen himself hoped to be

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praised, for "a strenuous and ceaseless exertion of the intellect upon worthy ends" (1: 149). Among Stephen's writings that best demonstrated such exertion were his outspoken pamphlet on the American Civil War and his contributions to the *Nation*.

The following year, in 1896, Abyssinia captured headlines in the "civilized" world by crushing an invasion of Italian troops, who were supported by England.[14] Virginia Stephen's fourteen-year-old loyalties were confused. She asked her brother Thoby "what is it all about, and which side am I?" (*Letters* 1: 2 & n.). No doubt she posed the same question to her father, who must have been pleased to retell to his youngest daughter the story of his outspoken opposition, nearly thirty years before, to the British assault on the Emperor of Abyssinia. Some years later, when Stephen was struggling with colon cancer, and Virginia spent much of her time consoling, conversing with, and perhaps helping him, he wrote in the Ford Lectures, to be delivered at Oxford in 1903, his final word on colonialism. Speaking of the eighteenth century, he declared that "As the British Empire extended we began to become sensible of certain correlative duties; the impeachment of Warren Hastings showed that we had scruples about treating India simply as a place where 'nabobs' are to accumulate fortunes; and the slave-trade suggested questions of conscience which at the end of the period were to prelude an agitation [led by William Wilberforce and James Stephen] in some ways unprecedented" (*Eighteenth Century* 180). Such a sense of history and of the need to reform the colonialist enterprise were thus among Stephen's last legacies to his daughter.

Leslie Stephen died in early 1904. Later that fall, the Stephen children made their famous move from their imposing Victorian house in fashionable South Kensington to their unconventional Bohemian residence in Bloomsbury. Vanessa cavalierly sold most of the family's ornate Victorian furniture to Harrods, but the siblings were more careful about sorting through their parents' books, papers, and pictures. In their new home, Vanessa mounted a series of Julia Margaret Cameron photographs of their mother. Vanessa claimed other Cameron photographs as well, while Virginia saved the Cameron photo of their father for her own walls.[15]

In 1905 Adrian Stephen, Horace Cole, and others pulled off what was probably one of the most successful undergraduate

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hoaxes of all time. In my previous article I have argued that that hoax was inspired by an 1891 letter in which Adrian's cousin, Midshipman William Fisher, described the Navy's offering a ship's tour to the Sultan of Zanzibar "for his edification."[16] Dressed as the court of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Adrian, Horace, and three others hoodwinked the mayor of Cambridge and his staff into giving them a guided tour of Cambridge. The 1905 hoax did not, however, achieve its ultimate goal, because the pompous William Fisher never knew that his assumptions about edifying the Sultan of Zanzibar had inspired Adrian's mockery.

In the next years, as Adrian languished, William Fisher flourished. In 1906, he was promoted to commander. As the Navy expanded its forces with more "dreadnoughts" or armored "invincibles," the original *Dreadnought*'s prestige, with Fisher as Flag Commander, soared. For Adrian Stephen, Fisher's success rankled. In early 1910 a superb opportunity to bring William himself down a peg presented itself, as both the Home and Atlantic fleets gathered in Weymouth Bay in the south of England to display the awesome power of the British Navy. Adrian later revealed his classism by explaining that only "a Cambridge tradesman" had been fooled by the earlier hoax, "whereas naval officers . . . were 'different'—they were 'men of honor'" (29). At first, Adrian and Horace Cole planned to repeat the 1905 Zanzibar hoax "as nearly as possible," but caution and inspiration intervened and substituted Abyssinian for Zanzibarian disguise (A. Stephen 31). In fact, the Abyssinian identity was so essential that when they heard that an officer aboard the *Dreadnought* "knew Abyssinian," the hoaxers delayed until he was off duty (Hone 674).

At that time Virginia was finishing a draft of her first novel, published in 1915 as *The Voyage Out*. In *Virginia Woolf Against Empire*, Kathy Phillips establishes how thoroughly the characters in this novel are implicated in colonialist exploitation (66). She adumbrates a subtle pattern of associations whereby Woolf links imperialism, militarism, racism, and sexism. For example, Woolf depicts Richard Dalloway as a sexual predator, opposed to women's suffrage, and a pompous politician, interested in guns and empire. Over the years Woolf honed this method of indirect characterization by association and allusion, but she was already using it in 1910, perhaps in answer

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to Clive Bell's 1909 critique of her overt and "didactic" descriptions.[17] Certainly there are a surprising number of historical references and allusions to Britain's African colonial enterprise in this novel supposedly set in South America.[18]

When the Dalloways come aboard the Vinrace's ship in Lisbon, for instance, we learn that Richard Dalloway "wished to look at certain guns, and was of opinion that the African coast is far more unsettled than people at home were inclined to believe." He has lost his seat in parliament "by one of the accidents of political life" (*The Voyage Out* 34, 33)—a reference to the rout of the Conservatives in the January 1906 election, a rout directly related to exposures of waste, mismanagement, and abuses in the Conservative Salisbury/Balfour administrations, excesses that echoed and magnified those of the 1868 Abyssinian War. Just as the English lauded Lord Napier then, Dalloway blindly admires Lord Salisbury because he conducted the Boer War—however nasty, wasteful, and expensive it was—and expanded British rule over supposedly "backward" peoples.[19] While his wife Clarissa exclaims over the glory of English expansionism, Richard Dalloway thinks with pride "along the line of conservative policy, which went steadily from Lord Salisbury to Alfred, and gradually enclosed, as though it were a lasso that opened and caught things, enormous chunks of the habitable globe" (46).[20] Dalloway expects to return to Parliament in the next election, which should offer the best opportunity for a pro-empire Conservative government "since the days of Pitt."[21]

Especially in its early sections, this novel is replete with negative allusions to Conservative, pro-empire politics. Richard Dalloway accuses Rachel Vinrace, Woolf's protagonist, of being a Liberal who fails to consider the whole world—meaning the empire—while he "can conceive no more exalted aim—to be the citizen of the Empire" (63). Both frightened and excited by the kiss Richard steals from her, the naive Rachel first accepts his masterful ways as symbolic of England's greatness. She even begins reading in *Who's Who* of the lives of great men, like a fictitious Sir Roland Beal, who "served in the Bechuanaland Expedition 1884–85."[22] When her Aunt Helen tells her that the Dalloways are "rather second-rate," however, Rachel begins to reconsider the issue of masterfulness (81–82).

Woolf further undercuts imperial politics through the character of William Pepper, who in describing the English

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capture from the Spanish of Santa Marina, the Vinrace's island destination, celebrates how "hardy Englishmen," endowed "with muscles like wire, fangs greedy for flesh, and fingers itching for gold, despatched the wounded, drove the dying into the sea, and soon reduced the natives to a state of superstitious wonderment"—just as they had in both the Abyssinian expedition and the Boer War. Rhapsodizing on the "expansion of the British Empire," Pepper concludes that "had there been men like Richard Dalloway in the time of Charles the First, the map would undoubtedly be red [English] where it is now an odious green [Belgian or Portuguese]"—probably a reference to Africa, not South America (89).[23]

Though Dalloway had counted on an election restoring the Conservatives to glory, Woolf undercuts him by alluding to the January election of 1910 in which the Liberals again defeated the Conservatives: "rumours of London all in a ferment over a General Election had reached them even out here. 'It seems incredible,' [Rachel's aunt Helen writes] 'that people should care whether Asquith is in or Austen Chamberlain out'" (96).[24] Woolf's ironic treatment of the Conservative imperialists shows that she cared.

Later in *The Voyage Out*, St. John Hirst, a character based on Lytton Strachey, shows himself condescendingly willing to reexamine his premise that women are all stupid.[25] Praising Edward Gibbon's history for its style alone, thus ignoring Leslie Stephen's sense of "worthy ends," Hirst gives Rachel *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* as "the test" of her intellect (108, 159).[26] Rachel in turn gradually realizes that "her value as a human being was lessened because she did not happen to admire the style of Gibbon" (209). But Rachel does admire the sounds of exotic places. When she reads in Gibbon how Augustus's "generals, in the early part of his reign, attempted the reduction of Aethiopia and Arabia Felix," she is mesmerized by the language: "Never had any words been so vivid and so beautiful—Arabia Felix—Aethiopia" (181).

What Rachel totally misses however, is Gibbon's point: the generals "marched near a thousand miles to the south of the tropic; but the heat of the climate soon repelled the invaders and protected the unwarlike natives of those sequestered regions" (159). The failure of Roman imperialistic campaigns in "Arabia Felix" and "Aethiopia" (Abyssinia) against "unwarlike natives" led Augustus to "relinquish the ambitious design of subduing

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the whole earth, and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils" (Gibbon 2). Through this ironic allusion, Virginia not only echoes her father's protest against the dangers of colonialism, but also reinvokes the abuses of Britain's 1868 Abyssinian campaign.[27] Though the 1910 version of her novel does not survive, these anti-colonialist passages, with their many references to Africa and political events of 1909–1910, were among the materials she had already penned by early February 1910, when in an expression of what Kathy Phillips calls her "incipient sense of solidarity with oppressed groups" (248), Virginia herself posed as an Abyssinian.

* * * * *

On 7 February 1910, the Abyssinian "Princes"—Virginia, Duncan, Anthony Buxton, and Guy Ridley—were professionally made up, costumed in eastern robes and turbans, and ornamented, according to the *Daily Mirror,* with £500 worth of jewelry.[28] Seated on the left in the photograph taken for the press, Virginia stares away from the camera (Figure 10). With her patrician

'THE EMPEROR OF ABYSSINIA' AND HIS SUITE

Names from left to right:

Virginia Stephen (Virginia Woolf), Duncan Grant, Horace Cole, Anthony Buxton (seated), Adrian Stephen, Guy Ridley.

Figure 10. This photograph is reprinted from Adrian Stephen's *The Dreadnought Hoax* by the kind permission of Charlotte Synge, granddaughter of Adrian Stephen.

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features hidden by grease paint, her sex masked by beard, turban, and robes, she looks uneasy. Perhaps she was worried lest an ironic political statement be reduced to another undergraduate prank. Or perhaps she was irritated because, having been disguised and photographed without breakfast, the "princes" were told they could not eat lest they smear their make-up. When, however, Adrian and Horace, as interpreter and Foreign Office official, ordered an elaborate luncheon, the "princes" nearly mutinied. Cole mollified them with baker's buns, which they munched sullenly in their compartment as the train sped to Weymouth.

The entourage was met by the Admiral's launch. Onboard the *Dreadnought*, the "royal" party was greeted by officers in gold-laced uniforms and taken on an inspection tour of the ship. Among the naval officers extending official courtesy to the "royal Abyssinian" party was William Fisher, Flag Commander of the *Dreadnought*, who failed to recognize Virginia and Adrian, though they were his first cousins. After Adrian had used the few phrases of Swahili that Cole had taught him from a grammar book purchased from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Adrian fell back on fragments from schoolboy lessons in Virgil and Homer. Since every schoolboy learned the same classical passages, when Fisher demanded to know the interpreter's identity, the game seemed over. Further, Adrian, at over six feet and in western clothes, literally stood out from the rest, so his cousin could have discovered the ruse simply by looking straight at him. Horace Cole, however, came to the rescue by volunteering that Adrian was a German interpreter. Fisher expressed irritation that a German was on-board, but he did not recognize Adrian, much less Virginia.[29] His obtuseness must have both relieved and delighted the entourage. Spirited renditions of "God Save the King" and the anthem of Zanzibar (an ironic touch necessitated by the band's ignorance of the Abyssinian anthem) climaxed the adventure. The "royal" party was given a triumphant escort back to shore.

On the return trip, Cole flaunted his authority by maintaining that Abyssinian royalty could only be served by people wearing kid gloves, so while the "princes" remained ravenously hungry, Cole had the express train stop to find gloves appropriate for serving them. Virginia might well have reflected on the disparity between the honor the Navy accorded the "princes" of an other culture and the disrespect Horace and Adrian showed friends and a sister impersonating others. Unlike

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the officers, Adrian and Horace allowed native costumes, albeit disguises, to condition their behavior, as if impersonation meant identification, as it had when John Bell disguised himself as Theodore and when Mary Ryan disguised herself as a lady. Bell of course was killed, but Ryan married a Lord. Virginia's impersonation got her ignored, and later, threatened.

After the hoax, the papers were full of the story of, in the *Daily Mirror*'s words, the "Abyssinian princes who have made all England laugh." A Parliamentary inquiry about the "direct insult to his Majesty's flag," and a Scotland Yard investigation followed (Bell 1: 213–14). A naval party even abducted Duncan Grant but failed to punish the gentle "pacifist in carpet slippers" (Bell 1: 160). The *Times* queried "What is a *Dreadnought*?" Children taunted the *Dreadnought* officers when they came onshore. And finally, an outraged William Fisher appeared at Virginia's and Adrian's house. In her 1940 account, Virginia remembered that when Fisher found out "who we were" he confronted Adrian in a "towering rage" and said that "if we had been discovered we should have been stripped naked and thrown into the sea" (Bell 1: 215).[30] According to Virginia, "Willy Fisher explained that since my brother's mother was his own Aunt, the rules of the navy forbade any actual physical punishment." But surely the Navy had no such rule. Nevertheless Fisher's cousins had reason to appreciate his delicacy, and Virginia had reason to consider into what jeopardy she had put herself.

* * * * *

In my biography of Woolf, I suggest that talk of retaliation against the perpetrators of the *Dreadnought* hoax was among the destabilizing factors affecting Virginia in late February 1910 (*Art* 107–108). I now believe the hoax was also unsettling because Virginia's impersonation had meant a brief identification with one of her great-aunt's most poignant subjects, the orphaned Prince of Abyssinia. I suspect that the Abyssinian disguise was a political commentary inspired by knowledge of Gibbon's conclusions about the foolhardiness of imperialist conquest; Leslie Stephen's vehement objections to the Abyssinian expedition of 1867–68; Julia Margaret Cameron's photography of young Prince Alamayou; and the Abyssinian victory over colonial powers in 1896, along with awareness of recent anti-

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colonialist politics. On the face of it, that knowledge could have been Adrian's as well as Virginia's. Stephen and Cameron were Adrian's father and great-aunt as well, and the "famous men" Cameron had photographed included Horace Cole's great-uncle, so Horace too could have known of Cameron's photographs of Prince Alamayou. Both Adrian and Horace could have known Anglo-Abyssinian history and Leslie's objections to the Abyssinian campaign as well. Unlike Virginia, however, Adrian took no interest in Leslie Stephen's writings, and neither Adrian nor Horace was much of a student of history or politics (or any other subject). Both were more given to crude jokes such as giving a party to which only people whose surnames ended in "bottom" were invited (Stansky 21).

Enabling Abyssinian royalty to humiliate the most visible sign of English colonial power was the choice of a more subtle mind. Of the hoaxers, I think it a safe bet that only Virginia was close enough to her father, and interested enough in his writing, to have known of Stephen's opposition to the Abyssinian campaign. Only Virginia was then writing a novel that satirizes colonialism in a fictional South America with frequent references to Africa. Only Virginia explicitly mentioned "Aethiopia." Only Virginia would write about Cameron in *Victorian Photographs* and *Freshwater*. Only Virginia would quote from Allingham's observations of the little prince. And only Virginia would tell the story that Alamayou "would only sleep in the arms of his guardian" (*Victorian Photographs* 32). Because that story seems not to appear in 1860s records, it may have been family lore, handed down from Julia Cameron to Julia Stephen to Virginia Stephen, whose loss of her own mother at thirteen would have made her particularly sensitive to the orphan's plight.

The visual record offered here illustrates how patronizing, belittling, and de-individualizing most nineteenth century representations of Abyssinia and its peoples were. In her tender photographs of Prince Alamayou, however, which present him as himself, an orphaned African child in a strange land, Julia Margaret Cameron rose above her own pro-colonialist sympathies and those of her age. And Leslie Stephen, even at a time when his fellow liberals assumed that the Abyssinians were degenerate (and uppity) enough to excuse merciless conquest, could still acknowledge Africans' humanity and unequivocally oppose the campaign. In 1867 and 1868, then,

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both Cameron and Stephen had risen above stereotypical representations of Africans.

But what of Virginia in 1910? While Adrian and Horace probably thought that African royalty was an inherently comic subject, did she?[32] And while her brother primarily wanted to make a fool of their successful cousin, was that her principal motive as well? The evidence is admittedly circumstantial, but I would at least like to suggest that when Adrian and Horace realized the dangers of repeating their Zanzibar prank, that Virginia herself proposed the Abyssinian impersonation—a hoax that was certainly not vindictive, probably not racist, but definitely poetically and politically apt and just.

Virginia Woolf would more overtly oppose colonialist oppression, in part perhaps because she married Leonard Woolf in 1912, and his time as a colonial administrator in Ceylon had made him adamantly anti-colonialist. In *Three Guineas* (1938) she would presciently relate militarism to sexism and fascism, and her exposure of how the ornate masculine costumes donned by royalty, statesmen, the clergy, the judiciary, and the military are absurd props that endorse oppression and suppress individuality, hearkens back to her personal experience of how costumes and uniforms had determined behavior during the 1910 *Dreadnought* hoax. Of course, *Three Guineas* was a response to the 1930s, especially to the rise of fascism, and much more radical than *The Voyage Out*. Woolf critics should be leery of superimposing, in Alex Zwerdling's words, "the ideological assumptions and imperatives of the late twentieth-century" on Woolf's early twentieth-century sensibilities (32, 33; see also 245–46).[33] Nevertheless, anti-colonialism does pervade *The Voyage Out* (its early versions included); we can be confident that by 1910, therefore, Virginia Stephen was no longer asking "which side am I?" She had gained a sense, like her father, that "literature must be produced by the class which embodies the really vital and powerful currents of thought which are moulding society"—a quality Stephen attributed to the literature of the eighteenth century as it expressed the social movement from aristocracy to democracy (*Eighteenth Century* 218). In 1910 Virginia Woolf was clearly expressing the spirit of new currents of thought, exposing how moribund was pride in empire. The complex intertwining in her novel-in-progress of Abyssinian and family history with African allusions

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suggests that the historically-minded Virginia herself chose the Abyssinian masquerade as an expression of solidarity. For it allowed, albeit posthumously, an Abyssinian Prince to take revenge against the colonial powers that cost him his family, his home, and eventually his life.

NOTES

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, Darrell Bates is the source for the next four paragraphs' historical account.
2. Jane Marcus sees this tradition as locking "colonial subjects into the roles of infantilized bad children in relation to a benevolent 'Mother Country'" (148). She asserts that "Woolf's insistence in her work on the relation of patriarchy to imperialism and of both to class and fascism come from careful study of her family's [negative] legacy" (149). Marcus however, seems unaware of Leslie Stephen's positive legacy of anti-imperialism, while Patrick McGee argues that *The Waves* "implicates literature in the imperialist process but not exactly in the transparent and reflective manner upon which Marcus insists" (633).
3. A copy of this pamphlet, *The "Times" on the American War: A Historical Study*, bearing Leslie Stephen's signature, remained in Virginia Woolf's collection all her life, and after her death in that of her husband Leonard (*Catalogue* part 2, sect. 1: 44).
4. Stephen actually joined the Jamaica Committee formed by John Stuart Mill to prosecute Eyre for mass murder (*Letters* 1: 41n.), and would later describe himself as a "follower of J. S. Mill" (*Mausoleum Book* 6).
5. Of course, the British had no monopoly on distortion. When some of their troops visited the church of St. Cherkos, they found a mural depicting the Israelites crossing the Red Sea holding matchlock rifles above their heads (Falconer 57).
6. Following military service in India, Speedy knocked about Abyssinia for some years, spending time in both Theodore's service and as British vice-consul. Napier relied on Speedy, who spoke Amharic, for translation and negotiation. Throughout his

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service with the British forces, the red-bearded and 6′ 6″ tall Speedy insisted on wearing Abyssinian dress and carrying a spear (Bates 138–39).

7. Elizabeth Richardson characterizes the photograph I describe, which appears in both Maitland's and Annan's biographies of Stephen, as "without question" Cameron's (to the author, 17 Sept. 1997; see also her *Bloomsbury Iconography*). This photograph appears in "Leslie Stephen's Photograph Album," now housed in the Mortimer Rare Book Room, Smith College. Violet Hamilton, Curator of the Michael Wilson Collection, London, explains that it is typical of the straightforward portraits, often with a simple piece of drapery in the background, Cameron began taking after 1865 (to the author, 30 Jan. 1998). Richardson and Hamilton agree that an oval portrait of Stephen from this period, housed in the National Portrait Gallery, is mistakenly attributed to Cameron; instead it appears to be by a G. Glanville of Tunbridge Wells.
8. This otherwise useful note misdates the prince's arrival in England.
9. As the Royal Photographic Society explains in its catalog entry, "the carte-de-visite was the cheapest, most easily produced and most portable form of mass photography in the mid-nineteenth century." Albumen prints were stuck on backing cards bearing the photographer's name. They were exchanged like calling cards. Julia Margaret Cameron objected to their formulaic poses because they obscured the personalities of the sitters. Queen Victoria was a regular patron of Hughes's photography business on the Isle of Wight.
10. This story continued to fascinate Virginia Woolf. In the 1935 version of her comic play about Cameron and her circle, Virginia has "Mary Magdalen," the maid, say "I'm sick of parlour work. I'll marry the earl and live like a respectable gurl in a Castle" (*Freshwater* 50). And she does, as Mary Ryan had.
11. Victoria had added to the plaque at the Chapel Royal at Windsor a paraphrase of Matthew 25.35, "He was a stranger and ye took him in" (Bates 220).
12. There is no surviving evidence for the Stephens' reaction, but given that Julia Stephen's mother was Julia Margaret Cameron's sister, that both Julia Stephen and her mother were frequent visitors to the Isle of Wight, where the Prince had sojourned when he first came to England, that Julia Stephen exchanged almost daily letters with her mother, and that her mother's sense of news was decidedly lachrymose, it seems to me probable that Julia knew about the prince's death from her mother, even if not from the *Times*. Her mother's letters are now at the University of Sussex (see Reid, *Art*, Appendix A, for a discussion of them). Unfortunately, Julia Stephen's letters do not survive; they were probably destroyed when the Woolfs' home was bombed in 1940.

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The early death of her first husband, by whom she bore three children, had provoked Julia's melancholy and agnosticism; her marriage to Leslie Stephen confirmed her agnosticism. Her ongoing work with the poor and needy seems to have intensified her awareness of the fragility of life. Of her four Stephen children—Vanessa (1879), Thoby (1880), Virginia (1882), and Adrian (1883)—only Adrian seems to have brought her unequivocal joy.

13. Like her father, Virginia could both admire and deplore Thomas Carlyle's writings. Stephen had read Carlyle's *French Revolution* aloud to his daughters when they were in their teens (*Essays* 128). But though she called it a "noble tragedy," Virginia deplored Jane Carlyle's sacrifice of her writerly ambitions to her husband's career (*Essays* 261, 56–57). (Carlyle's sexist disregard of his wife's talents parallels his racist disdain for dark-skinned peoples and their sympathizers.)
14. Peter Stansky finds in this defeat of colonial powers the inspiration for the 1910 disguise, and Mussolini's Ethiopian offensive nearly forty years later suggests how much nationalist and racist pride had smoldered since Italy's 1896 defeat.
15. Virginia put together *Victorian Photographs* out of family collections belonging to her sister Vanessa Bell and to Cameron's grandson, who owned the Abyssinian print she used. Early letters from Virginia to Vita Sackville-West include invitations to view Cameron photographs at Vanessa's Bloomsbury home. Later letters, when Virginia and Leonard Woolf were about to publish *Victorian Photographs*, show Virginia searching for Cameron's letters, not her pictures, which she already knew well enough to locate.
16. This letter is among the family papers Quentin Bell donated to the University of Sussex Library. They are identified as "Charleston, ADD MSS."
17. Clive Bell's 1909 letters critiquing this first novel, and Virginia's responses, are included in Appendix D, "Clive Bell and the Writing of *The Voyage Out*" in the first volume of Quentin Bell's biography of Woolf (207–12).
18. My thanks to my colleague Anthony Monta for clarifying many of these historical references.
19. Eight years later, when she was reading a biography of Lord Salisbury, Virginia Woolf wrote "What a queer character—I'm reminded, oddly, of my father" (*Letters* 2: 502). Woolf does not elaborate, perhaps because she was writing to Nelly Cecil, whose husband was a descendant of Lord Salisbury. But probably she was not equating the oddities of the two men, but rather remembering her father's adamant opposition to the very imperialism Salisbury championed.

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20. Woolf's "chunk" suggests Stephen's "slice."
21. Pitt the Younger, Conservative Prime Minister from 1783 to 1801 and from 1804 to 1806.
22. Woolf cut this passage from the American edition of 1920.
23. Though map colors were not standardized, Britain was usually red, or sometimes pink. According to John Anderson of LSU's map library, in early twentieth century atlases of South America, British Guiana was pink, while either Venezuela or Brazil was green. On maps of Africa, English colonies were red, while either the Belgian Congo or Mozambique and Angola were green. Thus Woolf's color references, like Dalloway's comments about taming the coast, point to Africa.
24. Chancellor of the exchequer in the Liberal administration formed in December 1905–January 1906, Asquith became prime minister in 1908, upon the resignation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and led the Liberals' 1910 re-election. Austen Chamberlain had similarly been chancellor of the exchequer in the Balfour administration formed after Lord Salisbury retired at the end of the Boer War. Austen's father Joseph was colonial secretary under Salisbury. Helen, of course, misses the colonialist implications of the 1910 election, and sounding very much like Virginia's sister, Vanessa Bell, she thinks politics are irrelevant when artists are starved or ridiculed.
25. Strachey's own attitudes toward Britain's imperial mission are complicated. He could be so racist that he could tell Leonard Woolf that he disliked his novel about colonialism in India, *The Village in the Jungle*, because there were too many "blacks" in it (*Letters of Leonard Woolf* 197n.). But Strachey's portrait of General Gordon in *Eminent Victorians* is a scathing attack on British expansionism.
26. Leslie Stephen admired Gibbon's particular combination of scholarship, artistry, and wisdom. Virginia clearly shared her father's admiration. We do not know when she first read Gibbon, but we do know that her father's library held a great deal of Gibbon; that for her twenty-third birthday in 1905, Adrian gave her a twelve-volume set of Gibbon (*Catalogue* 2, sect. 2: 5); and that Virginia would later write several essays on Gibbon.
27. The version of the novel Virginia was writing at the time of the hoax does not survive, but since her revisions (between 1907 and 1913) do not significantly alter the conception of the novel, it seems safe to associate these passages with her opinions in 1910 about colonialism (Heine 415–18 and passim). Virginia had written fourteen chapters in 1910. The Gibbon recommendation occurs in chapter 12. In the 1912 version of the novel (and probably also in the 1910 version), Rachel's uncle, rather than Hirst, recommends Gibbon. Heine speculates that the uncle was first

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based upon one of Virginia's suitors; as the character evolved into a representation of Leslie Stephen, however, Woolf transferred the passages about reading Gibbon for style not substance from her Stephen-character to her Strachey-character. Stansky has corrected the date (24). The account that follows is based upon his chapter on the hoax and on contemporary news accounts.

29. To be fair, another explanation is that gentlemanly protocol might have forbade exposing his cousin. The Stephens, however, assumed that he was simply obtuse.

30. Woolf discussed the hoax in an address to the Women's Institute at Rodmill, and later to the Memoir Club; the three surviving pages from the address are in Bell, Appendix E, "The *Dreadnought* Hoax" (1: 213–16).

31. This Liberal split was familial as well. In their Cambridge days, Leslie and his first cousin Edward Dicey both supported the anti-slavery American North, but they disagreed about the Abyssinian campaign, which Dicey considered a coup empowering English interests in Egypt. Leslie kept Dicey's books, which Virginia inherited, but apparently did not keep his *England and Egypt*, perhaps because he vehemently disagreed with it.

32. The fallout of the hoax included a fair number of racist jokes at the expense of the *Dreadnought* (Stansky 33). Virginia thought hoodwinking the masculine establishment was funny, but nothing she wrote suggests that she thought the hoax was funnier because the hoodwinkers pretended to be black. In fact, when she retold Allingham's story (without credit) about the prince and his attendant imitating polite English conversation, she substituted standard "very much" for Allingham's belittling transcription of the Africans saying "ver' mush."

33. Jane Marcus has been so accused by Patrick McGee and Alex Zwerdling, among others.

NEWS COVERAGE OF BOTH ABYSSINIAN AFFAIRS

"The Abyssinian Expedition." *Times* [London] 2 July 1868: 10.

"Abyssinians." *Times* 25 Feb. 1910: 6.

"Abyssinians." *Times* 3 Mar. 1910: 8.

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Obituary for Alamayou. *Times* 17 Nov. 1879: 6.

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"Simple Words": Peter Ackroyd's Autobiography of Oscar Wilde

Joe Moran

The life of Oscar Wilde has been mined in several recent texts—a 1997 film, *Wilde*, directed by Brian Gilbert; two plays produced in London's West End (Tom Kilroy's *The Secret Fall of Constance Wilde* and David Hare's *The Judas Kiss*), and a whole series of centennial-inspired biographies.[1] In this article, I want to use a slightly earlier and little-discussed "autobiography" of the writer—Peter Ackroyd's 1983 novel, *The Last Testament of Oscar Wilde*—as a way of opening up questions about the nature of life-writing, and more particularly issues around the construction of Wilde's celebrity self and emerging sexual identities in the late nineteenth century. These issues may also be relevant to a discussion of the more recent texts about him, both "fictional" and "documentary," and of the theory and practice of autobiography in general.

Since his career has alternated between a series of weighty biographies of major literary figures—*T. S. Eliot* (1984), *Dickens* (1990), and *Blake* (1995)—and novels, several of which also deal with real writers—*Last Testament*, *Chatterton* (1987), and *Milton in America* (1996)—Ackroyd has exploited and thrived on both the nature of the literary biography as one of the most securely lucrative areas of the publishing industry, and the critical questions it raises about the textual interpretation of individual and collective histories. Both his biographies and fiction form part of the same creative process, he has suggested, in their emphasis on selection, distortion, and invention (Onega 212). But while the manifestly subjective nature of Ackroyd's approach suggests that he may be, in his own words, "making all this up," it also seems to promote a kind of mystical communion between Ackroyd and his subject, as when he

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interrupts the conventional chronology of *Dickens* to conduct an imaginary conversation with the novelist. Such strategies point to a search for historical immediacy and living connection not apparent in more conventional biographies—a wish to "observe [the] life and [the] work in continuous motion and combination" and so "make biography an agent of real knowledge" (*Dickens* 795, xv, xvi). As François Gallix puts it, both Ackroyd's novels and biographies, despite their textual self-consciousness, reveal a constant desire to "get under the skin and inside the heads of both real and fictional characters from the past and bring them back to life" (219, my translation).[2]

Ackroyd's *The Last Testament of Oscar Wilde* also seems to tread a line between historical reclamation and literary invention, and is a similar amalgam of painstaking research and biographical speculation in which its central character recounts the story of his life during his last days in Paris between August and November 1900. In this account, Ackroyd's Wilde reveals much about the relationship between class, culture, and sexuality in late Victorian society, only to suppress these issues ultimately by transforming his life into a personal morality tale. Wilde confesses in the novel to two principal "sins"—his desire for fame and his desire for young men—and these desires become linked in the text as he turns his back on both of them in favor of an eternalized and transcendent "art."

Ackroyd's novel is told by Oscar as he lives out his final days in the down-at-heel Hotel d'Alsace in Paris, surviving on money borrowed from friends. (To avoid confusion here, I will refer to Ackroyd's Wilde as "Oscar," and his historical referent as "Wilde.") In a so-called journal which is, as the book's title suggests, more of a "last testament," he intersperses anecdotes of his encounters in Paris—where Oscar is often snubbed in restaurants and theatres, and spat at and jeered by strangers in the street—with a more substantial chronology of his life from his Dublin childhood to his arrest, imprisonment, and exile. After concluding the story of his life up to his release from prison, Oscar's journal entries then become shorter as he falls ill with cerebral meningitis, the symptoms of which have been apparent from the beginning of the novel, and the last words of the book are dictated by his friend, Maurice Gilbert, as the author lies on his deathbed. Oscar's narrative has a self-lacerating, elegiac tone which constantly draws stark

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comparisons between his present and former life. Its account of a glorious rise and precipitous fall, while obviously partly determined by his actual situation, follows a common technique identified by Seán Burke as part of the inevitable element of creative self-presentation in autobiography—the attempt by the author, whether consciously or not, to offer "a view of the self as spiritually completed and unified in the narratives of confession and conversion" through "the imposition of narrative destiny or a general teleological framework" (304).

Instead of regarding himself as a martyr figure as he might have done, Oscar structures his life retrospectively by transforming it into a descension narrative, in which his public disgrace is seen as a kind of retribution for flaws in his own character. Since he believes that one of these flaws is dishonesty, this attempt to give narrative *telos* to his life is presented as an act of unprecedented integrity:

> The whole course of my former life was a kind of madness. . . . When I gilded each day with precious words and perfumed the hours with wine, the past and future seemed to be of no account. I must connect them with simple words. . . . Now that I have seen my life turn completely in its fiery circle, I must look upon my past with different eyes. I have played so many parts. I have lied to so many people—but I have committed the unforgivable sin, I have lied to myself. Now I must try to break the habit of a lifetime. (3)

In the first pages of the novel, Oscar seeks to reexamine his life and impose a pattern on it by introducing the notion that he has destroyed himself by his hunger for celebrity, and this idea—that he "longed for fame and was destroyed by it" (2)—is reiterated in various ways throughout the novel. The way in which Oscar discusses this subject makes it clear that he is referring to a particular kind of fame, produced by an emerging industry of publicity in the late nineteenth century subsidized by the expanding sphere of advertising. The large-scale mediatization of advertising from about 1850 onwards meant that it greatly increased its influence, becoming "a center of knowledge production, a determining economic site, as well as a representational system comprising a vastly heterogeneous set of individual artifacts" (Wicke 1). It may be significant that the word "celebrity," to mean the person rather than the

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condition of being celebrated, was first used at the same time that advertising was assuming this new influence—the *OED* dates the first use of this meaning of "celebrity" to 1849—and the beginnings of the star system as mass phenomenon on both sides of the Atlantic around the mid-nineteenth century can clearly be linked to the growth of a nascent "culture industry" sponsored, either directly or indirectly, by advertising. In an era before radio, film, and television, when fame was largely mediated through magazines, newspapers, and public lectures advertised and reported on in these media, writers were at the forefront of this phenomenon, and Wilde exploited the new cult of the literary "personality" to good effect.

From the beginning of his career, Wilde had consciously sold himself as commoditized image, and indeed his public reputation preceded any of his significant artistic achievements. As Ackroyd's text notes, he had first achieved popular notice as an advertisement for Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience*, as he was hired by Richard D'Oyly Carte to make his celebrated lecture tour of the U.S. as publicity for the operetta's New York run when he was still primarily known as the model for the character of Bunthorne. In *Last Testament*, this first stage of his public life is described as a desperate search for a reputation of any kind: "If I could not yet do so in my writing," he says, "I would turn my genius to personal account" (48). Oscar's judgment on this early career reproduces a perennial complaint about the kind of celebrity associated with the commodification of culture—that it is more concerned with visibility for its own sake than with real merit or distinction. His pained discovery that "my success and my fame were but small staging posts on my grand journey to infamy and, finally, to oblivion" (10) again points to the debased value of contemporary celebrity, in which fame and infamy have been conflated into a self-perpetuating and ephemeral notoriety. The public spectacle of his arrest and imprisonment has turned him into an amusing freakshow, in which his original fame has become interchangeable with other kinds of fame associated with the world of mass entertainment: "I am surprised that, on my release, the London County Council did not hire me, to be fired from a cannon or perform acrobatic tricks at the Tivoli" (2).

The principal means by which Oscar attempts to redeem this situation in *Last Testament* is by positing art as an

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unchanging, authoritative value which rises above the petty concerns of mortal fame, and by chastising himself for sacrificing art for short-lived celebrity in his previous life. Having sold himself as flamboyant personality in literary London, for example, he now laments that "my personality has destroyed my work: that is the one unforgivable sin of my life" (66). By succumbing to a glamorous round of opening nights and society parties, Oscar suggests, he has forsaken his duty to artistic posterity. "I had allowed my real work to fall away from me," he laments. "In the last years I wrote only for money, the money which I spent on company unworthy of me, and the applause which turned too quickly to the hoots and catcalls of derision" (119). The distinction between "real work" and the kinds of activity which inspired his London fame is taken as read here. Oscar implies that his public celebrity disconnected him from the authentic, interiorized self which produced this "real work." This latter self can only be recovered through the galvanizing power of autobiography—the kind of narrative which we are now reading.

Much recent critical work on Wilde has concentrated on the linkage of effeminacy with homosexuality which the series of trials in 1895 produced—making this a definitive moment in both the creation of the homosexual as a named, specific social type and the emergence of a modern gay sensibility based around notions of "camp"—and has viewed his celebrity as a crucial element in this process. Ed Cohen's study of the newspaper coverage of the trials, for instance, concludes that it was the extraordinary level of publicity that the trials generated, stemming at least in part from Wilde's considerable existing fame as leading literary figure and man-about-town, which helped define "the homosexual" in the cultural consciousness (1). Moe Meyer agrees that, aside from "the interplay of sexology and jurisprudence within a definite interactional setting," it was really the presentation of the Wilde trials as melodramatic public entertainment which produced such a critical effect (104). Ackroyd's text is interesting in this regard precisely because these connections are not made explicitly. Oscar's purpose in it seems to be to conceal these connections between aesthetic effeminacy and homosexuality, and between his own life story and other social and sexual histories. Indeed, as the subject of Oscar's homosexuality enters

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the narrative after his move to London, and he discusses the relationships with young working-class men (the "company unworthy of me") for which he was eventually imprisoned, his desire for them is seen as having the same corrupting effect as his lust for fame, enticing him once again away from the purer sphere of "art." This means that, when considering his trial and imprisonment, Oscar recognizes some of the broader implications—particularly the significance of a new public awareness of cross-class relationships between men in the discursive construction of the "homosexual"—but comes to some unusual and self-justifying conclusions.

Here, for instance, is his comment on being rejected by the poet John Gray early on in his homosexual life: "For me, alas, the love of equals was to prove an idle dream. I, who aspired so high, both in art and in life, was doomed to be betrayed by my inferiors" (104). More significantly, perhaps, Oscar blames his relationship with another aspiring poet, Lord Alfred Douglas, for his conviction and public disgrace: "I could have had all the renters I wanted . . . and it was only to be expected that I would shower red gold upon them in exchange for their pale bodies. That, after all, is the theory of capitalism. But that I should have conceived of a higher love, a love between equals—that they could not accept, and for that there would be no forgiveness" (125–26). In fact, although Wilde's relationship with Douglas at least indirectly provoked the trial, it was largely absent from the evidence presented at the trial itself. It was the material unearthed by the Marquis of Queensberry's detectives about his relationships with young working-class men which was really decisive, and the Marquis was apparently astonished to discover that his initial accusations of sodomy had any foundation. However, in his misinterpretation of what was at stake in the policing of late-Victorian sexualities between the 1885 Labouchère Amendment (which outlawed all homosexual acts in private) and his own trial, Oscar raises some significant questions about the ways in which these sexual identities are culturally constructed.

Alan Sinfield has tackled some of these themes by using Wilde to historicize the link between effeminacy, aristocracy, and homosexuality which, as Ellis Hanson notes, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has referred to as "the King James version of queerness" (179). Sinfield follows Craig Meyer and Cohen, views

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Wilde not as the quintessence of the effeminate homosexual but as a historically determined prototype. Tracing a cultural history of the effeminate man from the seventeenth century "rake" and "fop" to the Wildean version of the "dandy," he argues that, up until the Wilde trials, effeminacy was by no means synonymous with homosexuality; it was a highly contested, unstable concept which associated notions of conspicuous idleness, decadence, and general debauchery (with both sexes pursued by the debauchee), with art and the leisure class. This cultural formation, he argues, was partly a product of a certain kind of middle-class dissidence mimicking aristocratic, aesthetic values as a way of challenging the manly, bourgeois ones espousing the work ethic, empire, and commerce (98).

Wilde's version of the effeminate "dandy," according to Sinfield, was a kind of "open secret"—instead of being registered as "queer" as it would be today, it was in fact generally exempt from these implications because of its associations with art and class. However, Wilde was also partly responsible for producing the definitive, modern version of the "queer," because this emerged in the public consciousness at precisely the moment of the scandalous event of the trials, when Wilde was found to have been involved in sexual relations with young male prostitutes and other working-class youths, since the details of these relations conflicted totally with the aristocratic elegance and aestheticism with which the dandy had previously been associated (71, 121). Cohen agrees that one of the main effects of the newspaper reports of the Wilde trials was "the supplementing of 'aesthetic' effeminacy with connotations of male sexual desire for other men" (136). It was the emphasis on sexual relationships between men of different classes in the publicity given to the Wilde trials, then—the relationships which, as Jeffrey Weeks says, had formed such a significant part of the homosexual subculture developing throughout the nineteenth century (55)—which destroyed the immunity of the effeminate, aristocratic dandy from suspicions of homosexuality. In this context, Oscar's statement in *Last Testament* about his relationship with Douglas becomes highly significant, since it seems specifically designed to preserve this immunity. At the same time, this overriding aim is occasionally punctuated with rare moments of insight, such as when he suggests that "the English grew to hate me only when I was

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revealed as a member of the only truly classless society in London" (106).

Generally, though, Oscar seeks to fudge this connection between effeminacy and homosexuality by holding on to the ideal of the cultured aesthete and downplaying or denigrating his relationships with working-class youths—a strategy possibly explained in the novel by their willingness to testify against him. In his constant references to "Greek love," Oscar points to the classical, literary, and intellectual associations of his homosexuality:

> If I am a Uranian, I spring from that part of the sky where Uranus is touched with the glory of the stars. For I hold male love to be of the highest kind, honoured by the philosophers who have considered it to be the type of ideal love, and by artists who have seen in the male figure the lineaments of spiritual beauty. . . . It was male love which inspired Michelangelo in his perfect sonnets; it inspired Shakespeare to immortalise a young man in words of fire just as it guided the hands of Plato and of Marlowe. (112–13)

It is clear that Oscar regards his relationships with "Bosie" and John Gray in such a way, but not those with the working-class youths which emerged at the trials, since "such love depends upon true equality, and, in my madness, I used the spirit of Socrates to bless unholy unions. Instead of seeking a companion, I went into the gutter and saw my own image outlined in the dust only" (113). His longing for these young men has distracted him from his vocation as an "artist," as he describes himself at one point as being "so immersed in my sins that I did no work of a serious kind" (120). (He repeatedly refers to his associations with the working-class youths he meets through his friend, Alfred Taylor, as "sins.") Elsewhere, he writes that, when returning to Tite Street in Chelsea after visiting male brothels, he felt "shame that I had allowed passion so to master my personality that I quite forgot my family and my own position as an artist" (107–08). Clearly, then, he regards his relationships with young working-class men as taking him shamefully away from his art—the art which, ironically, he associates with this "ideal love."

Oscar's position here again connects with a recent debate about Wilde's self-invention as an effeminate dandy, a debate

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which Jonathan Dollimore has usefully summarized as "whether the inversion of binary opposites subverts, or, on the contrary, reinforces the order which these binaries uphold" (64). Regenia Gagnier and Moe Meyer have both argued that Wilde's campness *was* radical, because it injected a potent homoeroticism into the Regency figure of the Dandy (7; 77). Others have viewed the connection between art and effeminacy which Wilde represented as concealing the real nature of his relations with men, allowing it to be easily appropriated by the dominant culture, as his success in London society up until 1895 demonstrates. The aestheticization of homosexuality around a class-specific notion of art and leisure was, of course, a strategy which Wilde used under questioning at the three trials at the Old Bailey. Was this an essential, self-preserving expedient, or something more deliberately deceitful? Referring to Wilde's famous defense of the letter to Alfred Lord Douglas which was used as evidence for the prosecution, Neil Bartlett argues that Wilde is claiming that the letter

> is not really about his personal experience of unnatural vice at all, but about the renaissance tradition of neo-platonism. . . . [H]e claims that the letter would have been understood "by a young man from either University"—that is, the language of the literary, the educated. The "true meaning" of the text remains locked in the world of culture, remote from either the crudity of sex, or the blatancy of autobiography, of "real life." . . . The code is placed in the hands of the responsible few. (154)

Bartlett, who is highly ambivalent about what he sees as the transformation of Wilde into a gay role model in contemporary culture, suggests that Wilde has desexualized the content of the letter and rendered it discreet and acceptable—the "open secret" remains a secret. "My image of Oscar in the dock loses its halo," Bartlett says: "He lied, and he lied at a crucial moment in our history, just when we were about to appear" (33).

I am suggesting that Oscar in Ackroyd's *Last Testament* employs a similar strategy in retrospectively examining and commenting on the events leading up to his imprisonment. In this sense, the novel could be compared in both style and content to the long, autobiographical letter that Wilde wrote to Douglas from prison, published posthumously as *De Profundis*.

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Edward Said has discussed the attempt by Wilde in this text to privilege a more serious version of a literary career above what he regards as his "non-career" as public figure. Said claims that, in this ostensibly remorseful work, the author is actually "far busier shaping his career than being penitent. . . . Wilde cannot help turning the brutal experiences of his life into a statement whose form elegantly detains his writing and public lives on the page so that they may be balanced: the plays, epigrams, stories, and fables of his demonic career are redeemed, set off, neutralized by his horrible punishment and subsequent conversion" (237–38). Wilde's attempt to achieve the effect of heartfelt truthfulness in *De Profundis* is, according to Said, a maneuver aimed at dismissing a public career in which he had constantly espoused the virtues of artifice and play over depth and seriousness.

As Said suggests, the tone of *De Profundis* may be a consequence of Wilde's disillusionment with the emergent phenomenon of popular celebrity, with its apparent reduction of the individual personality to surface and image. Certainly, his own public persona had been reduced in some ways to a series of stock signifiers—the extravagant clothes, the affected manner, the acid wit. At the same time, Wilde is also rejecting the notion of "camp" which became associated with homosexuality as a result of his trials. The basis for Wilde's position as the supposed architect of a twentieth century gay sensibility lies in the consciously parodic nature of his public life, firstly as exponent of aestheticism and then dandyish effeminacy. The emphasis on performativity, which many have identified as the defining characteristic of "camp," is seen as a means by which gay men can point to the provisional, unstable, anti-essential nature of sexual identities. However, this notion of "camp" is unambiguously discarded in *De Profundis*. As Dollimore puts it, for Wilde the work "involves a conscious renunciation of his transgressive aesthetic and a reaffirmation of tradition as focused in the depth model of identity . . . in effect Wilde repositions himself as the authentic, sincere subject which hitherto he had subverted" (95).

In *Last Testament* Oscar refers to the text which became known as *De Profundis* as a "long and terrible letter. . . . I lent to it a weight which Atlas himself could not endure without groaning" (127). However, although Oscar dismisses the letter

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here—possibly because he has been reconciled with Douglas since writing it and wishes to dissociate himself from the blame it attaches to the letter's addressee—this return to the "depth model" is also the effect which he seeks to achieve in *Last Testament*, as it clearly claims to be a transparent reading of a former life in which he had "made a philosophy out of insincerity" (89). Just as *De Profundis* is often read as somehow more "authentic" than Wilde's previous work because it was written in prison and was not published until after his death, Oscar's explanation for his new-found honesty in *Last Testament* is that he has experienced a kind of public death. The appalling ordeal of his trial and imprisonment has made him an indifferent observer, he suggests, leaving him free to write without artifice or effect. He declares at one point, for example, that "it is remarkable how interesting life becomes when one has ceased to be a part of it. . . . I am neither in Heaven nor in Hell. I am, as Dante said, *sospeto*. I explore my position with some interest" (7, 10).

In fact, Oscar has written a highly self-conscious narrative in which he promotes his present life of enforced exile and seclusion over his previous life in London. As in *De Profundis*, this move is conducted at the expense of both his celebrity and the half-formed notion of the "camp" homosexual, and there is an implicit connection made between the two. Oscar clearly resents the alienating effect of a contemporary fame based on the mass reproduction of simulacra, through which he has been "caught in a house of mirrors where, turning quickly about myself, I saw only my own image" (91). Less obviously, he is also unwilling to face up to the relationship between his manufactured public persona and emerging sexual identities. Oscar refers to homosexuality as the "love that dare not speak its name because it is nameless . . . to utter it is to be rendered accursed" (126). Partly as a consequence of Wilde's life and work, this love did start to be named and defined towards the end of the nineteenth century, not normally in positive ways. Oscar, however, refuses to interrogate this process of naming and retreats into a redemptive notion of "art."

There are many points in the novel, in fact, where the reliability of Oscar's account is explicitly questioned. Towards the end, for example, Oscar shows his journal-in-progress to Frank Harris and "Bosie," who both advise him to "lose the

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book" because it has clearly rearranged and altered the facts of his life (161). Even its author is intermittently aware of this, speculating at various points that "perhaps even in this journal I am not portraying myself as indeed I am" (171). The obviously incomplete nature of the narrative encourages the reader to pick out the gaps, elisions, and self-justifications in Oscar's version of events, and offers an (albeit submerged) way into some significant debates about sexuality and identity inspired by the Wilde trials and their aftermath.

This approach might be contrasted with *Wilde*, the producers of which have suggested that they made the film in order to reveal the "truth" about their subject finally, "believing that there must be a time when the story of a man of wit, charm and courage can finally be told with honesty, and that time is now" (Samuelson and Samuelson). This comment seems to suggest that the aim of biography is to present the subject in his or her organic completeness, and that an essential, unitary self exists which can be thus revealed. Apart from the fact that this fails to recognize the dynamic nature of biography, and the ways in which historical lives are rewritten partly as a way of making sense of the present, it also goes against the grain of Wilde's own life and work. As Terry Eagleton (another fictional speculator on this subject) writes, from a contemporary standpoint Wilde emerges as a kind of "proto-deconstructionist" in his celebration of the notion of "language as self-referential, truth as a convenient fiction, human identity as an enabling myth" (3).

Sinfield, among others, has expressed concern that the presentation of what is inevitably an interpretation and rewriting of Wilde's life as an "authoritative" version has been accompanied by an effort to universalize him. He suggests that *Wilde*—which pointedly emphasizes Oscar's devotion to his wife and children over his encounters with "rent boys"—could signify "a technique for putting homosexuality back into a box, by saying we recognize that, enough of it, now we'll get to the full man" (qtd. in Moyes 11). In other words, Wilde's subversiveness—in sexual and (as Eagleton would emphasize) socialist and Irish nationalist terms—is underplayed through his transformation into everybody's favorite counterculture icon. On the other hand, of course, Wilde's own sexual and political dissidence was undoubtedly compromised by his

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search for iconic status in London high society. This process of cooptation—Wilde's ability to conduct a critique of late-Victorian society only on its own terms—has led Joseph Bristow to suggest that "the impulse to heroize Wilde—if an understandable part of reclaiming the gay past in a period of sexual liberation—should be conducted with some circumspection" (49). Ackroyd's novel does not lionize Wilde in this way. Its textual uncertainties point constantly to the unknowable nature of its subject, encouraging us to make an implicit connection between Wilde's own self-imaging as both *fin-de-siècle* celebrity and repentant exile, and the contemporary process of imaging around that cultural production and publishing phenomenon, "Oscar Wilde." As *The Last Testament* shows, Wilde's description of biographers as "the mere body snatchers of literature" (243), distorting "facts" for their own purposes and concerned only with the surface appearance of a life, can equally be applied to his own genius for self-mythologizing.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Colloway and Colvin, and Holland.
2. In the original: "phagocyter le corps et l'esprit de certains personnages fictifs et réels du passé pour les faire revivre au deuxième degré."

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Biography, Rhetoric, and Intellectual Careers: Writing the Life of Hannah Arendt

Steven Weiland

Biographers focus on the distinctive features of a life—what justifies an account of it—even as they suggest what may make it like our own. An intellectual biography offers an account of a particular career, but also an image of the form and meaning of scholarly work.[1] Such biographies, in which professors generally write about professors, and professors read about professors, vividly foreground the problem of vocation, even at a time when the story now often told of the fate of the "public intellectual" in American life suggests that such a role appears less and less likely (Jacoby).

It was a role philosopher Hannah Arendt welcomed. Her public activities are a feature of her career that any biographer may admire, but in a sense, must resist on behalf of Arendt's highly internalized mental life, her thinking "self." Arendt is an appealing but demanding example of the intellectual vocation because her career in the humanities was conventional *and* unorthodox. Finding a form to tell Arendt's story thus means writing a biographical narrative responsive to the peculiarities of her intellectual style, including the consequences of her thinking in public.

In what follows I consider the career of Arendt, primarily as it is now known to us from *Hannah Arendt: For Love of the World*, Elizabeth Young-Bruehl's 1982 biography. While this narrative contributes to intellectual history, or the genealogy of ideas and institutions, I treat it primarily as a case in the history of intellectual life. To assess Young-Bruehl's standards of biographical inquiry, I focus first on her own informal theory of the form, and then on what I take to be her rhetorical organization of Arendt's career. I conclude with a series of

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comments on what can be learned about biographical inquiry into intellectual careers from both Young-Bruehl's volume and Arendt's life.

Biography: The Search for Form

As all biographers and critics of biography recognize, writing lives has attracted increasing popular and scholarly interest, including inquiries into the psychology of subjects and authors, into the history and theory of the genre, and into its implications for our understanding of gender, class, and ethnicity.[2] But academic attention to the form has occurred across several disciplines, each reflecting its distinctive interests, objects of attention, vocabulary, ways of interpreting human motives and actions, and ideas about the methods and uses of biography. As revealed in the recent controversies surrounding biographies of the poets Anne Sexton and Sylvia Plath, literary biography is most prominent. In both these examples, more than the facts of artistic careers or the fate of reputations is at stake. In Janet Malcolm's painstaking account of the struggles among Plath's biographers, for instance, biography itself is being tested for its capacity to provide durable images of creative achievement even as it represents relations between specific figures from the past and their "descendants" in the present and future—including their biographers.

Equally complex relations exist among the various fields of biographical inquiry. Though the fields which study "life history" —sociology, anthropology, and the behavioral sciences—and such other approaches as psychoanalysis and historiography all articulate a theoretical understanding of biography, perhaps predictably these domains work independently. For instance, an authoritative group of studies in the behavioral sciences barely recognizes the importance of ideas about narrative in literary studies (Josselson and Lieblich). Conversely, while incorporating the influence of continental philosophy, biographical theorizing in literary studies disdains what American social science offers as a means of explaining human behavior (Epstein). And yet another division marks the field: the one separating critics of biography and biographers themselves. Though occasionally a single person occupies both roles—Young-Bruehl, for instance, is an academic philosopher and the biographer of Arendt and Anna Freud—in general biographers, and especially feminist biographers and

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those who use psychoanalytic methods, are more inclined to speak about their own situations in relation to their tasks (Alpern et al.; Moraitis and Pollock).

Examining the nature of biography from the perspective of her readers, or more precisely reviewers, Young-Bruehl complains, justifiably, that not only scholars but also non-academic reviewers focus almost exclusively on the life of the subject, and seldom address the form of the biography. Though she welcomes the fact that most reviewers thought her biography of Anna Freud was "well done," Young-Bruehl laments that they offered "no clue as to why they thought so." This, she suggests, is because "the standards and even the terms for aesthetic judgments on biography are so poorly defined." How can this be corrected? "I think the key question to raise in considering a biography as a biography," Young-Bruehl suggests, "is the rather elementary one, Is this telling of the life story appropriate to the life? Or, as it would have been worded in earlier days of literary criticism, Is the form appropriate to the content?" ("Complexities" B1).

And yet the biographies of literary figures Young-Bruehl offers as examples do not really make this seem to be much of an issue, since the biographers are so openly responding to a host of intrinsically literary problems—to what Young-Bruehl calls "decisions"—in organizing and composing their texts. A literary life, after all, will raise literary issues. With other kinds of subjects, however, the problem of finding a suitable form is not so easily resolved. Of course, as Young-Bruehl in fact shows in her life of Anna Freud, and discusses in an essay on biographies of Freud, a psychoanalytic biography must make the depths of mental and emotional life central to its design.

But what is the appropriate form for an intellectual biography? Though she does not speak directly to this problem, Young-Bruehl does propose certain standards by assuming the point of view of her audience:

> Readers want biography to teach them something about their own lives, the paths they have and have not taken; they want to see how other real people—not fictional characters—have done in their lives. They want to learn about history in an intimate way, by entering into someone's life and looking out on an era through his or her eyes. They want to mull over varieties of human experience, to think psychologically without the formulas of textbooks or the glitz of *People* magazine. ("Complexities" B2)

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Even if we exclude fans of celebrity biography, however, "readers" is a large and diffuse category. Further, as I have noted, readers of intellectual biographies are almost certain to be other intellectuals—professors who, if Young-Bruehl's argument is correct, will welcome the mental exercise involved in what she calls "comparative lives."

Between the writing of her two biographies, Young-Bruehl contemplated the varieties of biographical form, particularly the temptations faced by biographers to rely on familiar patterns of organization. Drawing on common biographical subtitles which assert or circumscribe the intentions—or "temptations"—of biographers, she proposed a four-part classification of the form. In the first, the biographer quests for the subject's identity, paying special attention to those life crises, or moments of "extremity," yielding personality or professional transformations. Often relying on stage structured theories of human development, this is the most psychological of the four types, and provokes the most resistance from traditional historians and literary biographers. This type has more than the usual "artifice" found in biography because it seeks to provide a dramatic catharsis for readers, especially those suffering from "bourgeois moral monotony." In the second, "Life and Thought" type, a biographer must try "to find the ruling intellectual universal, the key question, the object of [the] subject's intellectual quest, and then [a biographer should] show the subject's thought and life in their integrality, in their oneness and harmony" ("Writing" 126). The third form, often carrying the simple designation "A Life," also reflects the wish for a life-course synthesis. In this case, however, the goal is vividness, the intensifying of the representation of the subject's self. In a manner analogous to the literary critic's habits of "deciphering," this type of biographer "select[s] from amongst the strong traits of character and signs of habitual disposition those that either harmonize beautifully or clash intriguingly in order to present a compelling portrait of the subject's personality" (126). Young-Bruehl's fourth biographical form structures itself through the terminology of the philosophy of history or science: "The subject is, like a Kuhnian paradigm," reflecting Thomas Kuhn's famous account of change in science, "a definition of the times and also a boundary at which a revolutionary new time came or will come" (131).

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In keeping with the impulse lying behind these four forms, when she turned to writing the biography of Hannah Arendt, Young-Bruehl rejected the idea that the essence of a life (its *Existenz*) is available to a biographer. She chose to focus on "how" rather than "who" Arendt was, relying on the narrative itself to supply the meaning. By quoting approvingly Walter Benjamin's remark in "The Storyteller" that "It is half the art of story-telling to keep the story free from explanation as one reproduces it," Young-Bruehl asserts that the structure of the biography must derive from the forms supplied by the subject ("Writing" 136).

But what are those forms? Reflecting on the rhetorical habits of the great anthropologists, Clifford Geertz proposes an appealingly simple definition of the rhetoric of a discipline or form of inquiry: "How it gets its effects and what those are." These are sometimes a matter of self-conscious intention, and sometimes simply a part of the writer's "signature" or "construction of a writerly identity" (19).[3] Though temporal organization is practically a given, Young-Bruehl still set out to find the biographical form most appropriate to her subject. In this paper, I propose four categories for the ways in which Arendt's life is represented for us: "Refusal," "Suspension," "Provocation," and "Consolation." Though these terms appear occasionally in *Hannah Arendt*, by organizing a discussion of the narrative around them, I mean to suggest how they help Young-Bruehl avoid the temptations of formal schematization while at the same time using biographical forms to reconstruct an exemplary life. This ability to locate a living structure within the chronological story, while guiding us toward its significance, is what I would point to as Young-Bruehl's "signature" as a biographer—her management of the rhetoric required by her intentions within a form.

Arendt's own strong sense of privacy, and her belief in the unsuitability of scholarly lives for what she considered the appealing tradition of "English style" historically oriented life histories, apparently led her to resist formal scholarly biography.[4] And she would probably—and not simply because she was the subject of the study—have endorsed Young-Bruehl's cautionary statement of biographical motive: "We need examples, yes, but the sense of limits should come with the realization that we do not need—and are even harmed by—

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examples completely determined by historical model-making and historiographical pedagogy." Mindful of Arendt's public role and the structure of her career, and seemingly heedless of any potential questioning of her own close professor-student relationship with the philosopher—she had been Arendt's doctoral student at the New School of Social Research—Young-Bruehl asserts the chief responsibility of her intellectual biography to be "to think about the prevailing conditions of memory and to write what is needed for contemporary memorialization" ("Writing" 137).

Accounts of creative and intellectual careers often reflect paradoxes of intention and achievement. In the case of Arendt, however, Young-Bruehl through her book's subtitle asserts precisely what she thinks we are *not* inclined to believe about her subject without being convinced of it: that Hannah Arendt was an academic philosopher motivated not only by the appeal of specialized intellectual problems, but by her "Love of the World."

An Intellectual Life: "Not One *Lebensform* But Several"

When Arendt died in 1975 she was best known—in some circles infamous—for the controversy surrounding *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, and all that it signified about the difficulty of understanding her career and ideas against the backdrop of academic professionalism in her field, and the prevailing attitudes and judgments of those academics ill prepared (in the eyes of Arendt's partisans) to see the meaning of her work. Within her general design for creating a "memory" of Arendt, then, Young-Bruehl determined to make "existential statements about the situations in which [Arendt's] life took on its characteristic forms, in which she achieved not one *Lebensform* but several" ("Writing" 135). Though *Hannah Arendt* has the familiar temporal structure of a traditional biography, I will organize my discussion around four such overlapping "forms" or elements of Arendt's experience.

Refusal

The novelist Mary McCarthy believed that her friend Arendt had little interest in a conventional scholarly career, and many of her colleagues in academic philosophy agreed. As Ernst Vollrath explains:

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> Her decided refusal to join the fashionable trends emerging from the desperate efforts of current political theorists to appear properly "scientific" led to what she herself ironically characterized as "my old-fashioned storytelling." In consequence, claims were voiced that her thinking could not be counted as a serious scientific construction, and she would have smilingly accepted this reproach, convinced that overly resolute striving for scientific rigor is largely inspired by political innocence. (160–61)[5]

What Arendt refused to do as a mature political philosopher only reflected the choices she had made throughout her life for intellectual independence. Born in 1906 into an assimilated Jewish family of East Prussia, she was a bright and independent child, though becoming increasingly prone to melancholy and detachment as an adolescent. Her moods, and her parents' reactions, are recorded in an unusual biographical source, "Unser Kind," a notebook-diary kept mainly by her mother from the year of Hannah's birth until 1916. The sentiments recorded there flowed naturally into Arendt's adolescent poetry, which was published for the first time in Young-Bruehl's biography, along with verses Arendt wrote in her late forties after emigrating to the United States. Introspective and abstract, this poetry shows her to be reflective in an unexpected way, as does a previously undiscovered adolescent text called "The Shadows," which along with Arendt's mature relationships with the poets Randall Jarrell and W. H. Auden, supplies further evidence for Young-Bruehl's claim of a lifelong literary counter-pressure on Arendt's stance toward academic philosophy.

As a highly intelligent and introspective gymnasium and then university student, Arendt found herself within the overlapping orbits of philosophers Karl Jaspers and Martin Heidegger. She came to know them both on the verge of the major breakthroughs that would gain them their influence upon Arendt's generation of doctoral candidates and other followers. Young-Bruehl conveys how both Heidegger's rejection of traditional philosophy and his personal magnetism excited Arendt. His lover as well as his student during the 1920s, she entered into a distressingly paradoxical relationship whose meanings, as is now plain from their letters, became a part of her professional self-image (Ettinger). Because she refused either to join the ongoing renaissance in traditional metaphysics, or

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to succumb to "a vague and misty irrationalism," Arendt, according to Young-Bruehl, "went the way of the rebels who doubted philosophy's traditional identity" (*Hannah Arendt* 45). Young-Bruehl suggests that as a doctoral student, "Arendt's debt is to the deepest level of Heidegger's thought, to the level from which he raised his fundamental questions about the relation of Being and Temporality and about man's existence as temporal" (76). Jaspers thought this a philosophical style "without love," which as Young-Bruehl notes with dramatic understatement, Arendt knew "in far more personal terms." By the early 1930s, however, Heidegger's attraction to the Nazis made a personal relationship of any intensity unthinkable, not to mention the determination of Heidegger's brazenly anti-Semitic wife to clear his circle of its Jewish students.

Though this intellectual environment had supplied parts of her identity, Arendt knew its moral limits: "The most essential characteristic of this Self is its absolute egoism, its radical separation from all fellows" (75). The political and economic turmoil of the 1920s, and her rising consciousness of how her background made problematic any role in German intellectual and academic life, led to a widening of her range of influences to include the Zionist Kurt Blumenfeld. Thus while the "two German philosophers had awakened and fostered Hannah Arendt's precocious philosophical abilities and initiated her into the renewal of philosophy they had undertaken," Young-Bruehl asserts that it was "Blumenfeld who awakened and fostered her sense of her Jewish identity and introduced her to the renewal of Jewish consciousness the Zionists had undertaken" (70).

This same renewal leads Young-Bruehl to subordinate Arendt's doctoral thesis on St. Augustine to her youthful biographical study of Rahel Varnhagen, who lived among the German Romantics of the early nineteenth century. Written during the 1930s though not published until 1957, *Rahel Varnhagen* can be read as an especially autobiographical biography, as its subtitle "The Life of a Jewess" suggests. In Young-Bruehl's judgment, Arendt's neglect of Varnhagen's inner life in this work signifies an ambivalence about the detached intellectual life focused on cognitive rigor she sees waiting for her in the academy. "Arendt's opposition to introspection was politically understandable and fruitful," Young-Bruehl observes, "but it also provided justification for

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her distance from her own family memories, her own painful childhood and its legacy of shyness, moodiness, impatience, and incommunicativeness." Even though by the time of her exile from Germany, Arendt had become a Zionist activist with a share in organizational work, in this early text Arendt suggests that political ambiguity could serve as Rahel's escape from introspection, and especially from her strong focus on her Jewishness. But, Young-Bruehl argues, "Even Arendt's political conclusion, that ambiguity points the way out, was unself-conscious—for ambiguity, and its practical corollary, refusal to join a group with a program, is not without its dangers. Ambiguity can mean rootlessness, and refusal to join with others can mean inaction" (90).

Arendt's attitude, Young-Bruehl notes, had clearly "produced tensions." "I think an anti-academic mood is—quite understandably—growing strong in you," Karl Jaspers wrote to his protégé just as she was beginning work on her biography of Varnhagen. By 1940, after divorcing the journalist Günther Stern, Arendt would marry for a second time, and to a man representing a complete set of refusals. As Young-Bruehl phrases it, "[Heinrich] Blücher—not a university man but a proletarian, not a theorist but a man of action, not a Jew but a man for whom thinking was a kind of religion—was Hannah Arendt's New World" (124).

While in Paris from 1936 to 1941, Arendt worked for organizations preparing young Jewish émigrés for life in Palestine. ("I want to know my people," she told a man she hired to tutor her in Hebrew.) But even so, in Young-Bruehl's view, "Arendt was a Zionist for practical political reasons—because she knew people needed a place to live—and not for religious or cultural ones. She was enthusiastic about the social and political opportunities Palestine offered Jewish settlers, but she opposed what she later called 'Palestine-centered Zionism'" (139). To do her best work, at least in this stage of her life, Arendt therefore had to reject what had seemed like fundamental commitments.

Along with her work as a journalist and editor in New York in the 1940s, Arendt played roles in postwar projects of reconstruction focusing on the survival of Jewish culture. But she kept her former training as an academic philosopher removed from this task. Or as Young-Bruehl puts it, even in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, which she began writing at this

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time, Arendt "refused the role of philosopher for which these men had trained her" (222). Instead, she overcame abstractness, not to mention, in the case of Heidegger, the political role for academic philosophy represented in his relations with the Nazis, by writing as an historian and political theorist.

This refusal betrays more than a few traces of what literary critic Harold Bloom calls in an influential book on Romantic and modern poetry, the "anxiety of influence," or the need to overcome the example of predecessors. When she returned to philosophy in the late 1950s, and soon secured her reputation as an independent thinker, Arendt accepted, but only on the most ambivalent terms, invitations from leading American universities. Princeton was too snobbish. Berkeley was too large, and its climate, figuratively and literally, was unconducive to serious intellectual work.[6] From her perspective, all these institutions were too tempted by the projects of analytic philosophy, a style of inquiry so remote from her own. When Arendt decided by the late 1950s that "I never really wanted to be a professor," she refused conventional academic life, insisting instead that she would only live and work with institutional obligations structured to her liking.[7] Though Jaspers had cautioned her in the early 1930s that "man cannot live by negations, problematics and ambiguities alone" (104), in her mature years Arendt's refusal of a conventional academic vocation can be seen as a postwar renewal of loyalty to her mentor and to his resolute vision of philosophic practice.

Suspension

If Arendt's intellectual identity was secured by her refusals, it was suspended between countries, cultures, and epochs. Particularly for someone whose intellectual life was initially defined by the events in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, *Between Past and Future*, the title of her pivotal book, hints at a personal meaning in this way:

> If one were to write the intellectual history of our century, not in the form of successive generations, where the historian must be literally true to the sequence of theories and attitudes, but in the form of the biography of a single person, aiming at no more than a metaphorical approximation to what actually happened in the minds of men, this person's mind would stand revealed as having been forced to turn full circle not

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> once but twice, first when he escaped from thought into action, and then again when action, or rather having acted, forced him back into thought. Whereby it would be of some relevance to notice that the appeal to thought arose in the odd in-between period which sometimes inserts itself into historical time when not only the later historians but the actors and witnesses, the living themselves, become aware of an interval in time which is altogether determined by things that are no longer and by things that are not yet. In history, these intervals have shown more than once that they may contain the moment of truth. (9)

In addition to indicating a refusal, "ambiguity" can therefore also be a form of suspension—which Young-Bruehl identifies in Arendt's attraction to Rahel Varnhagen's capacity to "live in the present, with her past and her future, her darkest and her lightest experiences," while always knowing "that neither extreme should be taken too seriously" (38). Arendt herself certainly was familiar with living contradictions. Looking back on Arendt's past, and in particular at her adolescent poetry, Young-Bruehl says that her subject "felt herself suspended, floating—*schwebende*"—a feeling that was in fact a frequent theme of the poems (40). But as a more serious student of history and politics than her own biographical subject Varnhagen, Arendt not only knew the choices that lay ahead, but refused to attribute them primarily to her Jewishness.

Arendt's ethnicity was still of course an influence, since as a woman and a Jew, her chances for an academic career were slim. Arendt's graduate studies were well grounded, and supplied, even if temporarily, a format for gaining a place in the world. In fact, *Rahel Varnhagen* derived from contemplating the difficulty of finding a place, or more specifically in Arendt's case, a philosophical vocation.[8] What could not be ignored, or merely woven into an emotional or intellectual stance, was the fact of statelessness. Between 1936, when she left Germany for Paris, and 1941, when she gained U.S. citizenship, Arendt and her husband Blücher were stateless. Suspended between nations, Arendt responded with an attitude that later fortified her relationship with the poet and translator Randall Jarrell. She was not, she insisted, a "German," but someone who spoke the German language. As for Blücher, for some years he resisted seeking fluency in English, as he and Arendt lived together

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between languages, as well as between their European and perhaps unrealizable American identities.

Arendt managed these problems of affiliation—of situatedness—through self-consciousness of near ineradicable difference as a source of meaning, which Young-Bruehl foregrounds at critical points in her biography by introducing Arendt's preoccupation with the differences between the "pariah" and the "parvenu." While the parvenu was merely socially ambitious, the politically conscious pariah deliberately chose otherness, thus accepting the distance from potential attachments that were unwelcome in any case. As a Zionist in Europe in the 1930s, Arendt became convinced of the importance of this difference, but the importance remained even after her Jewish identity disappeared, in effect, into her scholarly one. "If there was one quality in people that attracted Hannah Arendt above all others," Young-Bruehl declares when discussing the form of "suspension" that sustained Arendt's relations with friends and colleagues, "it was innocence of a special sort: innocence in combination with wide experience, innocence preserved." And "Innocence courageously preserved," Young-Bruehl concludes, "is an unpolitical way to describe what Hannah Arendt called self-conscious pariahdom" (198).

But in Arendt's own case, even if suspended between partisan positions, she was, at least in her American career, rarely "unpolitical." Despite the problems it raised in the contentious environments in which Arendt moved, to be between the right and the left became, Young-Bruehl believes, the stance she never abandoned:

> the eighteenth-century American republican principles were to be upheld while all the domestic forces which threatened them—all of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century forces of political unfreedom as well as all the evils of mass society—were to be opposed. She was and remained both a conservative and a revolutionary, and she never lost the sense of urgency that led her to rush her views into print even though she was aware that the haste left her vulnerable to criticism from those who were either simply conservative or simply liberal. (210)[9]

Arendt's years of statelessness were followed by the achievement of certain forms of connectedness, which Young-Bruehl presents as Arendt's gradual feelings of "being at home in the world."

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Such feelings began in the early 1950s, with the enthusiastic reception for her work, and particularly for *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Her admiration for the freedom of American institutions, however threatened by McCarthyism, also sustained her, as did a growing—if still not large—circle of friends and colleagues. Most important, however, were her strengthening bonds with Blücher. "Our steps go in unison," Arendt wrote to him, without giving up any of her otherwise fierce independence. As Young-Bruehl tellingly conveys, for Arendt, living between past and future, or being "suspended" in any manner, became subordinate to the extraordinary personal and intellectual intimacy she shared with her husband. Readers of *Hannah Arendt* who know little or nothing of Arendt's personal life would probably not expect a love story. But in what at times seems like a dual biography, Young-Bruehl tellingly conveys how Arendt's career was sustained by an unusual household, itself happily suspended in time and space, on New York's Upper West Side.

Provocation

Provocation is common in intellectual life today, but more recent controversy has been dominated by such problems as the literary canon or the core curriculum, a clear sign to critics of the academy of the general withdrawal of intellectuals from public life. Throughout her life, however, in her efforts to extend philosophical thought into the public sphere, Arendt was more likely to be inspired, as Young-Bruehl suggests, by precursors like Rosa Luxemburg. "Something in me stirs and wants to come to the surface," Luxemburg wrote to a friend in 1899, "I feel in a word the need . . . to 'say something great.' . . . I badly need to write in such a way as to act on people like a thunderclap, to grip them by the head—not of course through declamation, but the breadth of outlook, the power of conviction and the strong impression I can make on them" (qtd. in *Hannah Arendt* 294).

While *The Origins of Totalitarianism* had primarily stirred a scholarly debate, Arendt was soon moving into the realm of more public controversy. Her desire to "say something great" in the context of a highly specific policy debate led to her "Reflections on Little Rock" (1957), a commentary on school desegregation. Arendt's support for "state's rights" and gradualism in this essay perturbed nearly the entire liberal

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academic community. But it would be the controversy over *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* which would prove to be a critical event in the recent history of public roles for scholars.

By calling *Eichmann in Jerusalem* an example of "The Perversity of Brilliance," Norman Podhoretz sought to make Arendt herself feel the sting of her claim that Eichmann represented nothing more than the "banality of evil." Young-Bruehl discusses the public and scholarly debate with mingled pride and regret, while Arendt struggled to make sense of the controversy. As she wrote to Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, who had published a highly critical review and then revoked his views privately to her, "I had hoped for real controversy, but you know what happened instead. If I am under attack [about the larger issues] I answer: this was not my job, this was only a report—which is partly true. But the whole truth is that I did not know the answers myself when I wrote the book" (367). The problem lies in the difference between the properties of philosophical and political inquiry, and the qualities necessary for writing the kind of trial report which can ground historical and moral judgments.

As the controversy went on, the questions changed, and depending on her mood and the tone of her antagonists, Arendt would participate or not in the public debate. Her willingness to engage in the dispute arose from her confidence that she possessed the philosophical and psychological resources it required. "If you say to yourself in such matters: who am I to judge?—you are already lost," Arendt would write while preparing for one confrontation with her antagonists. Though definitely not lost, Arendt would also recognize that for "conscience to work," an individual would need "either very strong religious belief—extremely rare. Or: pride, even arrogance" (339). As Young-Bruehl is at pains to show, it was not how Arendt spoke to herself about Eichmann but how she participated in the public discourse that created the controversy. By turns too ironic and too matter of fact, her apparent lapses from compassion, which led the Jewish scholar Gershom Scholem in a famous rebuke to call Arendt "heartless," became the source of provocation rather than the complex misunderstandings actually driving the debate. Take, for example, Young-Bruehl's observation that Arendt's views of the Jewish

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Councils and their putative collaboration with the Nazis were especially provoking because they were "unfortunately placed and phrased" (343).

At this sensitive point in both Arendt's life—between the publication of *The Human Condition* and *Eichmann in Jerusalem*—and in her biography, Young-Bruehl judiciously directs our attention to W. H. Auden's unexpected and intense interest in Arendt's views on working and living. The poet, who several years later would ask the widowed Arendt to marry him, had responded warmly to *The Human Condition:* "It seems to answer precisely those questions I have been putting to myself." During the controversy over *Eichmann in Jerusalem,* Auden provided Arendt with welcome and durable images for understanding the work of provocation. Such images of poetic and intellectual vocation came first in the form of historical identification. Through Auden, Arendt came to understand that the pain of judgment in her book on Eichmann was a consequence of the past's role in the present. Aligning herself with the Greek bards, Arendt claimed to be convinced, as she later wrote in her Memorial Address for Auden, that "the gods spin unhappiness and evil things toward mortals so that they may be able to tell the tale and sing the songs" (378).

Auden made a similar point in his famous elegy for William Butler Yeats, a poem which was a favorite of Arendt's because it clarified the grounds and value of judgment:

> Follow, poet, follow right
> To the bottom of the night,
> With your unconstraining voice
> Still persuade us to rejoice;
>
> With the farming of a verse
> Make a vineyard of the curse,
> Sing of human unsuccess
> In a rapture of distress;
>
> In the deserts of the heart
> Let the healing fountain start,
> In the prison of his days
> Teach the free man how to praise.

The poet's paradox of celebrating human misery helped Arendt accept the controversies surrounding her public role. As Young-

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Bruehl puts it, "Arendt did not become reconciled to the world in the sense that she condoned or forgave or was no longer horrified by evil deeds; but she realized that in searching for the meaning of deeds, humans win all that is possible for them as they look upon past evils—the privilege of judging" (377).

In fact, as Young-Bruehl points out, Arendt and Blücher took a trip to Greece just as the most unfavorable reviews of *Eichmann in Jerusalem* were about to appear. This extended experience of what Karl Jaspers called her philosophical "homeland" prepared Arendt for the polemical atmosphere she would increasingly face in New York. And this intellectual pastoral in a sense allowed Arendt to prepare for, relish, and resist disputation. Though *Eichmann in Jerusalem* gives the appearance of having initiated Arendt's role as an engaged or public intellectual, Young-Bruehl argues that the book actually capped a lengthy process during which Arendt redirected her attention to the world. Though "the deepest chord in Arendt's attitude toward the world was not sounded anew until she found a measure of reconciliation," Young-Bruehl suggests that the sounding of this chord had already taken place in *The Human Condition*, and Arendt herself called her coverage of the Eichmann trial a "*cura posterior*" for World War Two and the slaughter of the Jews.

Arendt's trip to Greece was "the realization of a dream" the Blüchers' had shared for a decade, and it made vividly concrete Auden's timely stance. Jointly with Blücher, Arendt had always been able to renew her intellectual courage, and her strength to provoke emerged from the security she had in her "tribe" (as she called it) of European émigrés and younger American intellectuals and writers.[10] But in the late 1940s Blücher had a brief affair with a woman of the "tribe." Arendt apparently overcame the pain through loyalty and hope, succeeding to such a degree that by the early 1950s, Young-Bruehl claims, "her marriage gained a new stability and her childhood oppression—her lack of trust—lifted." This "personal healing had preceded the intellectual critique," with both ultimately sustaining her wish "to write of her *amor mundi*, her love of the world." The provoking *Eichmann in Jerusalem* was thus neither the first nor the most significant cause of Arendt's movement to her eventual public role.

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Consolation

Though Arendt's work continued to provoke in the decade or so following *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, its accent changed. Young-Bruehl explains that "Arendt's always firm line between the private and the public realms became rigid":

> As a public person, recipient of many honors, busy to exhaustion, she spoke out often and forcefully about the Republic, America; privately, she withdrew into her "thinking space," seeking descriptions of "being together with one's self" when her self was left without those "in-betweens," those worlds, that mattered most. (382)

Biography accounts in part for this shift. Blücher's death in 1970, and then Karl Jaspers' in 1973, left Arendt alone as a thinker in the forms and with the subjects she had relied on her teacher and husband to undergird. They had apparently absorbed the most interior parts of her thinking, or at least made Arendt feel it unnecessary to offer more of herself in her arguments.

The difficulties that followed "Reflections on Little Rock" and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* suggest that Arendt was surprisingly unself-conscious about the direction and consequences of her provocations. In a passage deserving lengthy quotation, Young-Bruehl suggests that Arendt's elision of self from her writing had profound, and perhaps even damaging consequences:

> She was thought unsympathetic, even callous, in the two works which burst most impatiently out of her personal sympathy for innocent victims caught up in a whirl of events they were powerless to resist. . . . [T]he question [What would you have done?] was asked and answered offstage; her empathetic attempt to stand in others' places and weigh up the alternatives for action preceded her writing; and the writing itself, without the questioning, seemed to many readers harsh, inappropriately judgmental, and arrogant. . . . Arendt's political theory always grew up out of just such thought exercises, attempts to capture experiences and find the experiential base of positions, decisions, and policies. But in her "Reflections on Little Rock," as later in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, the experiences were so complex and emotion-charged that she might have saved much misunderstanding had she put her own self-questioning before her readers in the first place, had she let them see not only her theory but her struggle. (308–309)

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Here Young-Bruehl sets forth her own role as the biographer who would fill in Arendt's rhetorical lapses, who would provide more of the poet's "rapture of distress," as Auden would call it, within Arendt's public stance and prose. Accordingly Young-Bruehl brings forth Arendt's struggles as the conditions of her theoretical initiatives, her recasting of the relations between philosophy, history, and politics along the lines required by the events of her century.

Perhaps a consequence of her Zionist activism, Arendt's struggles were mainly efforts to penetrate the meanings of and sometimes even to identify with fundamental historical and political transformations. Consequently, "Considering man as an acting being and looking at the conditions of human action, without neglecting the evil which the perversion of acting into a species of fabrication can bring, became the central tasks of Arendt's new science of politics" (324). To supply a framework for the uses of philosophy and theory in the affairs of the world, Young-Bruehl draws on the pivotal book *The Human Condition* when discussing "Reflections on Little Rock." "She was," Young-Bruehl proposes, "in search of a way to reunite the moral and the political, the 'good man' and the 'good citizen'" (431). But Young-Bruehl also appears to sense that the linkage between the two texts is fragile, held together more by the organization of the chronological narrative than by the integration of Arendt's vocation. Further, though Jaspers was Arendt's model, and Young-Bruehl presents Arendt to be ours, the fact remains that in the end, whatever intellectual work can contribute to society, it is consolation too for the inevitable disappointments of public life.

Above all, Arendt was a thinker whose worldliness took the form of intense interest in events rather than participation in them. "Action is not like reading a book," she told a student in the late 1960s, "you can do that alone, but when you act you act with others, and that means you leave aside all this theorizing and keep your eyes open" (426). Though certainly an astute observer, Arendt was nevertheless always wary of group endeavors.[11] Her independence was usually a choice of solitude, even though, as Young-Bruehl notes, "her vulnerability and shyness were difficult to discern." In the 1970s, then, as she "struggled for an image of how the mind can withdraw from the world without ignoring or demeaning

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it," Arendt sought consolation rather than confrontation, a return to philosophy and the subordination of politics (439).

Arendt and Thinking's Story

The title Arendt chose for her last work, *The Life of the Mind*, suggests that the consolations of thinking had become a preoccupation.[12] Though no late life events give a dramatic charge to this last period, Young-Bruehl suggests that it had a profound narrative significance, because Arendt's own thought increasingly took the form of storytelling, a conversion that provides both a point of departure for the biography, and justification for it as the enactment of Arendt's own theories of the mind's organization and desires.

For a time Arendt relied on the notion of the "timeless now" as a metaphor for her difficult idea of "thinking space." Whatever its appeal, though, this possible carryover from earlier feelings of "suspension" did not solve the problem of creating a perspective on the mental realm. Young-Bruehl suggests that Arendt may even have abandoned the notion that such a theoretical perspective was necessary. As Arendt herself put it in 1973, "the way in which we say 'that is right, that is wrong' is not very different from the way in which we say 'this is beautiful, this is ugly.' That is we are not prepared to meet the phenomenon, so to speak, head-on, without any preconceived system" (452–53).

In her search for what Young-Bruehl describes as a "portrait of the harmony of mental faculties in old age," Arendt did find encouragement in *De Senectute*, Cicero's optimistic treatise on aging. Young-Bruehl thus summarizes Arendt's understanding of the psychology of aging: "The backward glance of the 'thinking ego' elicits the past's meaning and shapes it into a life story" (457). The consolation for the loss of the future is therefore the mind's capacity to give form to the past. In short, one begins to think of oneself like a biographical subject.

At the same time, though, Arendt's ambitions late in life as a thinker, and her continued habits of public discourse, meant that from the outside her story appeared as anything but coherent. When accepting a prize for her life's work from the Danish government in April 1975, her usual uneasiness about such public recognition and awareness of the struggle to achieve

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a public voice with the resources of scholarly discourse led her to remark that "Thinking has no urge to appear and even a very restricted impulse to communicate with others" (461). Just one month later, though, Arendt "communicated" as part of a United States Bicentennial event in Boston. Broadcast on National Public Radio, her talk was an impassioned attack on the nation's political leaders, and she proceeded to take part vigorously in the panel presentation and phone-in program that followed. Telling Hannah Arendt's life tale of thinking shaped by opportunities for engagement in the public sphere, therefore, demands recognizing the dialectics of temperament as her friends and colleagues observed them, and as I have sought to identify them in the categories of Young-Bruehl's own biographical rhetoric.[13]

The Biographer's Story

Perhaps because of her familiarity with Arendt's own intentions in *Men in Dark Times*, a collection of quasi-biographical studies, Young-Bruehl disclaims any personal interest in "historical pedagogy," but does acknowledge the value of "telling exemplary lives," which she calls the "cultural task" of biography:

> Biography is cosmopolitan. It's concerned with a life in the world, not some particular world—although the life may be lived in a particular world. But it should go beyond that particular world, like a kind of cultural ambassadorship. . . . People need examples—stories of how people live their lives—particularly in difficult times but also in ordinary times. And where else will they get them? (Mandell 190–91)

Acknowledging that roles for intellectuals in public life are circumscribed by the conditions of a particular career, Young-Bruehl also recognizes that a biography of "thinking" must reaffirm the private and contemplative sources of intellectual ambition as part of highly idiosyncratic combinations of "refusal," "consolation," and other intellectual modes of living, thinking, and acting.[14]

Within this framework, Arendt's public life was as inevitable as was her withdrawal from it. Nor did she think it necessary to choose: they were parts of one career, each influencing the other, much in the same way that scholarly caution did not rule out bold assertions of long-held convictions, or discipleship

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(then colleagueship in the case of Jaspers) did not bar independence. Nor did collegiality rule out provocation. Her friend Erich Heller recalled that when he invited Arendt to discuss before his Northwestern University students why the two disagreed about the politics of Bertolt Brecht, Arendt was "never simply wrong, she exploded into wrongness, with angry sparks flying about" (396). For Young-Bruehl, the dialectics of Arendt's career confirm her integrity as someone making her own path—although a contrary interpretation would be hard to imagine, given the nature of Arendt as a biographical subject, and Young-Bruehl's relationship to her.

According to political and rhetorical theorist Michael Shapiro, we must break the "codes" of biography in order to reveal how in its "pieties" it often merely reproduces, rather than critiques or undermines, the social relations in its subject's domain. Shapiro's hopes that life writing will come to challenge relations of knowledge and power has particular relevance in the case of intellectual biography, where again professors typically are writing about other professors. But whatever the purposes of biographers, Shapiro suggests that "reading biography" should involve taking a "poststructuralist or textualist position which deauthorizes texts, claiming that the grammatical, narrative, and rhetorical structures in texts exceed, in their meaning-delivering effects, any intentional structure the writer may wish to impose on them" (337). In the case of academic intellectuals, such a perspective would problematize the status and prerogatives of academic intellectuals altogether. Seen in this light, though Arendt was frequently ambivalent, academic norms must be recognized as shaping her life in the United States.

I myself think that different conclusions can be drawn by at least considering what Young-Bruehl intends by her rhetoric. Though not uncritical of Arendt, Young-Bruehl employs the form she finds in her subject's life to close the gap between that life and the readers. Telling Arendt's life story should not be simply an opportunity for questioning institutional authority. As Young-Bruehl records it, Arendt's life is supposed to mean something to us, to guide us toward intellectual practices in the spirit of our time. Hence the rhetoric of intellectual biography locates in the temporal forms of a scholarly life the bonds between academic generations. Some critics have faulted Young-Bruehl precisely on this point. The

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feminist critic Elizabeth Minnich, herself a student of the philosopher, and as a graduate student, Young-Bruehl's teacher at the New School, in a carefully worded and largely admiring account of the biography, expresses her disappointment at the lack of "mutuality" between author and subject, which she describes as the feminist method: "There is something to be gained by the quest for a new kind of understanding, a relational objectivity that is mutual, equal, familiar. Subjectivity in such conversations between friends in the world, both informed by and set against objectivity, can lead to clearer understanding of self, other, world" (303). As this essay has sought to show, however, Young-Bruehl at least seeks to achieve the same ends, but through methods markedly different from those Minnich suggests.[15] Young-Bruehl's finely balanced regard for the uses and limits of scholarly intimacy suggests that she shares Richard Holmes's conviction that biographer and subject work at "trying to find a recognizable human truth together" (231), always with the eventual reader as the beneficiary. Writing with more experience (now also as a psychotherapist herself) and in a carefully cultivated manner of self-revelation, Young-Bruehl makes such an interactive intention more explicit in accounting for her *Anna Freud* ("Profile").

Identification and empathy have of course profoundly influenced biography's origin and structures. Writing from a psychoanalytic perspective, Elizabeth Waites describes the potential for the biographer's transference to the subject as "evocatively contagious." Indeed, "This sort of effective evocation, which is rendered by style and form rather than merely by content, is a mark that distinguishes a biography as a work of art rather than a dry documentation" (117). Though averse to "dry" biographies herself, for Minnich how biographies convey the feminist or the human spirit is often a result of how successful the biographer is in finding the most suitable and expressive form for the inevitable relationship of author and subject. Young-Bruehl agrees. Writing about her work on Anna Freud, she says that "it is reasonable to view biography as, initially, autobiography in the mode of the biographer's basic needs; and to say that any biography that finishes in that mode is bound to be a failure as a biography—though it may be an interesting autobiography" ("Reflections" 152). Young-Bruehl's restraint is thus a sign of her confidence

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in the formal capacities of biography to do the work of subjectivity (or "relational objectivity" in Minnich's terms) rather than in relying on the direct intervention of the author.[16]

Young-Bruehl thus accepts the burdens, or what Shapiro dismisses as the "pieties," of biography in fortifying a type of intellectual life in the public sphere, and particularly today when it seems so problematic (Wallen). Or put another way, for Young-Bruehl the craft of biography links with the biographical subject's own sense of vocation to reveal not only how a life was lived, but how to live a life. Like her teacher, Young-Bruehl thus finds a moral role for the humanities, and biography, particularly when the subject is also an example, can be the medium for exploring the values in a vocation.

Conclusion: Biography as Example

Noting that she herself, like many other biographers, also writes novels, Young-Bruehl ruefully admits that as a group biographers "live very much in the margins of scholarship" (Mandell 208). I would suggest, however, that this location helped Young-Bruehl to explore Arendt's ambiguously positioned career, and perhaps her own. For biography, as is now often noted, is an encounter between two lives: a subject and a biographer (Helms, Holmes). The formal characteristics and expressive features of Young-Bruehl's story are therefore not marginal, but central scholarly features of the attempt to help readers understand how Arendt lived her intellectual life, as well as what she produced as a scholar. Thus Young-Bruehl's own "refusal" to write a critical philosophical text, and her choice to serve instead as Arendt's biographer, reflects the priority she gives to Arendt's own status as a storyteller—not of course in an autobiography, because she did not write one, but in the account of her life that can be read in her texts.

By retelling us these stories, Young-Bruehl adds to our understanding of vocations in the humanities. She sees Hannah Arendt's career as itself an inquiry into the intellectual vocations. Though her commitments derived from a uniquely intermingled set of intellectual, public, and personal motives, it was the last that were decisive. In the case of Arendt at least, it would be difficult to convey the meaning of an academic career to current and future generations of academic intellectuals as anything other than a form of self discovery.[17]

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Though Arendt herself was indifferent to Freud and repeatedly rejected the utility of psychology in politics and the social sciences generally, at least in Young-Bruehl's version of her life, it is the psychology, the personality, that matters as much as the politics. Consequently, Young-Bruehl recognizes her own decision to make Anna Freud her next subject as itself an interpretation of her teacher's influence, and evidence of the variable, but necessary role of psychology in "uncovering lives" (Elms). Though *Hannah Arendt* has disappointed critics who want more politics from it—more unmasking of how intellectuals gain and maintain power—Young-Bruehl herself now regrets not having been more psychological, despite the fact that she was certainly psychological enough to have given priority to an inner narrative, and to justify it as part of the dialectical structure of the mind and experience.

And finally, in the dynamic between biographer and subject can be found the common wish of a biographical subject *not* to be considered as one, a resistance to somehow becoming fully "known" through a combination of story and storytellers' intention. It is the inevitable paradox of biography, and one that rhetoric often seeks to overcome, that the biographer encounters the attitude which Young-Bruehl not only describes in her subject, but also links to her subject's political philosophy—an attitude Arendt "tried to maintain throughout her life": "One must defend oneself!" (12).

NOTES

1. I use the terms "intellectual" and "scholar" interchangeably, though I am mindful of the questions raised by doing so (see the Introduction to my *Intellectual Craftsmen*).
2. See, for example, Alpern et al., Elms, Epstein, Holmes, Ludwig, Parke, Salwak, Wagner-Martin, and Winkler.
3. For a foundational statement on the now thriving field of "rhetoric of inquiry," and applications across the disciplines, see Nelson, Megill, and McCloskey.
4. From her essay on Peter Nettl's biography of Rosa Luxemburg:

> The definitive biography, English style, is among the most admirable genres of historiography. Lengthy, thoroughly documented, heavily annotated, and generously splashed with quotations, it usually comes in two large volumes and tells more, and more vividly about the historical period than

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> all but the most outstanding history books. For unlike other biographies, history is here not treated as the inevitable background of a famous person's life span; it is rather as though the colorless light of historical time were forced through and refracted by the prism of a great character so that in the resulting spectrum a complete unity of life and world is achieved. This may be why it has become the classical genre for the lives of great statesmen but has remained rather unsuitable for those in which the main interest lies in the life story, or for the lives of artists, writers, and generally, men or women whose genius forced them to keep the world at a certain distance and whose significance lies chiefly in other works, the artifacts they added to the world, not in the role they played in it. (*Men in Dark Times* 33)

5. Vollrath offers this brief catalogue: "Hannah Arendt is described as a proponent of a normative attitude, as a neo-Aristotelian, as an adherent of obsolete doctrines of natural right, as a philosophical anthropologist. Or, to simplify matters, she is labeled a mere political essayist, a hyperbolic commentator on timely events or a historian without methodological training."
6. Arendt wrote to Blücher from Berkeley in February 1955: "In this enchanted garden . . . one's body feels quite different, that is, one really feels, in general, not at all. It is easy to understand how the people here become so *meschugge* spiritually—it has something very much to do with this climate" (Young-Bruehl, *Hannah Arendt* 296).
7. An exception to Arendt's general dislike for American universities (her own New School for Social Research being more like a European institution) was her high regard for Wesleyan University, a "paradise for scholars" she called it after visits to work and lecture there in the early 1950s. Young-Bruehl herself taught there for many years.
8. For a reading of Arendt's biography of Varnhagen focusing on other elements of the subject's life, see Benhabib.
9. Jeffrey Isaacs too believes that the critical feature of Arendt's "rebellious politics" was its resistance to easy classification, to the positions of the right and the left: "If she bequeathed nothing else, this spirit . . . would be a worthy legacy" (227). It should be noted, however, that even if "suspension" between right and left could accurately reflect Arendt's unique background and habits of mind, the neither left, neither right suspension could itself be considered "simply" a strategy.
10. Her position on Eichmann tested even this. There was a brief break with Hans Jonas, and a surprisingly strained relationship with Kurt Blumenfeld as he lay dying in Israel. The depth of feeling that remained is revealed in Alfred Kazin's remark in his

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review of *Hannah Arendt*: "Of course she found it easier to think of herself as a 'pariah' (totally independent) when intellectual America resounded with her name than she would have to find herself a 'pariah' in Treblinka" (6).

11. Arendt's compartmentalization in this case seems remarkably similar to Richard Rorty's segmented academic vocation: "One should try to abjure the temptation to tie one's responsibilities to other people with one's relation to whatever idiosyncratic things or persons one loves with all one's heart and soul and mind" (42).

12. Two of the three volumes were completed, the second after Arendt's death by Mary McCarthy.

13. In the view of her long-time friend, novelist and critic Mary McCarthy, Arendt represented the extremes of the intellectual temperament: "The task that had fallen to her, as an exceptionally gifted intellect and a representative of the generations she had lived among, was to apply thought systematically to each and every characteristic experience of her time . . . and, having finally achieved this, to direct thought inward, upon itself, and its own characteristic processes." But Arendt was not without her own form of public presence, for according to McCarthy she displayed a touch of the great actress as a teacher or conference speaker: "Watching her framed in the proscenium arch, we were not far from the sacred origins of the theater. What she projected was the human figure as actor and sufferer in the agon of consciousness and reflection" (8).

14. In the matter of what is "exemplary," see Bender, who finds E. R. A. Seligman's academic career at Columbia and public career to exhibit the "modal pattern." A different kind of example—the career of literary theorist Edward Said—is explored by Bruce Robbins in *Secular Vocations*.

15. Such a view is consistent with the recent proliferation of personal academic narratives, as scholars both produce such texts and argue their merits (e.g., Miller, Simpson). But Young-Bruehl herself, in recognizing the desirability of "reclaiming the first person" in scholarship, also warned that "identity is not insight" ("Pride and Prejudice" 17).

16. Minnich herself expresses uneasiness about the direct intervention in Carol Asher's biography *Simone de Beauvoir: A Life of Freedom*. Still, she appears to prefer such transgressions to Young-Bruehl's approach.

17. In essays on the careers of Freud and Arendt, Young-Bruehl has suggested how each could be, and has been, explored variously by feminists, psychologists, and others in ways that reveal the readers' intellectual ideals and projects.

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Reviews

Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, eds. *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1998. 526 pp. ISBN 0-299-15940-3, $65.00 cloth; ISBN 0-299-15844-6, $29.95 paper.

At the April 1998 Narrative Conference, I attended a particularly stimulating roundtable discussion led by Sidonie Smith on new directions in women's autobiography. Discussants included a number of important autobiography scholars who are also contributors to Smith's and Julia Watson's most recent anthology, *Women, Autobiography, Theory.* These scholars discussed their new research projects, which included analyses of web sites, television talk shows, and photographs. I left this roundtable inspired by these critics' energetic and imaginative pursuits. The experience reminded me of my initial encounter with Smith's and Watson's 1992 *De/Colonizing the Subject,* an anthology which profoundly transformed my understandings of what women's autobiography is, and what it means to theorize about it. Pioneers of studies in women's autobiography, Smith and Watson remain at the forefront of the field. Their continuing role in producing and bringing together the most current theories of women's autobiography was evidenced not only at the Narrative Conference, but also in *Getting a Life: Everyday Uses of Autobiography,* their 1996 coedited collection which, like the roundtable, demonstrates ways cultural studies is reconfiguring definitions and interpretations of autobiography.

Getting a Life looks forward; Smith's and Watson's latest anthology *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader (WAT)* serves a different purpose. This 526-page text provides those entering the field with a clear sense of where it has been, and with the grounding necessary to enter present-day dialogue and debate. In addition to a forty-nine-page introduction, *WAT* includes forty essays by thirty-nine contributors, including Smith and Watson. With the exception of Hertha Wong's previously unpublished essay on Native American women's autobiography, all of the essays initially appeared in academic journals, anthologies, and single-authored books published between 1980 and 1996. Most of the essays in *WAT* are abridged. Influential to the study of women's autobiography, the essays are written by well-established women scholars (the majority are full professors with distinguished publishing records), most of whom work in the U.S.

What most excites me about *WAT* is its possibilities as a teaching tool. This collection brings together many landmark essays of the past two decades. In addressing their decision to sacrifice depth for breadth, Smith and Watson explain, "We opted for a wide variety of approaches and a relatively large number of theorists in a book that would be attractive—and affordable—for classroom use" (42). In

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thinking about the anthology's classroom use, I believe that its variety compensates for what was lost in condensing individual essays. And in some of these essays, the compressed form usefully eliminates explanations or analysis that, though important or even groundbreaking at the time of initial publication, today might seem predictable or unnecessary. Thus, with its abridged essays, *WAT* makes it easier to teach influential articles that might otherwise be passed over given the time constraints of the academic calendar. *WAT* will serve as an invaluable text for upper-division and graduate autobiography courses, and for those wishing to enter or survey the field of women's autobiography theory.

WAT's organization provides a useful structure for an autobiography class. Essays are divided into seven sections of five to seven chapters each. Each section engages a key problematic, and as Smith and Watson state, "The essays are organized as conversations on shared topics from diverse perspectives" (42). The first two sections, "Experience and Agency" and "Subjectivities," define and problematize terms essential to the third section on "Modes and Theories," and to autobiography studies in general. The next four sections—"Histories," "Voice and Memory," "Bodies and Sexuality," and "Politics and Pedagogy"—elaborate concerns laid out in the initial sections, and in some cases, challenge their foundational premises through foregrounding various and sometimes competing histories of women and women's autobiography.

The anthology's five-part introduction, which concludes with an impressive ten-page works cited section, makes a major contribution to autobiography studies. In it, Smith and Watson pull together and historicize the field of women's autobiography. Part One of the introduction traces the development of theories of women's autobiography, and places these theories in relation to dominant autobiography theory. As Smith and Watson review "first forays" into women's autobiography during the late 1970s and early 1980s, they demonstrate the importance of "first-stage" theorists such as Estelle Jelinek and Mary Mason without glossing over or castigating with self-righteous hindsight their limitations—their often essentializing use of "we" for women, their rendering invisible women of color. In their consideration of "second stage" theorizing during the late 1980s, the editors explain how critics contested Jelinek's definitional parameters, engaged questions of textuality as well as gendered identity, and began attending to considerations of race and class and location. After exploring how theorizing ethnic identity in women's autobiography "has rewritten the terms of American autobiography and arguably dislodged the novel as the master narrative of American literature" (14), they go on to examine how critics' engagements with postmodernism and postcolonialism have led to more global theorizing in collections that have charted emergent literatures and reframed women's issues and subjectivities from diasporic sites.

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Tracing the development of theories of women's autobiography involves mapping the more general movements in literary studies, and the editors brilliantly accomplish this daunting task, particularly in Part Two of their introduction. This twenty-page section, "Theorizing Subjectivity," recasts the history outlined in Part One, placing the evolution of women's autobiography theory in relation to "the major theoretical currents of the eighties that changed the terms of the field" (16). As they account for the impact of psychoanalytic, materialist, postcolonial, and queer theory (to name but a few of the approaches they consider), Smith and Watson delineate how these theoretical approaches led, in autobiography studies, to the politicization of subjectivity; the questioning and historicizing of the Enlightenment "I"; an awareness of the implications of autobiographies in colonialism and its legacies; and the recognition of competing models of subjectivity and identity (collective as well as individual). In addition to its obvious usefulness in autobiography courses, I would not hesitate to include this introduction in a literary theory course for its overview of influential theorists and major theoretical movements, and as a model for how to understand developments within a particular field in relation to literary studies more generally.

Although Parts One and Two make up the bulk of it, the introduction does not only review autobiography theory; it also offers challenges to practitioners of autobiography theory. Parts Three and Four insightfully, if briefly, look forward—the sections are one to two pages each—before the concluding commentary in Part Five on *WAT*'s contributors and contents. Part Three, "Prospects for Theorizing Women's Autobiography," consists of a provocative list of topics for theorists of autobiography to pursue. Smith and Watson advocate, for example, attention in autobiography studies to relationality across genders and genres; ethics; narratology; national identity formation; archive building; memory work; travel theory; spatiality; interdisciplinary methodologies; new technologies; therapeutics; and transformations in self-representations resulting from psychotropic drugs. In Part Four, "The Future of Women's Autobiography," Smith and Watson affirm as they productively challenge the importance of continuing to focus on *women's* autobiography, particularly since, as they explain, "All of the features once claimed as hallmarks of women's autobiography . . . have been challenged as gender essentialism" (40).

Smith's and Watson's analysis keeps to the forefront the important contributions of autobiography theory, but never in a glib or uncritical way. Indeed, one of the things I most appreciate about Smith's and Watson's work is their willingness to ask hard questions, their insistence that theories of women's autobiography be socially useful and politically progressive, and their ability to produce books that encourage readers to think through questions of relevance for themselves, enabled by the conversations that their collections stage. Not only in their introduction, but in the body of the reader as well,

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Smith and Watson question the continuing utility of the field that *WAT* helps to solidify. Just as the introduction questions the category of "women's autobiography," so too do essays in *WAT*: indeed, the opening essay, Joan Scott's 1993 "Experience," immediately renders the category "women" problematic, and subsequent essays by contributors including Regenia Gagnier, Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, Barbara Harlow, and Shirley Neuman differently put pressure on this category, and that of "women's autobiography" too. In part, these contributors challenge these categories so effectively because they take up only one or two of the terms listed—but not firmly conjoined—in the anthology's title. These essays, along with ones by Judith Butler and Mae Gwendolyn Henderson which theorize subjectivity but not autobiography, animate studies of women's autobiography precisely because they are not fully situated inside the field, and yet are clearly relevant to it.

Smith's and Watson's arrangement of the essays ensures that conversations between essays are stimulating and wide-ranging. There is no party line in *WAT*. Although the anthology has a literary focus, contributors approach literary texts and theory from a variety of disciplinary locations and political and theoretical perspectives. Each of its sections covers a range of authors, historical periods, and geographical sites, and expands definitional parameters for autobiography. Furthermore, although all of the contributors are women, and most of the essays evidence a commitment to feminism, feminism is variously defined. For example, in the section "Experience and Agency," Scott's "Experience" exists in interesting tension with Nellie McKay's 1995 essay "The Narrative Self: Race, Politics, and Culture in Black Women's Autobiography." Scott insists on the limits of using experience as evidence, and focuses instead on the processes and politics of identity production, whereas McKay explores not the discursive formation of "black women," but how and why black women write autobiography. As Scott's essay encourages readers to put pressure on all categories of identity, McKay's essay enables readers to consider when approaches such as Scott's become unproductive.

Upon occasion, the relationships among essays are less mutually illuminating, particularly when dated essays follow more recent ones. Smith and Watson do not organize essays within sections chronologically, and although they provide dates for essays in the table of contents, by not including these dates within the body of the text, their significance is diminished. On the one hand, this practice usefully disrupts notions of "progress," and widespread assumptions within academia that only the most current criticism has anything of value to say. At times, however, the non-chronological ordering simply underlines the shortcomings of the older essays. For example, the first essay in the section "Voice"—Mary Mason's 1980 "The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers"—cites four foundational women's autobiographies by Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe,

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Anne Bradstreet, and Margaret Cavendish, which she then opposes to Augustine's and Rousseau's in order to claim women's biography as relational. But because Mason's essay follows those by Anne Goldman and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong which conclude the preceding "Histories" section, essays which insist with sharp intelligence upon the diversity of women's histories, Mason's essay seems particularly limited, and especially if one does not already know, or does not flip back to the table of contents to note, that the essay was written over a decade before Goldman's and Wong's. Rather than stimulating dialogue or debate between essays, then, the arrangement of these particular essays has the effect of undermining one essay's argument. Such moments are the exceptions in *WAT*, but they do, I think, point to the usefulness of foregrounding dates of publication, especially when considering the anthology as a classroom text.

My main questions and criticisms of *WAT* concern the last section, "Politics and Pedagogy." I was struck that in this section (and indeed in the entire anthology), only Nancy Miller's essay addresses the subject of teaching autobiography. (The other essay to discuss pedagogy, Shirley Geok-lin Lim's "Semiotics, Experience, and the Material Self," uses personal narrative to expose and oppose her colonialist education.) Given Smith's and Watson's stated intent that *WAT* serve as a teaching tool, I found it paradoxical that it has so little to say about teaching the reading and writing of autobiography, though this topic is arguably of greater interest to teachers than students. Regardless, this lack in *WAT* reflects a more general separation in academia between literary theory and composition theory—both have much to say about autobiographical writing, but rarely under cover of the same book. In highlighting the category of pedagogy, Smith and Watson begin to work against this divide, though I would have liked to see *WAT* challenge it further, perhaps by including work such as Elizabeth A. Flynn's, or Linda Brodkey's on autoethnography.[1]

More thoroughgoing is *WAT*'s challenge, particularly in its final section, to the divide between the genres of theory and autobiography. Along with essays by Miller and Lim, the section's opening and closing essays by bell hooks and Nancy Mairs blur the boundaries between these genres, and this section's remaining two essays, by Barbara Harlow and Sidonie Smith, assert interrelations between autobiography and theory. An insistence on such interconnections runs throughout *WAT*. Other theorists, including Caren Kaplan, Biddy Martin, Françoise Lionnet, Lourdes Torres, Jeanne Perreault, and Leigh Gilmore, provide insightful analyses of how contemporary autobiographers are simultaneously writing theory, and Smith and Watson underline in *WAT*'s introduction how "women writing the autobiographical have always engaged in theorizing identity. This interplay between theory and autobiographical writing has intensified in recent years as women offer versions of theory in practice" (36).

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But examples of "theory in practice" occur mainly in *WAT*'s final section: only two other such essays—Carolyn Steedman's "Stories" and Assia Djebar's "Forbidden Gaze, Severed Sound"—are included in the anthology. The other examples of "theory in practice" occur in the epigraphs that introduce each of *WAT*'s seven sections. These sections feature writers including Gloria Anzaldúa, Hélène Cixous, Trinh T. Minh-ha, and Buchi Emecheta. Since writers working the autobiography/theory divide tend to be contemporary ones, including such writers in epigraphs enables Smith and Watson to highlight their work, while still having room for essays that cover a range of time periods. However, to the extent that they confine genre-blurring work to the final section and to epigraphs, Smith and Watson diminish this work's theoretical contributions, and reinscribe divisions between theory and autobiography that they otherwise so effectively work against.[2]

Furthermore, especially because three of the four autobiographical essays in "Politics and Pedagogy" offer what seems to me to be limited political engagements, their placement left me asking if "practicing" autobiography is necessarily more political than theorizing about it. Of these four essays, all but Lim's focus on the personal discoveries involved in reading and writing autobiography. Whereas Lim situates her autobiographical writing in the contexts of colonialism, and asserts that writing "in English about a Chinese-Malaysian self and world . . . is the most revolutionary act possible in a society which seeks to deny autonomy or value to people like me" (450), the stakes of writing autobiography for bell hooks, Nancy Miller, and Nancy Mairs are less explicitly political. For hooks, writing autobiography serves as a form of self-healing, a way to reclaim "that part of myself I had long ago rejected, left uncared for" (432); for Miller and Mairs, reading and writing autobiography allow them to engage the dialectic between self and other. In considering these last two essays under the heading "Politics and Pedagogy," I want more from their authors about the significance of—and the problems with—establishing identifications between writers and readers of autobiography. Especially given the contemporary proliferation of memoirs by English professors, many of which seem to circumscribe rather than reinvigorate the idea of the personal as political—and I would include here books by Miller and hooks—I found these last two essays a somewhat disappointing way for Smith and Watson to conclude a section on "Politics and Pedagogy," and *WAT* itself. This conclusion potentially reinforces rather than disrupts the narrowing of the political reflected in the academic memoir movement.

That said, the placement of the essays by hooks, Miller, and Mairs does foreground important questions about the relationship between the personal and the political, and about asserting autobiography as a vehicle for establishing identifications between self and other. The "Politics and Pedagogy" section confines politics in autobiography

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neither strictly to the realm of those exploring individual subjectivities, nor to those making interventions in more public or overtly politicized institutions and domains. Instead, Smith and Watson present a dialectical relationship between these two approaches, one that they stage in their choice of the section's epigraphs. An epigraph by Rigoberta Menchú, in which she underlines her collectivist and political purposes in writing her story, and warns her readers that she has kept her "Indian identity a secret" (427), is followed by an epigraph wherein Adrienne Rich discloses her multiple and disconnected identities, and focuses on ways to make connections across them. The essays which follow develop this dialectic between the personal and the political. In tension with the essays by hooks, Miller, and Mairs are those by Harlow and Smith herself. Smith's "Autobiographical Manifestoes" focuses on works "in which the subject can insist on identity in service to an emancipatory politics" (435). This subject's identity is always collective, and counter-hegemonic. Harlow also advocates for autobiographical writing that is materialist in its concerns, opposes bourgeois individualism, and works to create and consolidate revolutionary new collective identities. These essays, along with others in *WAT*, challenge essays that focus on explorations of individual identities and interpersonal relationships. For example, in her essay on Menchú, "Sacred Secrets: A Strategy for Survival," Doris Sommers issues a particularly trenchant critique of those who celebrate autobiography for its ability to establish forms of identification and empathy. "Empathy is hardly an ethical feeling," she tartly remarks, "despite the enthusiasm for identifying with Others among some political activists, including some first-world feminists" (199).

Anthologies such as *WAT* carry institutional weight and responsibilities—they authorize as well as materialize traditions. Smith and Watson successfully work in *WAT* to present diverse positions in an interested, but also judiciously balanced manner. As is true for any act of canon formation, Smith's and Watson's formulation of women's autobiography theory necessitates debate and critique. Throughout *WAT*, Smith and Watson work not to foreclose, but to invite such engagement, in a collection that demands that its readers re-vision the field it maps, with an eye towards where women's autobiography has been, and where it is going.

Cynthia Franklin

NOTES

1. See, for example, Linda Brodkey's "Writing on the Bias," or Elizabeth A. Flynn's "Composing as a Woman." Thanks to Lauren Muller and Monica Stitt-Bergh for referring me to this work.

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2. So, too, does *WAT*'s seven-page selected list of women's autobiographies which follows the final section. Conforming to fairly conventional definitions of autobiography, this list reflects a sharp distinction between autobiography and theory, and speaks to the tenacity of genre boundaries. In particular, I noted the absence of books by academic feminists that work the divide between theory and autobiography—for example, Nancy Miller's *Getting Personal*, or Patricia Williams' *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*—as well as multigenre identity-based anthologies such as *This Bridge Called My Back*, or co-authored books such as Sandra Butler's and Barbara Rosenblum's *Cancer in Two Voices*. Although compiling a list that would satisfactorily encompass the diversity of works addressed in *WAT* would be a book in and of itself, I nevertheless found the narrowness with which this list defines women's autobiography to be somewhat disappointing.

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Warwick Gould and Thomas F. Staley, eds. *Writing the Lives of Writers*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 319 pp. $65.00.

Ever since New Criticism rejected the relevance of authorial intention, literary biographers have felt a little self-conscious about what they do. Why should readers want the biography when they have the work itself? The question has, if anything, become more troubling over the last thirty years, as poststructuralism has challenged the relation

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of narrative to "fact," and new historicism the existence of an autonomous self. *Writing the Lives of Writers*, Warwick Gould's and Thomas F. Staley's collection of essays about literary biography, does not present a unified response to these challenges, but its most interesting essays take them into account, finding in them either provocations to disagreement, or alternative models for understanding the relationships among author, text, and world.

The twenty-two essays in this collection were presented as part of a conference on "Writing the Lives of Writers" at the University of London in 1995, the first of a series planned to alternate between London and Austin, Texas. All the essays deal thoughtfully with the ethical, interpretive, and aesthetic issues raised by the process of researching and writing biographies of writers. What I found most interesting, though, is the collection's pervasive concern with the status of the human self as agent and creator. Are great literary texts produced by writers whose genius enables them to transcend their circumstances? If so, why bother describing the circumstances? Or are the texts best understood as the discursive products of a particular historical moment? If so, why bother describing the author?

The traditionalists in this volume insist—tactfully if somewhat defensively—that creative genius deserves recognition as a transcendent force. Lawrence Lipking articulates the stance most explicitly. Writing "as a humanist," he insists that authorship cannot be reduced to "material, historically determinate causes," but derives precisely from the gap between authors' material circumstances and their aspirations (38). "To be an author," he writes, "is to have a foot in each world, material and intellectual, and to make an identity out of the opposition" (41).

A number of essayists complain that biographers have paid too much attention in recent years to the material half of that identity and too little to the mysteriously creative mind that produces great literature. Martin Stannard confesses his "unfashionable interest in the speaking voice of the text" (1). Ruth Kennedy complains that recent biographers, overly influenced by cultural materialism, omit the "silences, the Eros, the motivating gods . . . [the] mysterious creative energies" that fuel creation (61). John Haffenden, Warwick Gould, and Antony Atkins urge biographers to devote more attention to the literary texts themselves. Too often, Haffenden complains, literature is read as symptom, its richness and complexity overlooked. One answer is to chronicle the actual compositional process by examining publishers' archives and textual variants.

Co-editor Gould, in his essay on Yeats's revisions, places this interest in the writing process itself at the center of the conference's—and collection's—concerns. Both he and Atkins refer admiringly to Simon Gattrell's notion of "textual biography" as a worthy goal: the chronicling of a book's composition, contextualized by discussion of its publisher and readers. Such a chronicle could lead traditionalists

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to focus on textual intricacies as evidence of authorial genius, but Gould and Atkins propose a more nuanced model of the authorial role. While retaining the concept of authorial agency, both depict it as just one aspect of the compositional process, in constant negotiation with sources, publishers, and the demands of the marketplace. "My complaint," Atkins writes, "is that too many biographies unquestioningly adopt the Romantic view of authorship, and thereby obscure the full complexity of creativity and the publication process" (281). Atkins finds in Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari's "rhizome" a useful metaphor for the embeddedness of both text and author in a "constantly intersecting and unfolding network of sociocultural forces" (285).

A number of essays go even farther than Atkins in welcoming postmodern approaches to language, objectivity, and selfhood. Mark Robson, for example, applying the Derridean insight that texts proliferate rather than limit meaning, reads Thomas More's life and his admirers' biographies as anxious efforts to control textual interpretation (87). Isobel Grundy accepts the inevitable inadequacy of biography, given the resistance of fragmented data to narrative coherence (111), and Max Saunders argues along similar lines that this awareness makes biography itself postmodern. Saunders is the first commentator I've read who argues that postmodernism is in fact more biography-friendly than new criticism. Biography's "narrativity, and kinship with fictionality had seemed an embarrassment to an age whose aesthetics insisted on objectivity and impersonality," Saunders points out, but now "such qualities can be resources" (153). Gordon Bowker argues that once we reject biography as empirical truth, "we are free to argue that lives are socially constructed, and that to compose a biographical subject is not just to compose a fiction, but to engage in a social process," named by American sociologist Jaber Gubrium "biographical work" (270). And it's work in which we are all engaged, as we present ourselves to others and to ourselves. "My case here," Bowker writes, "is that written biography, including literary biography, is an institutionalized version of what we all do routinely in everyday life" (270–71).

Under the influence of Foucault and new historicism, Richard Salmon explores Henry James's treatment of biography in relation to late nineteenth century ideas about privacy and publicity. James, he argues, depicts the interdependence of the two terms, showing how resistance to biographical intrusion fuels the biographer's sense that knowledge resides precisely in that private space to which he is denied access. The biographer's zeal, then, is fueled by his subject's resistance, and the subject in turn delights in frustrating his pursuer. The process, Salmon points out, is precisely that detected by Foucault in nineteenth-century discourse on sexuality (142).

Writing the Lives of Writers has its drawbacks: it lacks structure and scholarly apparatus. The editors provide a brief preface but little

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synthesis; Gould's essay is the only one to reflect a knowledge of other contributors' ideas, and it's buried in mid-volume. One essay has no notes, making it difficult to trace cited sources; and in one essay, two notes contain errors. On the positive side, however, the contributors address theoretical issues open-mindedly, productively, ambitiously. Many authors move thoughtfully from particularized issues to their implications for the genre as a whole. When Joanne Winning, for example, detects a "lesbian subtext" in Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage*, she points out the extent to which Richardson's "pluralistic self-inscription" problematizes biography itself. Is there such a thing as "fact," Winning wonders, given the "fragmentary and contradictory nature of sexual identity" (221)? Winning obviously sees biography not as an embattled genre in need of defenders, but as a porous and flexible form whose problems make it more interesting.

Like the essayists in two other recently published collections on literary biography—Dale Salwak's *The Literary Biography: Problems and Solutions* (U of Iowa P, 1996) and John Batchelor's *The Art of Literary Biography* (Clarendon, 1995)—Gould's and Staley's contributors are eager to defend the stature of authorship and the integrity of literary biography. But they do so without the dismissiveness of John Halperin, who in Salwak's volume attacks Derrida, Barthes, Foucault, and other "post-modernists" for being uninterested in "what literature is, or even in what it says" (155). What emerges finally from *Writing the Lives of Writers* is that postmodern theory, far from obstructing biography, can facilitate the recognition that, in Saunders's words, the "simultaneous processes of living and writing shape each other in complex and often surprising ways" (169).

Ruth Hoberman

Crispin Sartwell. *Act Like You Know: African-American Autobiography and White Identity.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 205 pp. ISBN 0-226-73526-5, $43.00 cloth; ISBN 0-226-73527-3, $17.00 paper.

Act Like You Know is a tedious confessional which fails to offer new insights into African-American autobiographies. As a teenager, Crispin Sartwell emulated the performative styles of urban black men who both fascinated and frightened him. As an adult, he comfortably alternates between projecting a *redneck*—his word—persona in his neighborhood and performing the academic scholar in professional circles. Sartwell is irritating from the first sentence. His discussions of Du Bois, Malcolm X, Zora Neale Hurston, and rap music are grounded in a premise of cultural differences between black and white Americans, but the presuppositions of what actually constitutes black

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and white culture are never seriously examined. Instead, there are elaborate philosophical explanations of racial binaries that bifurcate mind (white) and body (black) which are repetitive and without innovation.

Sartwell's early socialization takes place in an all-white suburb outside of Washington, D.C., which he refers to, offensively, as *Chocolate City*. This raises the question of racial signifiers—how do they acquire meaning, when and by whom. In this context, *Chocolate City* through the pen of Sartwell resonates as a pejorative, rather than a term of endearment. The opening paragraph evokes an unpleasant *feeling*. Immediately an association is established which is by now familiar: collectively black people evoke fear and are associated with crime, especially drugs (his brother died from a heroin overdose). Forced busing brings Sartwell into contact and conflict with "black guys" in an environment of regular and racialized violence rather than learning. Although the description of the school environment is credible, one may speculate about the motives behind Sartwell's representations of personal experience.

There is little reason to doubt that Sartwell was targeted in the public spaces of the school as a white student in battles between white and black students, and his experience certainly complements media reports of white parents who pulled their children from public schools. As a question of *representation*, however, and given the fact that Sartwell is writing in the late 1990s, why not mention black middle-class parents who also pulled their children, if they had enrolled them in the first place, from schools which did not provide a safe learning environment. This phenomenon has never received the attention it deserves, although it certainly raises questions about race, class, and resources that challenge stereotypes and sensational news.

Busing did not merely bring white students into violent encounters with black students but also—and here is the critical issue—facilitated sexual encounters. Sartwell tells us what we already know: white parents were appalled when their daughters dated black boys; white boys were distressed when black girls called their sexuality into question. Sartwell's confessional is not intended to explain his youthful transgression through explication, which *might* be comprehensible. On the contrary, he seeks to make it respectable through comprehensibility on the assumption that his readers will empathize and identify with his memories. He presupposes that his personal experience in the 1970s can be situated as self-evident within the context of a history of American racism, and presents himself as a victim in the dialectic of erotic black people and sexually repressed white people. This generalization of self serves as a point of departure for self-reflection. What point, one may ask, does the following anecdote serve?

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> In seventh and eighth grade, for example, most of the white kids were sexual *naifs*, and most of the black kids, including the girls, radiated sexual confidence and experience. I was intensely attracted to some of the black girls, in particular a girl named Jaqui. When I approached her to ask for a date (it had taken me weeks to screw up the courage), she laughed in my face and said something like, "You wouldn't know what to do with me if you had me, white boy." That was true. Meanwhile, several girls from my neighborhood were impregnated by their black boyfriends, which led to real panic on the part of white parents. (3–4)

Black *culture*, he continues, was a practice to which he was attracted, but one would expect that the mature adult should have realized what the teenager could not (or would not): black students were less likely to view Sartwell's efforts to imitate their *style* as amusing ("The black kids thought that was pretty funny"), and more likely to have felt contempt.

The racial binary in the United States revolves around, and is propelled by, politics and power. The stylistic expressions social scientists demarcate as *cultural* are produced by and within institutions and structures through which racism manifests ideological and political power. The music industry is a wonderful example: consider how segregation was reinforced in the entertainment world with the bifurcation of rhythm & blues, marketed as "black," and rock & roll, marketed as "white." It is only in the last few years that scholars in popular culture and musicology have transcended the politically imposed lines of segregation to find many points of convergence and fusion that transgressed social custom and legislation, but which, over time, have calcified in the public imagination as natural and self-evident racial differences. Hip hop culture, of which rap music is a part, is a postmodernist phenomenon—its condition of possibility is the technological innovations of the late twentieth century and corollary processes of globalization, as well as the significant demographic shifts which have brought together a diverse group of black people from the African diaspora. Readers will find omission of reference to Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* and Tricia Rose's *Black Noise* a puzzling oversight.

Sartwell has inserted himself into the discourse of white studies but in many ways he is *passing* as white. The author's name, Crispin Sartwell, unlike those of his parents, Joyce and Richard Abell—to whom the book is dedicated—gives no indication that he is Jewish. And I think this deserves attention, as his introduction presents his white credentials in an underhanded and misleading fashion. His opening remark states candidly, "I will begin with an account of some of the experiences that made me a white man." His *redneck* persona includes all the stereotypical features:

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> A couple of years ago you might have seen me working on my car (ineffectually, it's true) in front of my house in Cottondale, Alabama, tattooed, spitting Skoal juice and listening to Hank Williams Jr. I feel perfectly comfortable in redneck culture and in fact romanticize it in a way similar to the way I romanticize black culture. But here I belong, or at least pass, and one of the central ways in which people belong to redneck culture is simply by *not being black*. (5)

Eleven pages later, he reveals that he is "Jewish by birth":

> Prior to World War II Judaism was considered fundamentally to be a matter of race, and it is still traditional to regard any child of a Jewish mother as Jewish (this I regarded as a great boon when I married a woman from an orthodox Jewish family: I didn't have to deal with the explosive reaction of that family to "intermarriage"). (16)

This is his cue to reference an insidious analogy between Orthodox Jewish law regarding maternal descent and "practices of racing in American slavery" (16). As one who is—by birth—*both* Black and Jewish, I wondered whether he would extend this analogy to Islamic rules of paternal descent. Aside from the obvious difference regarding conversion (and here the multi-colored diversity of the Jewish diaspora and the continuity of the Jewish people is comprehensible as well as remarkable), "racing in American society" was above all intended to be permanent and immutable. Even so there are anomalies which Sartwell ignores and yet which demand notice.

In 1662, Virginia passed its first statute on the question of status and the Negro. The language is particularly relevant:

> Whereas some doubts have arisen whether children got by an Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or free. Be it therefore enacted and declared by this present grand assembly, that all children borne in this country shall be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother. (Higgenbotham, Jr. 44)

The legislators were quite obviously motivated by concerns of property, not propriety. At this early date, maternal descent determined the status of bondage and freedom—*not race*—and was a shift from English laws of inheritance expressly designed to protect slaveowners' *property*. Laws of descent among Jews, Moslems, and other non-Christian societies determined membership, but had an elasticity inherently absent from slave statutes. I interject this corrective digression in order to disentangle Sartwell's ludicrous analogy. The

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logic behind Jewish law protecting the children of raped Jewish women *represents itself* in the Black community's recognition of black women's children as *Black*. In this context, for example, the conspicuous *absence* of Black *mothers* (and their children) from the various "multiracial" movements is significant.

Sartwell's intended audience appears to be primarily white people; and specifically privileged white men, through his persistent reference to "us" and "we." Occasionally he nods in the direction of the black reader: "I speak here as one who knows, as a spokesman for the white man" (98). One of the first lessons I teach my undergraduates is never assume a collective we (who is we?), and also always to bracket the word "obvious" (to whom is something obvious?). The specificity is intended to highlight the historical contexts in which who is *white* and the meaning of *whiteness* required intense interventions on the part of politicians and judiciary. This was a process and not a natural phenomenon, which Theodore Allen brilliantly maps out in *The Invention of the White Race*, following up Barbara Field's trenchant critique of race-thinking among her "progressive" colleagues in her seminal essay, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America."

Interrogations of whiteness and Eurocentric perspectives have proliferated and become more sophisticated over the last decade, although much of what has been written reiterates observations previously formulated by earlier black writers and scholars. More than likely, those readers who might be attracted by a book title like *Act Like You Know* will be well aware of (and may have contributed to) scholarship which undermines truth claims of objectivity and neutrality, and are already familiar with—and even participants in—discussions about white identities as transparent and invisible in contrast to Black identities as marginal and hypervisible. Innumerable texts from any number of disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches have analyzed the manner in which racism continues to permeate American society despite the demise of legal segregation.

The taxonomy of race is elaborate. By the 1820s, linkages between European languages and Sanskrit elevated Asia to proximity with Caucasians and simultaneously opposed European languages to Semitic ones. As Robert Young points out in his *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, this "transformed the mere taxonomy of ethnography" by laying a "genetic emphasis on the metaphor of 'families' of languages and the oft charted language 'trees,'" which "were to determine the whole base of phylogenetic racial theories of conquest, absorption and decline—designed to deny the more obvious possibilities of mixture, fusion and creolization" (65).

We have inherited a set of racial theories which articulate an anxiety to rationalize separation even as interaction and mixing were producing new people that defied and refuted the theories under construction. Sartwell's introspection on the phenomena of desire and

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disgust might have been clarified by reading Young. He might have grappled more carefully with mid-nineteenth century legacies in which physical racial characteristics were allied to language families which, in turn, conditioned the emergence of a *cultural* system for classification and differentiation. He might have grasped the ubiquitous connection between culture and color, pronounced in his unqualified use of the term "black English," which privileges socially constructed racial categories over the more obvious variables of region and class. Sartwell does not understand that the social vocabulary of race and socially defined racial markers of identity coincide each time a social formation is identified and defined as cultural. This linkage, in turn, reinscribes boundaries and their essentialist ideas of what constitutes Blackness and Whiteness.

Although Sartwell makes passing reference to Africanisms in southern culture—via a nod to Joseph Holloway, for instance (18 n. 8)—his orientation precludes engaging with the manner in which the South itself is marginalized in the construction of ideas about authentic American culture—precisely because southerness is so, well . . . black. Indeed, it is the struggle to create an Anglo-Protestant national identity that makes the melting pot myth possible and which absorbed some, *but not all*, white-skinned European immigrants if they could shed or privatize their *cultural baggage*. Racial constructions were not merely about color, as Audrey Smedley and Sander Gilman have carefully demonstrated in relation to English attitudes toward the Irish, and Christian European anti-Semitism. Indeed, the unreliability of appearance as a criterion for blackness required the courts to legislate on the fractional basis of ancestry. Culture, as a metonym for race, is indeed one of the subjects of inquiry and interrogation taken up so eloquently by a broad range of scholars including Anne duCille and Stuart Hall, while the construction of racial categories has been carefully mapped out by legal scholars such as Ian Haney Lopez and Judge A. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr.

Sartwell is well aware of the implications of these analyses, but he is preoccupied with a personal agenda—"I have never stopped fearing black folks, and I have never stopped romanticizing them. This book is an attempt to explicate and deal with my own immensely complicated racial attitudes . . . to find the racism in both my fear and my romanticization" (8–9). He acknowledges both the criticism of Hazel Carby against the appropriation of black texts rather than attendance to the construction of white selves (8), and the exasperation of Michele Wallace against preoccupation with music as the defining parameters of intellectual discourse in the black community (160). But he then dismisses them because they interfere with his personal objective.

One of Sartwell's objectives is to map out the construction of white identities through the subordination, if not the erasure, of black subjects, yet his anticipation and dismissal of black feminist critiques

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conveys the impression that the black reader in general, and the female reader in particular, is not merely invisible, but can be ignored. In this context, his assumption of a collective white self is an anachronistic essentialism strategically deployed to license his confessions irrespective of black women's sensibilities. For instance, Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* provides an opportunity for Sartwell to identify with Dr. Flint, the man who both owned and was sexually obsessed with Jacobs, and from whom she eventually escapes:

> I understand this desire and this pleasure. . . . What we white men find in black women is what we systematically sought to eliminate in ourselves. . . . When I wanted Jaqui, the girl I asked out in junior high school, I wanted her in a different way than I wanted the white girls around me; I wanted her exoticism, her heightened presence in her own body: things I constructed about her out of racial signifiers. (53)

Sartwell informs his readers that he prefers to deal with first-hand sources, rather than secondary commentaries. This advance warning is meant to underline the candor of his approach to texts of black writers. Nevertheless, I found myself filling in the margins with references from scholars whose insightful analyses have significantly enhanced research on racism and the strategies deployed to enforce and resist its impact on American society. Beginning with Phyllis Wheatley, black Americans refused and refuted the idea that education, religiosity, and family were *white* values or behaviors, a point Sartwell fails to grasp altogether. Black Americans are above all *Afamerican:* the racializing process which facilitates othering manifests itself each time representations insinuate, and thereby reinforce, notions of *cultural* difference rather than accentuate differences which result from the *politics of power.* How appropriate (and ironic), in this context, to note that the U.S. Postal Service issued a stamp of Malcolm X as part of its 1999 Black Heritage Series.

Katya Gibel Azoulay

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Arnold Ludwig. *How Do We Know Who We Are? A Biography of the Self*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 292 pp. ISBN 0-19-509573-1, $27.50.

Slow on the heels of postmodernism—the strong form of which suggests that all reading is a misreading and all interpretations equal—psychology has grown increasingly dazzled by illusion, listing perhaps inadvertently to the brink of declaring itself (and the mind) a sort of fantastic lie. We can't say whether memories are true or false. The sources of our actions elude us, so we make them up. The mentally healthy harbor assorted misperceptions about self and the world which the mentally unwell lack. And personality is a story, a narrative construction more incredible than credible, which we invent sometimes out of thin air.

Arnold Ludwig's *How Do We Know Who We Are? A Biography of the Self* joins this conversation midway through, and represents a kind of proliferating summary of where we stand at present. It's a true, though not exactly new predicament. Is this life a lie? Can we really pretend to know anything about another person or even about ourselves? Is multiplicity or unity of self the native state? Are there acts but no doer, thoughts but no thinker, just like the Buddha proclaimed roughly 2,500 years ago? Or are we simply spinning our wheels, promiscuously doubting something implicit in the very act of doubting? Is the doubt itself just a symptom of exhaustion? The fundamental problem seems to be this—can we find anything about the self to believe in? It is easy enough to doubt, especially in this age of arch irony. The true challenge is to believe.

But Ludwig's book isn't about only the self. It's also about the self's biography. In exploring the latter, Ludwig has managed to

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assemble a bevy of noteworthy biographers—Leon Edel, Peter Gay, Donald Spoto, David McCullough, and others—whom he questions, somewhat Columbo-like (the niggling, nimbly skeptical psychologist), about their efforts. Formally speaking, this is a strength and a weakness. The reprinted transcripts of those conversations never fail to interest, and the responses offered by the biographers range from uncannily astute and subtle to remarkably psychologically naive. But interjected into the narrative as they are, they sometimes land on the page lumpily, uneasily assimilated into the flow of the prose. That can make for a kind of schizophrenic reading experience, and sometimes one feels that the book is operating at cross-purposes. We look very much forward to hearing from these biographers—who function like a Greek chorus, tethering abstractions to more mundane realities of unpacking a life and constructing its narrative organization—but leaving them to get back to the question at hand occasionally requires a fair amount of attentional refocusing. To his credit, Ludwig does not turn a deaf ear to this difficulty. His introductory comments record the struggle of finding a suitable format for the book. And to be gracious about it, the problem is mostly an embarrassment of riches. The interviews with biographers are too good not to include—they really do amount to a treasure trove of information not easily come by under ordinary circumstances—and so, short of writing two books, Ludwig seems to have accepted the best possible compromise. Two books in one is better than one bad book any day, provided the reader prepares for a unique posture of engagement with the text. I should add in this context that Ludwig's prose is delightfully informal given the density of the subject at hand. He writes far better than the typically tone-deaf psychologist. That fact makes the occasionally jarring transcript interviews easily forgivable.

Ludwig devotes chapters to both Freud and Hitler, but the book begins with America's and biography's sphinx, Marilyn Monroe. And why not? She has been the subject of nearly fifty biographies or quasi-biographies, yet we still feel, still insist, that we do not know who she is. (Being a member of the Madonna generation, I leave the subject of Marilyn's selenian appeal to more qualified others.) Her case forces us to reckon with several problems endemic to the biographical enterprise, problems Ludwig returns to in later chapters as well. For instance, knowingly or not, Marilyn apparently lied about a lot of things. Clinicians might call her an "unreliable historian." How do biographers deal with such lies? Is the lie the life story—as legitimate as any fact we may adduce, psychologically real but materially bankrupt? Or is there a truer story, a story more attuned to concrete actualities? It also seems that each biographer has his or her own personal claim on the real Marilyn. If so, how do we decide between competing versions? Are all partially true, deserving of respect, or are we duty bound to reject those that, based on common sense criteria, seem relatively implausible? Ludwig wisely lets the biographers speak

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for themselves. He asks Gloria Steinem, "Since you use the term 'real self' with Marilyn, how did you get to know what it was?" "I emphasized her childhood," Steinem replies, "I tried to go back to her childhood and look at the ways it dictated the rest of her life" (14). When asked how he arrived at his distinctive image of Marilyn, Donald Spoto blithely declares "By a simple presentation of the truth. . . . The biographer simply tells the truth. That's how my book differs from those that have preceded it. It simply tells the truth about her life" (17). Childhood and truth. One can be forgiven here for a certain amount of eye-rolling.

If psychologists have discovered anything at all about autobiographical recall and retrospection in general, it is that memories for remote events, especially those dating back to early childhood, can't be taken at face value. They are notoriously, consistently unreliable. And as for simply telling the truth in biographical narrative, what might that be? Spoto's is a non-answer. He apparently captured the truth of Marilyn by telling the truth of Marilyn. One wishes Norman Mailer had a chance to weigh in here. He saw Marilyn as living a half-lie which she foisted off on everyone as absolute truth. That would leave the appropriately chary biographer with the "well-known philosophical conundrum of whether an inveterate liar is telling the truth when he says he is lying" (21).

Ludwig's contribution to the Marilyn melee is diagnostic. He shows that she probably suffered from "borderline personality disorder," a lifelong characterological inadequacy marked by fear of abandonment, identity disturbance, emotional instability, and recurrent suicidal behavior, among other things. Of course, as Ludwig sagely allows, mere diagnosis gets us nowhere. Giving Marilyn a different "name" like borderline personality brings us no closer to an adequate biographical accounting. The riddle of the sphinx riddles on.

And what about the job of deciding between competing accounts of Marilyn's, or anybody else's life? We could simply begin and end with a mystery—not a bad solution actually. Or maybe it makes better sense to winnow out demonstrably false claims from those worth retaining. Ludwig spends a fair amount of time on this very question. It's critical. In my view, it simply won't do to say that all interpretations are equal. That flies in the face of common sense. In life and in biography too, some accounts just seem more cogent than others. The question is, which accounts and why. Ludwig cites William McKinley Runyan, who in his fine 1982 book *Life Histories and Psychobiography* surveyed and scrutinized various attempts to explain why van Gogh cut off his ear. Runyan comes up with some useful criteria, including logical soundness, comprehensiveness, predictive value, survival in the face of attempted falsifications, consistency with available evidence and what is known about human behavior, and simple credibility. Ludwig, however, finds these criteria falsely reassuring, partly because they all boil down to credibility, and what one person may find

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credible, another might not. We can't know what was in van Gogh's head, Ludwig argues. Even if he were to tell us why he cut off his ear, "we still couldn't say whether he was right, whether he believed he was right, or whether he was lying" (89). Plausibility becomes our only basis for judging, and even it "isn't synonymous with truth."

It's hard to disagree, but if we don't, what remains? Utter inscrutability? I can't accept that, and I don't think Ludwig can either. In fact, in a later section of the book in which Ludwig describes the hallmarks "of all sound biographies" and literary or therapeutic narratives, he mentions continuity with culture and times, consistency, coherence, comprehensiveness, organization, the accommodation of contradictions—all closely allied with, or even recapitulating, the Runyan criteria Ludwig earlier had found wanting. Ludwig does say that even when narratives—therapeutic or biographical—meet these criteria, they still sometimes fail for various reasons. But they are much more likely to fail when they don't meet these criteria. The fact of the matter is, in life we judge interpretations daily. We use criteria in doing so either implicitly, or in difficult cases, explicitly. Rejecting criteria for evaluating accounts of lives is to lay down our arms, as Freud once remarked. Now, I wouldn't want to pretend that I can successfully understand anybody totally, but I wouldn't want to pretend that I couldn't understand anybody at all, either. I'm all for laying down my arms every once in a while—it can be salutary and nicely humbling—but preemptive, unilateral surrender makes very little common sense. Biography needs soldiers.

In the book's final two chapters, and especially the last one, Ludwig begins to spell out his own particular ontology. First off, he rejects the idea of authenticity. In my view, this is a good move, since we are all, at all times, capable of becoming different versions of ourselves, multiplicity being far more common than coherence, durability, or consistency of self. One could even make a decent case for multiplicity being the native state of mind. Neuroscientist Michael Gazzaniga spent many years studying hemispheric deconnection (people with split cerebral hemispheres). He speaks of a "sociology of mind," a modular brain made up of systems and subsystems, each with its own capacity for action, each specialized for performing certain sorts of functions—each, in other words, with a mind of its own. Whatever unity we think we possess is specious, the result of the brain's "interpreter" module, whose job it is to tell stories, to create a false coherence out of brain chaos. So the sense of authenticity is a story we tell ourselves and others about ourselves. To speak of an original mind is to imagine a mind before story, a pre-narrative mind. That's fine—Zen Buddhists cultivate Beginner's Mind—but it isn't really biography or psychobiography.

Ludwig also claims—and I think rightly—that "99.9 percent" of our conscious activities don't require consciousness per se. The brain makes many decisions before "we" do, automatically or

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unconsciously, whether we know it or not. All we control is the retrospective invention of causes. That is, we control our biography. We can't know the reasons why we do what we do, but we are free to make them up in ways that please us. "To experience a sense of personal control," Ludwig says, "you have to take credit for any self-correcting adjustments within by your self-system that are designed to promote homeostasis as your personal life plan unfolds" (257). We are free when we believe, when we own our actions, when we narrate. According to Ludwig, it isn't OK to ignore important information about yourself, but acting as your own biographer, you may judge which material to select or ignore, and how much weight to give to culturally derived themes, goals, or plots. You can't be sure about the truth or completeness of your explanations, but by adopting a biographical perspective on yourself, you do actively become someone trying to make sense of who you are.

How does this vision of self affect the doing of biography? Well, like literary critics we can certainly ransack the stories our subjects tell about themselves. Or I suppose we can speculate about reasons that didn't occur to our subjects, stories our subjects might have told if they'd only been a bit more creative. That becomes a search for the best coherence, the hidden coherence, an inchoate story that might even absorb other articulated ones. We can make the implausible more plausible, in other words. But again, to hold out for such a possibility, criteria need to be in place for judging relative plausibility. Without such criteria, it's hard to imagine how one story of a life—say the subject's—might be found less successful than another story of a life—say the biographer's or psychobiographer's.

The fact that Ludwig meets these questions head on, never taking the easy path, and persistently doubting every half-truth and every shibboleth that comes his way, makes for a bracing, sometimes vexing, but ultimately refreshing ride. How do we know who we are? Only when we tell ourselves who we are. And though what we tell ourselves may not be the truth, at least we've taken a stab at monologue. There is even a moral here. Either be self-invented, or be a biographical subject. If the former, this play is your play. If the latter, you are a character speaking lines that aren't your own.

Unlike a lot of books we feel we ought to read and pick up slightly grudgingly, battling through as if pushing our way into a crowded room, Ludwig's work never seems heavy or daunting. The prose has personality. There is a delightedness about it which is rare for psychological writing. And while at times we may feel as if we've been given one too many reminders of how "impossible" biography is, the overall effect is mildly chastening—a good thing.

William Todd Schultz

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Judith M. Melton. *The Face of Exile: Autobiographical Journeys.* Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1998. 248 pp. ISBN 0-87745-649-6, $29.95.

What To Make of a Diminished Thing

Although as Eric J. Leed observes in *The Mind of the Traveler*, "the necessitated departure has been the norm in human history, which is a record of wars and displacements, migrations and relocations" (32), flight from the catastrophic policies of Nazism felt, according to widely varied reports, anomalous and personal. Autobiographical records of exile register the loss of country, language, and even self in the context of particular lives. The primary strength of Judith M. Melton's survey of the accounts of intellectuals and artists forced to flee Hitler during World War II is an articulation of the range of specific responses covered in a comprehensive collection of texts published from the 1930s to the 1990s. Out of the four hundred existing autobiographies of exiled Europeans of this period, Melton, a professor of German and Women's Studies at Clemson University, has selected about forty texts, primarily generic autobiographies and memoirs, but including other forms, such as Thomas Mann's novel *Dr. Faustus* and Charlotte Salmon's portfolio of watercolors *Life? or Theater?*, which represent diverse strategies of loss and recovery (xi).

With reference to James Olney's classification of biographical writing into two types—one that emphasizes *bios*, the life in history, and one that stresses *autos*, the self developed out of that history—Melton divides her book into two sections. The first section, "Disrupted Lives," details, often through pithy citation, personal reactions that characterize the historical displacement experienced by individuals in the fascist upheaval from 1938 to 1941. Those who escaped the Nazis took, in Melton's apt phrase, "a step into chaos," which in accounts of immediate witness or subsequent recollection yielded the "consistent themes" of "flight, escape, survival, and integration" that organize several chapters (15).

The extended second section of the book treats the psychological reconstruction of identity that for Melton is the most important motivation for exilic autobiography. She supports this contention in a chapter which argues the centrality of the recreation of the lost world of childhood as a key trope. But while demonstrating the evocative immediacy of the nostalgia of books like Vladimir Nabokov's *Speak, Memory* and Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation*, she also particularizes alternative uses of remembered pasts. In Christa Wolf's auto-biographical novel *Patterns of Childhood*, for example, the protagonist must recognize in her "happy" childhood memories the political conditions that produce adult guilt.

Other reactions to the past developed in separate chapters include the "reflective and philosophical" response evident in Stephen Zweig's

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The World of Yesterday and the mythological reconstruction epitomized by Mircea Eliade's *oeuvre* (112). A chapter on the significance of the loss of primary language-in-exile experience leads to the penultimate chapter, "Reconstructing the Self: Identity and Reflections of the Postmodern," which examines forms of expression such as Gregor von Rezzori's 1989 *The Snows of Yesteryear*, in which dispersal of self as the result of trauma is both reflected in and somewhat rehabilitated by the displacement of his own apparently unnarratable identity onto five characters central to Rezzori's past experience. This chapter best represents the academic sophistication Melton brings to her paradoxical subject of rupture and renewal, helpfully explained in chapters on theoretical constructions of autobiography as literary and psychological practice.

Two extremes of possible reaction to devastation are reflected in key lines by poets Wallace Stevens and Robert Frost. In contemplating the perspective of a "Snow Man" on a winter landscape, Stevens tries to imagine perceiving the "Nothing that is not there and the nothing that is." Edward Said, in an essay "The Mind of Winter" (which borrows its title from the same Stevens poem), claims there is an "unhealable rift" between the exiled individual and his lost world (qtd. in Melton xiv). This condition of apprehension of the palpable absence Stevens' lines evoke as the center of existence may be depicted in autobiography by the kind of representation of loss examined in Melton's discussion of postmodern strategies. My only quibble about this fine book is that it does not include more of such excellent poststructural analysis.

In "The Oven Bird" Frost muses about a bird song which seems to ask "in all but words . . . what to make of a diminished thing." Following recent developments in the study of narrative as the means to the necessary psychological construct of self, Melton emphasizes the cognitive re-*making* of the complex connection between individual and loss. "Surveying exiles' autobiographies," she claims, demonstrates "the resiliency of the human being" (59).

Melton's economical and comprehensive survey not only proposes a very helpful structure of purpose for a widely divergent body of works, but also contains a useful bibliography of primary sources and secondary references. The particular merit of this well-written book derives from the fact that although the effects of the Holocaust have been widely noted through the accounts of concentration camp survivors, the stories of Jewish and non-Jewish exiles have received much less scholarly attention. Melton is charting new territory of special interest to historians, psychologists, and literary critics. Perhaps more important though, if, as many claim, modern exile is a key "metaphor for alienation in our time" (xv), *The Face of Exile* speaks to us all.

Marilyn C. Wesley
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David E. Sutton. Memories Cast in Stone: The Relevance of the Past in Everyday Life. Oxford: Berg, 1998. 241 pp. ISBN 1-85973-943-1, $55.00/£39.99 cloth; ISBN 1-85973-948-2, $19.50/£14.99 paper.

Sutton's sensitive and insightful book is the result of recent fieldwork on Kalymnos, a small Aegean island in the Dodecanese group lying ten miles from the Turkish coast. In this Greek community of fifteen thousand, the past remains alive and active in the present as a source of both cultural identity and everyday social consciousness. But this book is neither a local history of Kalymnos nor a reconstruction of Greek history through the perceptions of its people. It is rather an attempt to understand "how people filter the present through ideas of the past [so that it may be used] to interpret, evaluate and judge issues pertaining to today's present" (ix). In American or British culture, history remains bracketed-off and isolated from the present: it is considered to be over, forgotten, and personally irrelevant to the concerns of ordinary life. However, "On Kalymnos you meet history" as a living past which permeates all modes of current perception and remains inextricably embedded in contemporary social life (209).

Introducing the ethnography of this society through an investigation of the origins and epistemology of its ideological components has a particular significance in an era of resurgent nationalism and ethnic politics within Europe. Sutton's use of apparently prosaic examples of behavior on Kalymnos, as a means of opening inner worlds of social and political meaning, is therefore a valuable task for anthropology. History for the Kalymnians is not of course a simple melange of innocently structured past events: it is a series of stories chosen from classical, Byzantine, and modern times which "are told with a particular purpose in mind" (16). The cultural construction of such "historicities," which is the main purpose of this study, is in fact complex and multifaceted (2). Sutton skillfully unravels the integrated layers of social consciousness that are derived from historical perception which reach from the extended family to the local community, the Greek nation, the European Union, and ultimately the global political order.

History is seen as any pattern of events that alters ordinary life at different levels. These may include past quarrels, sexual scandals, or financial misconduct that the Kalymnians exploit in gossip. They are self-critical of their propensity to undermine and "eat" their neighbors, leaving a stain on a family's name (122). But history is also about much less parochial matters. History is constantly evoked to define both Kalymnian and Greek identity, to explain national and European political life and international relations, and above all, as a means of reference for analogies in everyday life.

The history of the Dodecanese is strongly marked by discontinuity. After classical times the islands were controlled by the empires of

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Rome, Byzantium, and Venice, and then ruled by the Genoese, the Knights of St. John, and finally, from the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Turks. In the 1820s the islands became part of the new Greek state during the War of Independence, only to be handed back to the Turks in 1828 as part of a diplomatic barter. Italian rule, which followed in 1912, became harsh during the fascist period, but this was to be eclipsed by the appalling German occupation from 1943 until the retreat of Axis forces. A brief period of British trusteeship ensued, which ended in a final union with Greece in 1947. The legacy of long-term foreign domination and manipulation by the great powers has been a tradition of both resistance to authority and an intense interest in the international political process responsible for the islands' subordination. These are now potent elements of mass consciousness which coexist with an ingrained distrust of the motives of political power. Kalymnos also firmly embraces a strong left-wing tradition: it has consistently returned socialist deputies in national elections and is staunchly anti-monarchist. But these political leanings are in fact shared with other islands in the eastern Aegean which are not considered by Sutton. Lemnos and Lesvos, for instance, have frequently elected communist deputies, and one group of Lemnian villages has long been known as "little Moscow."

Economic life on an island of only forty-nine square miles has had to take account of the acute shortage of arable land—less than 20 percent of Kalymnos can be farmed—while the rest is dismissed by Sutton as "mostly barren rock" (22). But surely this cannot be right. The main elements of the Kalymnian economy have developed in comparatively recent times, but all Aegean islands have long been grazed by sheep and goats. A culture of pastoralism, which has traditionally been a dominant mode of social organization on other Greek islands like Skyros, where the highest status went to shepherds, must have formed at least a subordinate background to the most famous Kalymnian occupation—sponge fishing.

This industry, which once took local crews throughout the Aegean, North Africa, and even to Florida, boomed in the nineteenth century and then began a long decline. Emigration became the immediate consequence, causing drastic depopulation and a halving of the community in the first two decades of Italian rule. Kalymnos now supports itself by remittances from migrants in Australia and America, from its merchant seamen and fishermen, and a small tourist industry.

Recent social change has become a preoccupation for the Kalymnians. As a respondent asserted, "we have seen life totally transformed on Kalymnos in the past thirty years" (36). Understanding the scale of this transformation is a major task for anthropology and sociology, to which Sutton could have given greater attention. Social conditions in rural Greece have undergone a radical metamorphosis within little more than a generation after the mid-1950s, despite the tribulations of military rule from 1967 to 1974. Most of the measurable

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criteria which now define underdevelopment and Third World status, like life expectation, literacy, nutrition, health, and demographic structure, were found in Greek villages even in the early 1960s. Since then sustained economic growth has allowed an unparalleled rise in mass consumption and a full range of medical and social services which have now given Greece social conditions typical of an industrial society.

However, Sutton is more concerned with the changing ways that "modernity," "tradition," and "otherness" are perceived (36). The European Union, blond children, education, and hygiene are all seen to be "modern" by islanders, while their own self-perceived relative backwardness and negatively valued "eastern" traits are a residue of Ottoman rule. Kalymnos is thought to be "behind" in the "modernisation-civilization" continuum (38), and one alarming example of this is the illegal convention of throwing dynamite at Easter, which is analyzed in detail.

This explosive custom, which marks Christ's rising, is not exclusive to Kalymnos as Sutton claims, though the maniacal enthusiasm of its devotees may be. It is also found on Samos and eastern Crete, but on Kalymnos it is the pastime of sponge divers and fishermen for whom dynamite is a working tool. Dynamite is bought by public collection, salvaged from old bombs, or stolen from military stores—the army now expressly forbids Kalymnian and Cretan conscripts from guarding ammunition. It is then illicitly reprocessed in kitchen workshops into many thousands of kilos of highly volatile explosive and stockpiled for the Easter season. Throwing dynamite is experienced as a passionate, highly sensuous activity central to the hard, fearless Kalymnian character. The custom has become a divisive issue within the community, and highlights the schism between followers of "tradition" and "modernity" (58). But the practice is best explained as a product of Kalymnian history. The relatively few active male throwers have widespread support among all sections of a community with a strong anti-authoritarian bias. It should be noted that while rates of crime and violence are admirably low throughout Greece, resistance to state power and law enforcement is found universally. Tax evasion and violation of local planning laws are notable examples, and such defiance is usually interpreted as a byproduct of Ottoman rule. But on Kalymnos there is also the memory of recent resistance to the Italians, who were consistently ridiculed for their failure to prevent explosions. Throwers claim that only Kalymnos among all other Dodecanese islands resisted the Italians and preserved the purity of its women and customs from external corruption. Their explosions celebrate this and their sense of identity.

The Italian occupying forces were also implicated in another incident that has penetrated collective memory. This was the "Rock War" of 1935, in which militant Kalymnian women effectively opposed changes to the island's ecclesiastical administration by occupying the

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town center for several days and by stoning the Italian police. The women had explicitly excluded men from this protest, and Sutton uses this theme of female initiative to open a discussion of gender relations in which male and female perceptions of traditional family organization and recent change are examined in subtle detail. The Rock War points to a degree of female activism that challenges the generally passive image of the immured *girl in black* with all its concomitant dowry system, arranged marriage, denial of remarriage to widows, and the impossibility of divorce which are outlined in earlier ethnographies of rural Greece.

Kalymnian husbands were frequently absent at sea, and within their households women had considerable authority and independence on matters concerning the domestic economy. They argued freely with men and encountered no conversational taboos. On marriage a man moved into his wife's dowry house, which was close to her family. This pattern of matrilocal residence reversed the common Greek practice where women were outsiders living with their husband's family. A dowry remained the wife's property whatever the fate of the marriage, and the inheritance system traditionally favored the oldest daughter, while all other children were ignored. Matrilineal inheritance also meant that it was largely women who controlled the transfer of material tradition. But beyond the home women had little freedom, apart from church going, and Sutton's suggestion of a traditional "matriarchy" seems unsustainable. Husbands were never to be alone in the house, and gossip forced women to account for their movements. Male and female memories and perceptions of the Rock War differed radically. Men saw it as an insignificant issue, but for women it represented a major victory and a vision of empowerment that was still cherished after sixty years.

However, all Kalymnians bring history to bear on the present as a means of comprehending world affairs and defining the identity of their community and nation. Understanding occurs through analogies and metaphors drawn from an agreed repertoire of insights that come from selected aspects of Greek history or the lives of saints. Regardless of individual political or religious convictions, this common historicity constitutes an unchallenged consensus which unites belief in the literal truth of a three thousand year historical continuity with leading shibboleths of orthodox Christianity, such as miracles and divine intervention on the side of Greece. A passionate identification with archaeological discoveries serves to underpin the plausibility of this invented tradition. A national ethos created by these means directly connects modern Greeks to the world of Homer and Alexander, through the pivotal events of the Revolution of 1821. The previous formative four centuries of Ottoman rule—when nothing is assumed to have happened—are omitted and tabooed from this historicity. In everyday discourse significant historical characters, dates, and names

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are drawn from this pooled understanding and imposed upon the present. Modern politicians, who are usually referred to by their first names, are related to the historical narrative as for instance a democratic "Socrates" or a dictatorial "Papadopoulos"—the leader of the 1967 coup. References to early twentieth century statesmen, heroes of the Revolution, and decisive years like '22, for the Catastrophe which produced the final expulsion of Greek communities from Asia Minor, '40 for the "no" to Mussolini, or '74 for the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, are used symbolically to forge strong emotional links and common identity.

Sutton's interpretation of this paradigm in action is most revealing. Kalymnian perceptions of the war in Bosnia differed sharply from those of other Europeans or Americans, who tended to vilify Serbia. The war was seen as a righteous struggle by orthodox brethren—the natural allies of the Greeks who had valiantly resisted the Nazis—against the encroachments of invasive Islamic forces. These residues of Ottoman rule had been fomented by the latest intervention of the great powers in Balkans affairs, which had led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The Kalymnians identified a series of historical parallels between Bosnia and their own past. Serbs, like Greeks, were fellow underdogs. Once again powerful nations were cynically pursuing their own interests under the guise of humanitarian morality, as they had in 1974 over Cyprus, and on numerous other occasions since the treacherous sacking of Byzantium in 1204. Themes of betrayal and the indebtedness of Europe to Greece compounded this condemnation. Greece had delayed the advance of German forces for three weeks in 1941, thus delaying the invasion of Russia, but this sacrifice had not been acknowledged. This perspective is not, however, peculiar to Kalymnos, as Sutton tends to imply: it is rather an aspect of mainstream Greek historical and political consciousness which is currently expressed through widespread opposition to NATO's war aims in Kosovo and Serbia.

The Kalymnian use of the past to judge the present is complemented by the conviction that Greek history is a tangible property which belongs to the Greeks alone. In 1993 the choice of the name "Macedonia" by the eponymous former Yugoslav republic provoked outrage throughout Greece. The name, it was claimed, was exclusively Greek, and its appropriation, which was a violation and falsification of history, signified territorial ambition. But for Kalymnians this appropriation had additional cultural resonances. In naming a child after a forebear, a parent was performing *anastassi*, a sacred duty that brought the ancestor back to life. The act also transferred personal qualities across generations and established continuity between past and present. Grandchildren and grandparents of the same name formed close personal connections with implications for inheritance. By naming itself "Macedonia" the new republic had transgressed a cluster of interrelated kinship norms.

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This book is a considerable achievement. Sutton's ethnographic skill and powers of analysis—at both synchronic and diachronic levels—provide us with a fascinating insight into the complex mental universe of a community on the periphery of Europe. But there is one major omission in this outline of Kalymnian historicity. World War Two, its aftermath, and the Civil War of 1946–49 have been hugely instrumental in shaping Greek memories and modern consciousness. The underlying poverty of rural Greek communities was magnified by the Nazi occupation, producing a degree of suffering that is difficult to imagine. Nazi rule in the Greek islands led to a series of food confiscations and prohibitions on travel: trade routes were closed and islanders were forbidden to fish. Widespread famine and serious undernourishment became standard for four years after 1941. Death rates remained high even after the Nazi withdrawal, and with further devastation caused by the Civil War, the long-term pattern of outward migration to the U.S., Australia, and then Europe was renewed. Sutton's attention to these components of the Kalymnian belief-system is tangential, but for many older Greeks they remain as open but concealed wounds. Such memories are often tabooed or repressed, and will not be freely divulged to an anthropologist, yet they remain highly emotive, politicized components of an everyday consciousness that lives on.

Tim Megarry

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Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing editors William Bruneau, Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Gloria Fisk, Douglas Hilt, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, Gabriel Merle, Barbara Peterson, Forrest R. Pitts, Bronwen Solyom, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *American Quarterly, American Scientist, Booklist, Chicago Sun-Times, French Review, French Studies, The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), *The Guardian Weekly, Journal of Asian Studies (JAS), Los Angeles Times Book Review* (*LATBR*), *Le Monde des Livres, New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review* (*NYTBR*), *The New Yorker, Pacific Historical Review, Science, Sight and Sound, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), The Weekend Australian*, and *The Women's Review of Books.*

Ackland, Valentine. See **Warner, Sylvia Townsend.**

Albright, Madeleine Korbel

Seasons of Her Life: A Biography of Madeleine Korbel Albright. Ann Blackman. New York: Scribner, 1998. 398 pp. $27.00.

"Analysts preparing to write about the Clinton Administration's foreign policy in the future are sure to consult Blackman's work, which explores Albright's roots in Eastern Europe and investigates the controversy over her Jewish heritage."

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 16.5 (Feb. 1999): 6–7.

Allen, Woody

Woody Allen: A Biography. John Baxter. London: HarperCollins, 1999. 488 pp. £19.99.

"As Baxter stresses, the twitchy, curmudgeonly hypochondriac of the movies should not be confused with the real Woody Allen at all—not that anyone seems to have explained this distinction to Allen himself. Much of Baxter's book traces the genesis of the Allen persona. This commodity, carefully cultivated and marketed, serves to disguise a real self that appears to be considerably more neurotic and troubled than the amiably self-effacing schlemiel of the movies. Baxter manages to demystify both the mask and the man . . . to give a picture of a delicate man condemned now and for ever to schlep his alter ego on his back wherever he goes—a burden as culturally weighty as Manhattan itself."

Jonathan Romney. *Guardian Weekly*, Feb. 28, 1999: 28.

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Angelou, Maya. See **Collections: Autobiographies of Women Writers.**

Aron, Raymond. See **Collections: French Intellectuals.**

Bamber, Helen

The Good Listener: Helen Bamber, A Life Against Cruelty. Neil Belton. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999. 314 pp. £18.99.

"The life and work of Helen Bamber, as related in this intelligent and thought-provoking book, is testimony to the therapeutic power of truth. The story of Bamber's life acts as a framework or prism through which some of the worst events of this century of horrors are addressed."

Malise Ruthven. *TLS*, Feb. 26, 1999: 36.

Barnum, Gertrude. See **Collections: Women Labor Activists.**

Beach, Amy

Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: The Life and Work of an American Composer, 1867–1944. Adrienne Fried Block. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 409 pp. $45.00.

" . . . this is a fascinating and useful book, and Block has for the most part chosen wisely what to do and what not to do. . . . If interest in Beach's music continues to grow as rapidly as it has in the last few years, there will be time and opportunity to assess it, and Block's study will be an invaluable aid in making a sound assessment possible."

Lawson Taitte. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 12.

Beauvoir, Simone de. See **Collections: Autobiographies of Women Writers.**

Beckett, Samuel, and Alan Schneider

No Author Better Served: The Correspondence of Samuel Beckett and Alan Schneider. Ed. Maurice Harmon. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 486 pp. $35.00.

"Although Beckett was extremely protective of his private correspondence . . . most of these letters have now been collected in 'No Author Better Served.' It has been edited with a useful introduction and great textual care (if occasionally incomplete and slipshod footnotes) by the Irish scholar Maurice Harmon, who respects Beckett's demand for privacy by deleting any material about his private life."

Robert Brustein. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 13–14.

Bell, Vanessa

Selected Letters Of Vanessa Bell. Ed. Regina Marler. Wakefield, RI: Moyer Bell, 1998. 593 pp. $14.95.

"Virginia looked inward, Vanessa outward. If she was not a genius like her sister, her appealing letters reveal a larger person."

Margot Peters. *NYTBR*, Jan. 10, 1999: 10.

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Berlin, Irving

Irving Berlin: American Troubadour. Edward Jablonski. New York: Henry Holt, 1999. 384 pp. $35.00.

Irving Berlin: A Life in Song. Philip Furia. New York: Macmillan, 1998. 321 pp. $25.00.

"It's hard to figure out what motive propelled Mr. Jablonski's book—other than the urge to write another book. (His 'also by' page lists twenty-three titles.) He doesn't come close to matching [Lawrence] Bergreen's [*As Thousands Cheer: The Life of Irving Berlin* (1990)]. . . . Furia lays the life out clearly and compactly, and gives Berlin his welcome due as a lyricist, as well as a composer. But the book is short on psychological penetration—nothing like a complex man emerges from its pages—and you might say that Berlin went on and outlived his biographer: Furia's energies, like Jablonski's, appear to flag well before his subject's sprawling life concludes, and Berlin's last forty-plus years—which include a number of Broadway shows, the debacle of *Mr. President*, and the death of his wife—are crammed into 30 pages."

Brad Leithauser. *NYRB*, Apr. 22, 1999: 16–20.

Blum, Léon. See **Collections: French Intellectuals.**

Brooke, Rupert, and James Strachey

Friends and Apostles: The Correspondence of Rupert Brooke and James Strachey, 1905–1914. Ed. Keith Hale. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 304 pp. $35.00.

"... Keith Hale, an assistant professor of English at the University of Guam, has edited and introduced the correspondence with skill and thoroughness. It is almost impossible to read it without sensing Brooke's and Strachey's vivid feeling for each other and the extent to which the bond between them structured their lives. It will no longer be possible to speak of either one separately."

Perry Meisel. *NYTBR*, Jan. 17, 1999: 12.

Buck, Pearl S.

Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography. Peter Conn. New York: Cambridge UP, 1996. 468 pp. $35.00.

"Conn's brilliant biography, which will help restore Buck to her rightful place in American letters, flawlessly interweaves life story, literary analysis, and cultural context."

Carol Kolmerten. *American Quarterly* 50.4 (Dec. 1998): 851–53.

Bundy, McGeorge, and William Bundy

The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy, Brothers in Arms. Kai Bird. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998. 490 pp. $27.50.

"[This book is] in large part the work of an unreconstructed revisionist for whom the Cold War was the unnecessary creation of Stimsonian liberal interventionists, men such as the Bundys. . . . Kai Bird is torn

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between writing biography—which he does extraordinarily well—and writing a revisionist history of the Cold War."

Warren I. Cohen. *TLS*, Feb. 19: 28.

Burton, Richard and Isabel

A Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton. Mary Lovell. New York: Norton, 1998. 910 pp. $39.95.

"'It is not the purpose of this book,' declares Lovell, 'to draw attention to the specific inaccuracies contained in previous biographies.' Nevertheless, if the purpose of the book is not to score points, it is to demonstrate that Brodie, McLynn, and other detractors of the Burtons are wrong in their interpretations of character and events. And the main weapon in her passionate defense of the couple is her 'discovery of numerous new primary documents,' notably seven boxes of Isabel's papers at the Wiltshire Record Office. Ms. Lovell is not coy about her success in this respect, revealing details to us of her 'plan of campaign,' the 'first discipline' of her research, how she 'surmised' this and 'ascertained' that. Throughout the book we are reminded of documents to which she has had unique access and which have never been published."

David Gilmour. *NYRB*, Apr. 8, 1999: 25.

"There is much new material in 'A Rage to Live,' and extraordinary biography, and at least as much writing that is clever and persuasive as there is special pleading, as much that is moving as silly."

James R. Kincaid. *NYTBR*, Jan. 17, 1999: 14–15.

Byron, Charles Gordon, Lord

Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame. Benita Eisler. New York: Knopf, 1999. 800 pp. $35.00.

"Eisler, whose book will I think be the one to beat for many decades to come, is especially artful and dexterous in matching the poetry to the life and the ideas. She is alive to the essential connection between the sexual outlaw and the professional revolutionary."

Christopher Hitchens. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 6.

Camus, Albert. See **Collections: French Intellectuals.**

Chadwick, Sir James

The Neutron and the Bomb: A Biography of Sir James Chadwick. Andrew Brown. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 402 pp. $35.00.

"James Chadwick, the discoverer of the neutron, made history not only in the laboratory but also outside, in the world of high politics. *The Neutron and the Bomb*, by radiation oncologist Andrew Brown, is the first biography of this reserved academic, and its title epitomizes the two worlds of Chadwick's life. . . . Because Chadwick never wrote his memoirs (unfortunately, for he was a master of prose style),

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Brown's excellent well-researched biography is all the more welcome."
Lorna Arnold. *Science* 282, No. 5388 (Oct. 16, 1998): 422.

Charles, Prince of Wales

Charles at Fifty. Anthony Holden. New York: Random House, 1998. 384 pp. $24.95.

"... 'Charles at Fifty' . . . is irksome from beginning to end."
Andrea Higbie. *NYTBR,* Dec. 27, 1998: 14.

Charles, Ray

Ray Charles: Man and Music. Michael Lydon. New York: Riverhead, 1999. 433 pp. $27.95.

"The chief virtue of 'Ray Charles: Man and Music' is Lydon's dogged detailing of Charles's rise, triumphs, and bittersweet old age. The problem is that same intensity of detail makes for some plodding sections where the trees obscure the large forests of Charles's life."
Nelson George. *NYTBR,* Mar. 14, 1999: 24.

Cheever, Susan

Note Found in a Bottle: My Life as a Drinker. Susan Cheever. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999. 192 pp. $23.00.

"[A]s much as this slim, elegant volume is about the follies of drunkenness and the lessons of recovery, it is also about class anxiety, and at times outright hostility; John Cheever might have brilliantly intimated it in his fiction, but his daughter cuts to the chase (chaser?), laying bare the fear and loathing beneath the discreet charm of the American bourgeoisie, and showing little mercy for herself or others in her often unflattering portraits."
Moira Farr. *Globe and Mail,* Feb. 20, 1999: D16.

Clinton, DeWitt

The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769–1828. Evan Cornog. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 240 pp. $35.00.

"Even the most admiring biographers of DeWitt Clinton have conceded that he was a difficult man to be around,' Evan Cornog writes of the man he credits with the two transforming developments in the early-19th-century American Republic: the spoils system in politics and the construction of the Erie Canal."
David Walton. *NYTBR,* Jan. 10, 1999: 17.

Clinton, William Jefferson, and Kenneth Starr

Sexual McCarthyism: Clinton, Starr, and the Emerging Constitutional Crisis. Alan Dershowitz. New York: Basic Books, 1998. 288 pp. $23.00.

"Dershowitz chides Paula Jones, ridicules Monica Lewinsky, second-guesses Clinton's lawyers, paints Starr as a minion of the tobacco lobby

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and damns Clinton himself for weakening criminal defendants' rights, censoring the Internet and opposing gay marriage. Dershowitz eloquently vents his scorn—shared by many—for the mirthless satire the Starr investigation has become."

Allen D. Boyer. *NYTBR*, Dec. 27, 1998: 14.

Conan Doyle, Arthur

Teller of Tales: The Life of Arthur Conan Doyle. Daniel Stashower. New York: Henry Holt, 1999. 472 pp. $32.50.

"Apart from a few omissions, such as any reference to Conan Doyle's appointment as chairman of the 1916 British Olympic team, and devoting an entire chapter to Conan Doyle's rather trivial involvement in Agatha Christie's mysterious disappearance, Stashower has written an accurate, readable and highly informative life. Until someone with access to the family archives writes the definitive biography, this is the one to read."

Clifford Goldfarb. *Globe and Mail*, Apr. 10, 1999: D15.

Copeland, Aaron

Aaron Copeland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man. Howard Pollack. New York: Henry Holt, 1999. 630 pp. $37.50.

". . . it must be said that this book is the definitive study of Aaron Copeland's life and work, no doubt for a long time to come.

John Rockwell. *NYTBR*, Mar. 14, 1999: 10.

Courtade, Pierre

Pierre Courtade: The Making of a Party Scribe. John E. Flower. Oxford: Berg, 1995. 247 pp. $45.95.

The author "leads us through Courtade's dual career as a journalist and as an imaginative writer, from his juvenilia to his early death. . . . [T]his study throws much useful light on an underrated figure; the analyses of the now little read literary works are particularly useful."

T. D. Green. *French Studies* 52.4 (Oct. 1998): 487–88.

Crazy Horse

Crazy Horse. Larry McMurtry. New York: Lipper/Viking, 1998. 148 pp. $19.95.

"McMurtry, a widely read and cosmopolitan man despite his reputation as a western writer, has an uncanny ability to strip away the mental attic of book-learning and enter imaginatively into the minds of Indians who may have seen once from a distance a white town of a single dusty street lined by a dozen wood-framed buildings; who believe that buffalo first emerged from a hole in the earth and may well have returned, possibly in pique; and who theorize interestingly about the reasons of white men for the things they do. What is striking about McMurtry's Indians is that they do not seem

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at all hampered or limited, but simply to be operating with minds differently furnished. It is a wonderful gift, and it has helped McMurtry to create Indian characters wholly free of any taint of dime novels or Hollywood. . . . But readers should not expect to find a richly imagined version of Crazy Horse in McMurtry's small (141 pages of text) life of the legendary warrior. The problem, in McMurtry's view, is that the firsthand sources on the life of Crazy Horse are few, those few are thin, and even thin as they are they often contradict each other."

Thomas Powers. *NYRB*, Mar. 18, 1999: 26.

"This is fine writing and suggests once again that history and biography can best be restored by the creative imagination. This central point needs to be restated for writers as well as readers. The truest biographies are those that are the most engaging and inventive, style precedes fact."

Peter Ackroyd. *NYTBR*, Jan. 10, 1999: 4.

D'Annunzio, Gabriele

Gabriele D'Annunzio: Defiant Archangel. John Woodhouse. Oxford: Clarendon/Oxford UP, 1998. 406 pp. $45.00.

"Woodhouse dose not palliate D'Annunzio's betrayals of virtually everyone he dealt with. He denied the contributions of collaborators and translators, cheated creditors, plagiarized freely, and left behind him a trail of broken women lapsing into drunkenness or drugs. Woodhouse thinks the stimuli provided by this predatory life were necessary to D'Annunzio's work (he even pardons some of the plagiarism as creative in its adaptation of the original). Woodhouse's previous scholarship has largely been devoted to the relationship between D'Annunzio's work and the English Pre-Raphaelite poets or decadent authors, on which (as one would expect) his book is particularly enlightening."

Garry Wills. *NYRB*, Mar. 4, 1999: 6.

Defoe, Daniel

Daniel Defoe: The Life and Strange, Surprising Adventures. Richard West. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998. 446 pp. $26.00.

"This lively book rambles across the England of Daniel Defoe (1660–1730), that realm of fops, rogues, merchants, sailors, unctuous divines and fugitive pamphleteers. Richard West, a British journalist, tracks Defoe's career by the books he left scattered along the way. . . . Without posturing, this traditional life-and-times approach raises critical questions about a writer who packed his books with partisan judgments but whose own life can only be reconstructed from asides in those same books."

Allen D. Boyer. *NYTBR*, Jan. 24, 1999: 18.

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Dirac, Paul

Paul Dirac: The Man and His Work. Peter Goddard. New York: Cambridge UP, 1998. 224 pp. $19.95.

"Paul Dirac, one of quantum mechanics' founders, is among the greatest physicists ever. This small volume of four lectures delivered in Westminster Abbey during the dedication of a plaque in Dirac's honor captures the relation between his personality and his science via a mosaic of historical recollections and scientific reviews. . . . Probably the reason behind the long-lasting effects of Dirac's contributions to physics is his belief that 'if one is working from the point of view of getting beauty in one's equations, and if one has really sound insights, one is on a sure line of progress.'"

Chiara R. Nappi. *American Scientist* 86.5 (Sept.-Oct. 1998): 482–83.

Doubrovsky, Serge

Laissé pour conte. Serge Doubrovsky. Paris: Grasset, 1998. 442 pp. 138F.

While settling accounts with his psychoanalyst, Doubrovsky, in an "autofiction," a patchwork of scattered memories, "a saraband of scraps and fragments strolling about in one's head," "a fiction of facts and events strictly real," reveals his ultimate motive: to change his failures into triumphs, and assuage through writing the pains inflicted by life.

Jean-Luc Douin. *Le Monde des Livres,* Jan. 15, 1999: 3.

Drier, Mary. See **Collections: Women Labor Activists.**

Dunphy, Myles and Milo. See **Collections: Australian Environmentalists.**

Duras, Marguerite. See **Collections: Autobiographies of Women Writers.**

Edison, Thomas

Edison: A Life of Invention. Paul Israel. New York: Wiley, 1998. 552 pp. $30.00.

"Undoubtedly Edison was a genius. Yet according to Israel, this is as much for the way Edison systematically perfected each invention as for the inventions themselves. . . . The Edison Israel describes is a complicated figure, a man with an interest in original thinkers of his day. . . . But Israel's account excludes figures like the inventor Nicola Tesla, who worked for Edison when he first came to America and blamed Edison for his frustrations in selling the superiority of alternating current. The apparent decsion to limit this narrative to evidence from the voluminous papers in the Edison archive narrows Israel's biography, making it very much like a memoir written by a wise and sympathetic observer."

Bettyann Holtzmann Kevles. *Science* 282, No. 5396 (Dec. 11, 1998): 1997–98.

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Equiano, Olaudah

An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745–1797. James Walvin. London: Cassell, 1999. 205 pp. £25.00.

"James Walvin's biography of Equiano is the first life of a black eighteenth century figure. . . . Drawing on new information . . . Walvin does not gloss over aspects of Equiano's life that must snag contemporary readers' heroic estimate of him. . . . [A] disappointing feature of *An African's Life* . . . is Walvin's limited discussion of his subject's literariness."

Sukhdev Sandhu. *TLS*, Feb. 5, 1999: 4.

Ferraro, Geraldine A.

Framing a Life: A Family Memoir. Geraldine A. Ferraro with Catherine Whitney. New York: Scribner, 1998. 224 pp. $24.00.

"[This] is a loving salute from Geraldine Ferraro (D. NY) to her grandmother, mother and all immigrants whose sacrifices opened doors for their daughters."

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 16.5 (Feb. 1999): 6–7.

Fitzgerald, Edward

Citizen Lord: The Life of Edward Fitzgerald, Irish Revolutionary. Stella Tillyard. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1998. 337 pp. $30.00.

"She succeeds magnificently in conveying the particular intoxication of Lord Edward's hidden world, and she explains lucidly how in suppressing it 'the government created something much more dangerous: a secret and exciting world of rumours and revolutionary cells.' As Tillyard reminds us, conspiracy and fear, treachery and double-dealing were habits of mind that had governed Ireland for centuries."

Fiona MacCarthy. *NYRB*, Mar. 18, 1999: 49.

Frame, Janet. See **Collections: Autobiographies of Women Writers.**

French, Marilyn

A Season in Hell: A Memoir. Marilyn French. New York: Knopf, 1998. 225 pp. $23.00.

"French, so strong in fighting spirit and blessed with a passion for life and a clarity of purpose, is aged by this illness in multiple ways. . . . [The book] too often devolves into a recording of the pedestrian details of everyday life (the hospital food is bad, the Berkshires lovely)."

Kathleen Woodward. *Women's Review of Books* 16.4 (Jan. 1999): 2–3.

Frick, Henry Clay

Henry Clay Frick: An Intimate Portrait. Martha Frick Symington Sanger. London: Abbeville/John Murray, 1998. 599 pp. £35.00.

". . . Sanger tries to get under the skin of her great grandfather." She "gives an even handed and lucid account of her forebear's business

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career. . . . It is when Sanger investigates Frick's private life, and his collecting, that her account goes off the rails."

James Hall. *TLS*, Feb. 12, 1999: 29.

Frost, Robert

Robert Frost: A Life. Jay Parini. New York: Henry Holt, 1998. 514 pp. London: Heinemann, 1998. $35.00.

"This newest arrival on the Frost shelf, written in measured prose, keeps the central focus on the life, but also, as the years pass and the poetry begins to move and live with the slow and sober and ultimately unmistakable Frostian ground-music, brings a confident and quite often valuable eye to individual lyrics and stanzas."

Don Coles. *Globe and Mail*, Mar. 27, 1999: D13.

"Parini's prose is generally reined in, and his character judgements are cautious, but these things have their value. They allow a calm to fall over the whole of Frost's story, and create loyal connections between its various points and performances."

Andrew Motion. *TLS*, Jan. 29, 1999: 29.

Gandhi, Mohandas Karenchad

Gandhi: Aux sources de la non-violence. Ramin Jahambegloo. Paris: Editions du Félin, 1998. 190 pp. 129F.

This study shows that if Gandhi was influenced by some major texts from his own people's culture like the Bhagavad Gītā (discovered when he studied in London), he also read the New Testament, Arnold's popular poem *The Light of Asia*, and corresponded with Thoreau, Ruskin, and Tolstoi, who all three must be counted among the sources of his philosophy of nonviolence: in short, the Mahatma is an exemplary cultural hybrid.

Roger-Pol Droit. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 8, 1999: 5.

Garson, Greer

A Rose for Mrs. Miniver: The Life of Greer Garson. Michael Troyan. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1998. 440 pp. $25.00.

"Troyan's narrative is jumpy and lacks insight, but film buffs will enjoy learning the inside story behind Garson's many memorable performances, including 'Pride and Prejudice,' 'Random Harvest,' and 'That Forsyte Woman.'"

Diane Cole. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 17.

Gray, Cleve

Cleve Gray. Nicholas Fox Weber. New York: Abrams, 1998. 168 pp. $39.95.

"Written as a continuing encounter among artist, author and several barnloads of paintings, this monograph is unusual both in its frankly

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informal tone and its subordination of the work to the worries of the maker."

Andrea Barnet. *NYTBR*, Jan. 3, 1999: 14.

Guilloux, Louis

Louis Guilloux. Yves Loisel. Spezet, Finistère: Kerangwenn, 1998. 288 pp. 148F.

"Malraux once wrote that Louis Guilloux "aimed at bringing out the greatness of the humbled." True, this humanistic franc-tireur, often praised by the critics without gaining the same amount of favor among the public, always remained in the fringe of a society which he never forgave for the sufferings of his childhood. On the occasion of the centenary of his birth (1899), this first biography of the author of *Sang Noir* [Black Blood] is at once rich and fervent.

Pierre Drachline. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 15, 1999: 4.

Hahn, Emily

Nobody Said Not To Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn. Ken Cuthbertson. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1999. 383 pp. $29.95.

"Hahn, who died in 1997 at the age of 92 . . . translated her single-mindedness into a globetrotting, 52-book career that spanned seven decades and crisscrossed continents—though it seems never to have made her a household name, a point Canadian writer Ken Cuthbertson manages to skirt in his absorbing if somewhat breathless new biography."

Kathleen Byrne. *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 13, 1999: D15.

Hickok, Lorena. See **Roosevelt, Eleanor.**

Hirschfeld, Al

Hirschfeld On Line. Mel Gussow. New York: Applause Theatre Books, 1998. 320 pp. $49.95.

"'Hirschfeld on Line' contains more than 400 drawings, paintings and photographs, augmented by Hirschfeld's joyous, illuminating, and often droll commentary. Mel Gussow contributes an engaging biography of the artist, and there are lively essays by Arthur Miller, Kurt Vonnegut, Grace Mirabella, Whoopi Goldberg and Hirschfeld's daughter, Nina, who discusses what it's like to be a name in a poster."

Leila Hadley. *NYTBR*, Mar. 7, 1999: 19.

Hitler, Adolf

Hitler, 1889–1936: Hubris. Ian Kershaw. New York: Norton, 1998. 845 pp. $35.00.

"Hitler's success, concludes Kershaw, was neither the result of a special path of German history nor the achievement of a rare political genius. It was due at least as much to the misjudgements of the political managers of the day as it was to some innate talent or mysterious

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quality of leadership. . . . [H]is career is a depressing tale, as well as a warning. This is one of those important books of our times, which should be widely read."

Michael R. Marrus. *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 30, 1999: D16, D11.

"[In] the first volume of Ian Kershaw's biography . . . the Nazi leader is never far from the center of the stage, and [it] is written in a prose that is clear and direct and a pleasure to read. There can be little doubt that this will become the classic Hitler biography of our time, not only because of the author's mastery of the source and of the staggeringly voluminous secondary literature, but because he has corrected and amplified the historical record and significantly altered the perspective from which Hitler and his actions have been seen by previous biographers."

Gordon A. Craig. *NYRB*, Mar. 18, 1999: 32.

"During this period [1889–1936], Hitler moved from aimless anonymity to the dictatorship of a nation that embraced his leadership. In this, the first of a projected two-volume work, Kershaw paints a large and rich portrait of both that movement and that embrace."

Walter Reich. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 8–9.

"[Kershaw's] new book is the first long volume of what will be a two-volume life, and when the project is finished it will arguably become the standard, as close to definitive as anything we are likely to see."

Jane Kramer. *The New Yorker*, Mar. 8, 1999: 87–91.

AND *Hitler's Vienna: A Dictator's Apprenticeship*. Brigitte Harmann. Trans. Thomas Thornton. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. 452 pp. $35.00.

"Among the most enduring and vexing conundrums of Hitler's career is when, how and why Hitler acquired his lethal hatred of Jews. Despite Kershaw's and Harmann's strenuous efforts, the answer remains out of reach, although both authors bring us closer. . . . Kershaw has written an informative but confused book. The combination of biography with social history is useful in places but is too often broken up by separate, lengthy commentaries on social conditions and marred all too frequently by chronological and thematic incoherence."

Peter Hoffman. *LATBR*, Feb. 21, 1999: 6–7.

Hitler: Diagnosis of a Destructive Prophet. Fritz Redlich. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 422 pp. $35.00.

"Redlich proceeds fairly, sensibly, and with a great deal of humility, admitting that his own judgments are often speculative and merely one piece in this complicated jigsaw puzzle. . . . Sticking too closely to his empirical data and being overly cautious of venturing beyond it, Redlich leaves us begging for more information, stronger judgments and, above all, for more compelling explanations that could tell us

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just how Hitler's medical and psychological conditions turned him into the most destructive monster of the 20th century."

Klaus P. Fischer. *LATBR*, Feb. 21, 1999: 7.

Horthy, Miklós

Hungary's Admiral on Horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918–1944. Thomas Sakmyster. New York: Columbia UP. 476 pp. $59.00.

"During Horthy's tenure, Hungary was still officially a kingdom, but it had no king—the last king, who was the last Hapsburg emperor as well, went into exile in 1919. Although Horthy always wore his Hapsburg admiral's uniform, Hungary no longer had a navy, since it had been cut-off from the Adriatic Sea by the post-World War I peace treaties. This regent without a king and admiral without a fleet often attended public events on a white stallion—hence the title of University of Cincinnati historian Thomas Sakmyster's informative and often wryly humorous book *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback*. The most important work on Horthy to date, Sakmyster's study, like most discussions of Horthy, makes much of the paradoxes and ambiguities of his life and political career."

István Deak. *NYRB*, Apr. 8, 1999: 53.

Jackson, John Hughlings

John Hughlings Jackson, Father of English Neurology. Macdonald Critchley and Eileen Critchley. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998. 228 pp. £39.50.

"...an odd and frustrating biography.... In places it is maddeningly uninformative.... The pleasure of *John Hughlings Jackson* comes from the Critchleys' fondness for the man. He was clearly an intriguing and endearing character."

Alexander Masters. *TLS*, Mar. 5, 1999: 36.

Jigme Lingpa

Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary, a Translation and Study of Jigme Lingpa's Dancing Moon in the Water *and* Dakki's Grand Secret-Talk. Jig-Med-Glin Pa. Trans. Janet Gyatso. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998. 360 pp. $30.50.

"It is only one of the many virtues of Janet Gyatso's *Apparations of the Self* that it gives us, at last, a full portrait of a Buddhist saint in all his self-admitted complexity and ambiguity: sometimes full of self-confidence, sometimes self-conscious and uncertain, sometimes ecstatically selfless—and nearly always attempting to define himself against the background of the paradigmatic assumption that there is no self to define.... The second part ... argues persuasively that (1) Tibet is unique among Asian civilizations in the richness of its autobiographical writing; (2) the importance of autobiography in Tibet may be traced to 'a competitive climate in which the personal

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accomplishments of the individual religious master became a centerpiece in the struggle to establish a lineage and eventually an institution and a power base' . . . and (3) the occurrence of autobiography in a cultural setting quite different from the West provides grounds for both the revision and expansion of Western literary-critical theories of the genre. . . . [Gyatso] is able to present traditional Tibetan understandings alongside modern readings, without confusing one for the other."

Roger Jackson. *JAS* 57.4 (Nov. 1998): 1145–47.

Johnson, Samuel

Samuel Johnson: The Life of an Author. Lawrence Lipking. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999. 372 pp. $35.00/£21.95.

"The burden of Lawrence Lipking's biography is that Johnson was never the authority figure that some liked to think—the embodiment of literary conservatism. Instead his life was that of an 'oppressed, ambitious,' challenger of literary proprieties. . . . As Lipking points out, [Johnson] was 'largely an autodidact.' This gives any page of the *Dictionary* its energy: the illustrative passages are from his own reading—many (including misquotations) from his own memory. . . . Before Johnson, great literature was in Latin and Greek; after Johnson, it could be in English. . . . If the Eng. Lit. that we now teach or study is Johnson's legacy, so should be the vividness with which he experienced it."

John Mullan. *Guardian Weekly*, Mar. 21, 1999: 29.

AND *Samuel Johnson.* W. Jackson Bate. Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint., 1998. 646 pp. $25.00.

"Having started by saying he aims to write about Johnson the author rather than Johnson the man, and that this is to be achieved 'not by going outside his writings but by going more deeply inside them,' [Lipking] nevertheless has some harsh things to say about critics who see going inside the text as the only function of criticism. He finds that their arguments 'do not hold up against a searching logical or historical analysis,' and he tries to see authorship 'through Johnson's eyes.' . . . We are also told of Lipking's debt to W. Jackson Bate, whose biography of Johnson, first published in 1975 and now reissued, opens with Pythagoras' warning against 'valuing any part of my experience and rejecting the rest.' This is not a clash of opposites but a meeting of minds. Lipking works from the inside out, from the text to the experience, and Bate works the other way around. Neither doubts the validity of the other's approach. Both see Johnson as a towering figure, Bate because of the man's 'heroic personal battle . . . his precarious but triumphant victory against immense odds' and Lipking because of the author's continuing relevance to each succeeding generation."

Derek Jarrett. *NYRB*, Mar. 18, 1999: 39.

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Jordan, Barbara

Barbara Jordan: American Hero. Mary Beth Rogers. New York: Bantam, 1998. 414 pp. $27.50.

"[This is] a major work. . . . [T]he late Representative has a reflective biographer seeking to understand her complex subject and a writer who smoothly marshals the fruits of her research."

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 16.5 (Feb. 1999): 6–7.

Jordan, Michael

Playing for Keeps: Michael Jordan and the World He Made. David Halberstam. New York: Random House, 1998. 436 pp. $24.95.

"...Halberstam over all has succeeded in lending perspective to the world Michael Jordan both made and inherited, as well as portraying Michael Jordan the man and not the icon, guiding us, in effect, beyond the Bosphorus."

Ira Berkow. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 11.

Kennedy, Robert Fitzgerald

RFK: A Candid Biography of Robert F. Kennedy. C. David Heymann. New York: Dutton, 1998. 596 pp. $27.95.

"Heymann embraces the myth that if Robert Kennedy had lived we would not have seen the Nixon and Reagan Presidencies. I don't think that's likely. . . . But such historical judgments are certainly debatable, and Heymann's interpretation of Robert Kennedy's political career is defensible. What is not defensible is the way he deals with the rest of Kennedy's life."

John Judis. *NYTBR*, Jan. 3, 1999: 26.

Kerouac, Jack

Jack Kerouac, King of the Beats: A Portrait. Barry Miles. New York: Henry Holt, 1998. 332 pp. $25.00.

"Biography at its best involves a love affair, even a marriage, between author and subject, an arduous, lengthy collaboration in which the biographer both discovers and receives meaning. As practiced by Barry Miles in 'Jack Kerouac, King of the Beats,' however, biography is more like a one-night stand, an act of exploitation in which the subject loses much of the value that presumably made the book worthwhile in the first place."

Ann Douglas. *NYTBR*, Jan. 24, 1999: 21.

Kipling, Rudyard

The Unforgiving Minute: A Life of Rudyard Kipling. Harry Ricketts. London: Chatto and Windus, 1999. 434 pp. £25.00.

"Harry Ricketts' new biography of Kipling rarely goes where previous biographers . . . haven't gone before, but it answers" the critical question of why Kipling's literary reputation diminished so much in

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his lifetime "succinctly in prose that is stylishly and accessibly written."

Elizabeth Lowry. *TLS*, Feb. 19, 1999: 3–4.

Kissinger, Henry

Years of Renewal. Henry Kissinger. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999. 1,151 pp. $35.00.

"Kissinger has something to say to us today, though maybe not 1,151 pages worth. Buried in these accounts of SALT and Sihanouk and Schmidt are some important lessons about statecraft and leadership that speak to us even now. . . . But there is still the manipulating, Machiavellian Kissinger you recall so vividly."

David M. Shribman. *Globe and Mail*, Mar. 20, 1999: D15.

Kiyota, Minoru

Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei. Minoru Kiyota. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1997. 252 pp. $40.00 cloth, $24.00 paper.

"Kiyota is a *kibei* born in Seattle, reared in San Francisco, and educated for four years between the ages of 11 and 15 in Hiratsuka, southwest of Tokyo. The excruciating dilemmas imposed on Japanese-Americans by the United States government during World War II form the context in which Kiyota's life was shaped. . . . The hypocrisy of lessons on the Bill of Rights in a barracks schoolroom behind barbed wire and guard towers was impossible to endure. About one-half of the book explores his reactions to life: Tanforan, Topaz, and Tule Lake, culminating in his renunciation of American citizenship. In a matter of months, Kiyota realized this was a mistake made in the heat of passion. . . . This is a fascinating account, readable and valuable, for anyone interested in Asian Americans, World War II, the occupation of Japan, and the impact of nationalism and demands for political loyalty on individual identities."

Franklin S. Odo. *JAS* 57.3 (Aug. 1998): 885–86.

Koestler, Arthur

Arthur Koestler: The Homeless Mind. David Cesarani. London: Heinemann, 1999. 646 pp. $35.00.

"Cesarani's dislike of Arthur Koestler is unconcealed. . . . [Cesarani] starts dismissing Koestler's own accounts of incidents in his own life as dishonest, except those which suit his [Cesarani's] purpose, which is often to put Koestler in a bad light." "Koestler was, after all, a prodigious intellect, at his best a superb writer, a 20th-century colossus who probably influenced international events, through his writing, to an immeasurable degree. *Darkness at Noon* (1940) awoke the world to the evils of Stalin's Soviet Union; it wrenched legions of communists and fellow-travelers away from their illusory fealty . . . but Koestler was also a bully, a violent and irresponsible drunk . . . [a]nd he was a

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rapist." "[I]n the end what we have in this book is a compelling invitation to contemplate the human condition."

Patrick Watson. *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 6, 1999: D10.

Kriegel-Valrimont, Maurice

Mémoires rebelles. Maurice Kriegel-Valrimont. Entretiens avec Olivier Biffaud. Paris: Odile Jacob, 1998. 272 pp. 140F.

Antifascist between the wars, arrested by the Nazis as a Resistance fighter (then escaping successfully), fellow traveller then member of the Communist party, then dissident (recently rehabilitated), Kriegel-Valrimont's commitment is exemplary on more than one account. Today, this young rebel of 84 still thinks of the future. But regrettably, he never examines in his past the link between "communism" and "totalitarianism," or the degree of moral complicity of the militants.

Robert Frank. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 5, 1999: 7.

Lawrence, T. E.

Lawrence: The Uncrowned King of Arabia. Michael Asher. Sydney: Penguin, 1998. 418 pp. $45.00 Aus.

"The result is an admirably thoughtful and sensitive biography, lucid and fastmoving, that contains more than a few surprises. It deals comprehensively with the military, historical and political events that shaped the Arab revolt against centuries of Turkish oppression in which Lawrence's role was undoubtedly important. . . . Lawrence was not an imaginary hero, [Asher] writes, but a real man with a real blend of strengths and weaknesses and a unique blend of qualities that was exactly what was required at a certain moment in history to bring the Arab revolt to success."

Red Harrison. *Weekend Australian*, Feb. 27–28, 1999: 12.

Lerner, Max

Max Lerner: Pilgrim in the Promised Land. Sanford Lakoff. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 344 pp. £19.95.

This is an "informative though finally unsatisfying portrait of Lerner. . . . It is a pity that Lasker's straightforward account of Lerner's life and ideas does not attempt some comparative intellectual history."

Mitchell Cohen. *TLS*, Mar. 5, 1999: 31.

Lessing, Doris

La Marche dans l'Ombre [Walking in the Shade]. Doris Lessing. Trans. Anne Rabinovitch. Paris: Albin Michel, 1998. 468 pp. 150F.

Covering the fifties and the early sixties, this volume evokes the novelist's intensely creative London years, her political commitment, and the amorous whirl in which she lived at the time. Lessing's narrative is vigorous, if now and then unmethodical, but never boring.

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Striking is her stubborn quest for truth (by nature elusive) in reviving a bygone world and her own past self.

Raphaëlle Rérolle. *Le Monde des Livres*, Nov. 27, 1998: 7.

Levi, Primo

Primo Levi: Tragedy of an Optimist. Myriam Anissimov. Trans. Steve Cox. Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 1998. 452 pp. $37.95.

"In one sense, Primo Levi has little to offer a biographer. He lived an unremarkable professional and private life, save for twenty months, and he used his many books and essays to narrate and depict the life that he did live. If you want to know what he did, what he thought, and how he felt, you have only to read him. As a result, any retelling of his 'life and works' risks ending in a self-defeating effort to reorder and paraphrase Levi's own writings. And that is just what Myriam Anissimov has done in her new account of Levi, which has already appeared in French and Italian to mixed reviews. Some mistakes of fact in the Italian and French editions have been cleared up, and the English translation, while unexciting, is readable and contains much information. But Anissimov's prose is uninspired and mechanical. Her lengthy narrative of his life is a choppy mix of long excerpts and rewordings from Levi himself interspersed with clunky and inadequate summaries of 'context.'"

Tony Judt. *NYRB*, May 20, 1999: 31.

"Anissimov's book, now appearing in a shortened English translation, provides a serious, lively, at times fervently told story that is always sympathetic to Levi's shy personality and restrained tone."

Victor Brombert. *NYTBR*, Jan. 24, 1999: 6–7.

Lewinsky, Monica

Monica's Story. Andrew Morton. London: St. Martin's, 1999. 288 pp. $25.00.

"Morton's appreciation of Lewinsky's sensitivity is so acute that he appears to think she is a latter-day saint and martyr. . . . The biography falls apart altogether when Morton attempts to arouse sympathy for Lewinsky."

Lynn Crosbie. *Globe and Mail*, Mar. 6, 1999: D17.

Lorca, Federico Garcia

Lorca: A Dream of Life. Leslie Stainton. London: Bloomsbury, 1999. 568 pp. £20.00.

The reviewer finds this book not terribly different from Ian Gibson's book, *Federico Lorca: A Life* (1996). "Much of Stainton's Lorca reads as though she is simply putting Gibson's account into her own words, although her book is, in fact, meticulously sourced. . . . Occasionally, Stainton does provide fresh material."

Landeg White. *TLS*, Mar. 12, 1999: 7.

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Lovestone, Jay

A Covert Life, Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-communist, and Spymaster. Ted Morgan. New York: Random House, 1999. 402 pp. $29.95.

"Morgan is a popular, not scholarly biographer, and there are moments in 'A Covert Life,' in discussing the arcana of the left and the unions, when he gets out of his depth."

Paul Berman. *NYTBR*, Mar. 28, 1999: 11.

Loy, Rosetta

Madame della Seta aussi est juive [La parola ebreo]. Rosetta Loy. Trans. Françoise Brun. Paris: Rivages, 1998. 170 pp. 99F.

The great novelist has written an autobiography, in which, beyond her own person, she analyzes the behavior of the Italians under fascist rule, shows how the antisemitic virus gradually spread through the social organism, and points out the overwhelming responsibilty of the church, especially Pope Pius XII, who contrarily to Pius XI ("There is only one human race") applauded Hitler's policy and victories.

Renéde Ceccatty. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 8, 1999: 6.

Luther, Martin

Martin Luther: The Christian between God and Death. Richard Marius. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999. 532 pp. $35.00.

"Marius concentrates his attention on what Luther wrote and did in the fertile decade that began in 1515 with his lectures on the Psalms and ended in his great quarrel with Erasmus over the issue of freedom of the will in 1525. . . . Luther is not a pleasant subject for meditation—particularly in his writings against Jews and peasants—but Marius shows that he's a necessary one. Luther's great fears and doubts made him as unforgiving as his opponents and as bloodthirsty for vengeance as any ayatollah in our time, and it's important to remember this."

T. F. Rigelhof. *Globe and Mail*, Mar. 20, 1999: D10.

MacDonald, Jeanette

Hollywood Diva: A Biography of Jeanette MacDonald. Edward Barron Turk. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 450 pp. $35.00.

"MacDonald's biographer . . . tells this story . . . with affection and considerable narrative flair. Turk writes with fluency and panache. . . . Turk's research sets a new standard for excellence. . . . He has written a provocative, entertaining and authoritative book."

Emily Wortis Leider. *LATBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 5.

"He [Turk] has done such thorough research that it occasionally causes head scratching—do we really need to know that MacDonald's future husband hated eggplant? However, Turk's passion for the material is contagious."

Ted Loos. *NYTBR*, Feb. 21, 1999: 21.

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MacDonald, Ross (Kenneth Millar)

Ross MacDonald: A Biography. Tom Nolan. New York: Scribner, 1999. 496 pp. $32.00.

"Earnest admiration is perhaps not the most fruitful point of view from which to write a stimulating biography, and this one, not surprisingly, is somewhat stiff in the joints. Still, Nolan, who reviews mystery fiction for the Wall Street Journal, knows his stuff, and anyone wanting to know anything about the life of Kenneth Millar, from his unhappy days as a juvenile delinquent in Canada to the desperately sad decline of his late middle age—Alzheimer's disease put an end to his writing career seven years before his death—will find it here, set forth clearly and methodically."

Terry Teachout. *NYTBR*, Mar. 14, 1999: 19.

Mahler-Werfel, Alma

Diaries 1898-1902. Alma Mahler-Werfel. Ed. and trans. Anthony Beaumont. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999. 494 pp. $35.00.

"The 'Diaries,' despite Anthony Beaumont's often ungrammatical translation, offer an incisive portrait of a young *femme fatale* and a vivid eyewitness account of endearing and enervating turn-of-the-century Vienna."

John Simon. *NYTBR*, Mar. 28, 1999: 14–15.

McGough, Sheila

The Crime of Sheila McGough. Janet Malcolm. New York: Knopf, 1999. 164 pp. $22.00.

"[As] 'The Crime of Sheila McGough' reminds us, no other writer tells better stories about the perpetual, the unwinnable, battle between narrative and truth."

Margaret Talbot. *NYTBR*, Feb. 7, 1999: 6.

"... as the author examines the uneasy relationship between the law's search for 'the whole truth' and its need for a coherent narrative, the reader is convinced—and ultimately unsettled—by her Orwellian formulation."

The New Yorker, Mar. 8, 1999: 89.

McGregor, Ewan

Choose Life: Ewan McGregor and the British Film Revival. Xan Brooks. London: Andre Deutsch, 1998. 268 pp. £9.99.

Ewan McGregor. Brian Pendreigh. London: Orion, 1998. 256 pp. £16.99.

Choose Life is "an uneasy hybrid, whereas Brian Pendreigh's wittily written and absorbing account of McGregor's life better captures the actor's significance to current British cinema without trying as hard."

Stella Bruzzi. *Sight and Sound* 9.2 (Feb. 1999): 32.

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Mead, Margaret

The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead. Derek Freeman. New York: Westwood, 1999. 279 pp. $24.00.

"In 1983, [Freeman] published *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth,* in which he raised serious doubts about the validity of Mead's contention that in Samoa young people enjoyed unbridled sexual activity." In *The Fateful Hoaxing,* Freeman's "plea for a more profound and objective examination of Mead's research methods is as persuasive as it was originally."

Phyllis Grosskurth. *Globe and Mail,* Feb. 20, 1999: D15.

Michelangelo

Three Worlds of Michelangelo. James Beck. New York: Norton, 1999. 269 pp. $25.95.

"He [Beck] weaves a smoothly flowing, seductive narrative, supplying dialogue through an inventive use of Tuscan proverbs and filling voids in the record with common-sense argument. . . . But a good narrative is not to be confused with good history, and the reader should be on the alert when confronting the many 'must have's,' 'may have's,' 'could have's,' 'might have's' and 'would have's' that allow suppositions to be woven into the gossamer tissue of facts."

Patricia Fortini Brown. *NYTBR,* Mar. 14, 1999: 26.

Mitterand, François

Mitterand, une histoire de Français. I. Les risques de l'escalade. II. Les vertiges du sommet. Jean Lacouture. Paris: Seuil, 1998. I. 434 pp. II. 626 pp. 135F each volume.

This book comes too late (we have already had an avalance of "immediate biographies") and too early to be some sort of definitive biography: Lacouture borrowed a lot (openly), investigated little, brings out few new facts. That is why, in spite of his talent, the reader feels ill at ease. In his foreword, the author claims "neither exhaustiveness nor perenniality" for his book, a kind of judgment on the success of his bold challenge.

Jean-Yves Lhomeau. *Le Monde des Livres,* Sept. 18, 1998: 7.

Moliere

Moliere. Roger Duchene. Paris: Fayard, 1998. 789 pp. 180F.

La Carriere de Moliere Entre Protecteurs et Editeurs. C. E. J. Caldicott. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998. 224 pp. £30.00.

"Duchene is scrupulous in refusing to give credence to the Moliere legends. . . . Duchene's biography is sound, full and readable, and makes a serious contribution to Moliere studies." Caldicott examines "the fortunes of Moliere after his death." It urges "us to reevaluate him as a great courtier and a man of letters, not the traditional

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playright of the people . . . a useful reevaluation of many assumptions about the subject."

Maya Slater. *TLS*, Feb. 26, 1999: 4–5.

Molinari, Susan

Representative Mom. Susan Molinari with Elinor Burkett. New York: Doubleday, 1998. 291 pp. $23.95.

"[This breezy memoir] has too many cliches. [It] shows 'a young woman in a hurry' who liked being 'the wiseass kid in that sea of Democrats' on New York's city council."

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 16.5 (Feb. 1999): 6–7.

Monroe, Marilyn

Marilyn Monroe. Barbara Leaming. New York: Crown, 1998. 448 pp. $27.50.

"Leaming, who has written biographies of Orson Welles and Katherine Hepburn, portrays a woman who both resisted and exploited her own commodification. Her Marilyn is less a sweetheart than a manipulator —someone who is concerned with the effect of her actions rather than the personal fallout from those actions."

Daphne Merkin. *The New Yorker*, Feb. 8, 1999: 72–79.

Morgan, Junius Pierpont

Morgan: American Financier. Jean Strouse. New York: Random House, 1999. 816 pp. $34.95.

"No one else has told the story of Pierpont Morgan in the detail, depth and understanding of Jean Strouse, who spent nearly a decade searching for the living truth behind the mythology of Morganalia."

Robert Heilbroner. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 3.

"Strouse skillfully interweaves Pierpont's story with those of other giants of the era—Carnegie, Vanderbilt, Rockefeller, Jay Gould, and Harriman—together with the presidents and monarchs and art dealers with whom he consorted—among them Grover Cleveland and Teddy Roosevelt, Edward VII, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Bernard Berenson. If she is a bit of a collector herself of facts, statistics, curiosities, her method captures the increasing clutter of Pierpont's life."

Robert Skidelsky. *NYRB*, May 6, 1999: 4–7.

"Strouse's solidly researched biography draws, she informs us, on an enormous archive of Morganalia that previous biographers hadn't the temerity to crack. She debunks many of the errors propagated by both hagiographers and muckrakers and elucidates in ample detail Morgan's financial maneuverings (readers without an interest in business and financial history may find some of the material wearisome)."

Richard Lingeman. *NYTBR*, Mar. 28, 1999: 7–8.

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Mungin, Lawrence

The Good Black: A True Story of Race in America. Paul M. Barrett. New York: Dutton, 1998. 296 pp. $23.95.

"...a riveting and heart-rending book. Barrett, who roomed with his subject in law school, skillfully and dispassionately tells Mungin's story in 'The Good Black,' with chapters alternating among present, recent past, and distant past."

Richard D. Kallenberg. *NYTBR*, Jan. 3, 1999: 13.

Murdoch, Iris

Elegy for Iris. John Bayley. London: St. Martin's, 1999. 275 pp. $22.95.

"Iris Murdoch, the great English novelist who died February 8, 1999, was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in 1994. To rescue something of what she was losing, her husband, literary critic John Bayley, published shortly before her death a memoir of his much-loved wife in which he rebuilds, with great care, humour and tenderness, the life Murdoch forgot and which for more than 40 years belonged to both of them."

Alberto Manguel. *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 13, 1999: D16.

Mussolini, Benito

Mussolini L'Alleato. Vol. 2. *La Guerra Civile, 1943–5.* Renzo de Felice. Torino: Einaudi, 1998. 768 pp. 100,000 lire.

"...one of the longest and strangest of biographies . . . his portrait of Mussolini is profoundly eccentric. . . . Paradox is the most striking feature of de Felice's disorderly magnum opus, its portrait of Mussolini and of his policies are its weakest elements."

MacGregor Knox. *TLS*, Feb. 26, 1999: 3–4.

Newman, Pauline. See **Collections: Women Labor Activists.**

Nietzsche, Friedrich, and Richard Wagner

Nietzsche and Wagner: A Lesson in Subjugation. Joachim Köhler. Trans. Ronald Taylor. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 186 pp. $25.00.

"How does Nietzsche's passion for, and passionate rejection of, Richard Wagner and all his works connect with his madness, and how do these connect with the attraction his work held for generations of violent anti-Semitic reactionaries? It is not clear that Joachim Köhler's engaging and vivid book, in a fluid translation by Ronald Taylor, can quite answer that question, but it sheds some light on it."

Alan Ryan. *NYTBR*, Jan. 24, 1999: 9.

Nureyev, Rudolf

Nureyev: His Life. Diane Solvag. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998. 625 pp. £20.00.

"Nureyev is at its worst in the first quarter of the book, the Russian

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years. . . . Solvag has obtained official documents unseen before in the West. The material, however, is useless in the hands of someone who has essentially no feeling for history."

Wendy Lesser. *TLS*, Jan. 1, 1999: 27.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life. Desley Deacon. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. 520 pp. $29.95.

"Deacon builds an effective case that Elise Clews Parsons was an exceptional woman. Born into the New York elite, Elsie obtained a doctorate from Columbia in 1899 and married politican Herbert Parsons in 1900. Married and the mother of four children, Parsons taught sociology at Barnard through two of her pregnancies, aligned herself with anthropologist Franz Boas, and became known for her fieldwork in the American Southwest. In the year of her death she became the first woman to preside over the American Anthropological Association."

Carol Kolmerten. *American Quarterly* 50.4 (Dec. 1998): 856–57.

Pesotta, Rose. See **Collections: Women Labor Activists.**

Philip II

The Grand Strategy of Philip II. Geoffrey Parker. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 446 pp. $35.00.

"Geoffrey Parker has already written extensively about Philip. His new book is not so much a biography, although it covers much of Philip's life in painstaking detail, as a consideration of the question: Did Philip II have a 'grand strategy' for holding the empire together, and, if so, what was it."

Anthony Pagden. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 18.

Pollack, Jackson

Jackson Pollack. Kirk Varnedoe and Pepe Karmel. New York: Museum of Modern Art/Abrams, 1998. 336 pp. $75.00.

"All these contradictory theories about the man and his work are scrupulously explored and evaluated in 'Jackson Pollack.'"

Evelyn Toynton. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 17.

Pomeau, René

Mémoires d'un siècle. Entre XIXe et XXIe. René Pomeau. Paris: Fayard, 1998. 550 pp. 150F.

Pomeau is not a star, he is a great universitarian, whose lifelong acquaintance with the eighteenth century resulted in a remarkable life of Voltaire. He was a Mandarin: mandarins were jeered at during our cultural revolutions, but Pomeau offers the other face of the mandarinate: its good-natured, smiling face as well as its austere energy, and a flamboyant passion for sharing one's knowledge.

Pierre Lepape. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 15, 1999: 2.

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Potter, Dennis

Dennis Potter: A Life on Screen. John R. Cook and Kenith Trodd. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998. 350 pp. £15.99.

Dennis Potter, Between Two Worlds: A Critical Reassessment. Glen Creeber. London: Macmillan, 1998. 212 pp. £19.99.

"Cook's second edition, containing additional material on the post-humous television series *Karaoke and Cold Lazarus,* is an exhaustive piece of criticism focused on Potter's dramas, reactions to them and biographical/historical detail. Creeber's book takes a more challenging approach, moving thematically rather than chronologically."

Stella Bruzzi. *Sight and Sound* 9.2 (Feb. 1999): 32.

Pound, Ezra and Dorothy

Letters in Captivity, 1945–1946. Ezra and Dorothy Pound. Ed. Omar Pound and Robert Spoo. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. 382 pp. $35.00.

"Most important, the letters elucidate the period in which Pound composed his 'Pisan Cantos,' some of his strongest work. When a letter contains the draft of a passage, the editors—Omar Pound, a translator, and Robert Spoo, who teaches English at the University of Tulsa—provide the finished text in the footnotes for comparison; in all, they have annotated 'Letters in Captivity' lovingly and well, so that the reader can glean each letter's significance and fully enjoy this glimpse into the Pounds' relationship and their quirky, often delicious prose."

Emily Barton. *NYTBR,* Mar. 14, 1999: 22.

Presley, Elvis

Careless Love: The Unmaking of Elvis Presley. Peter Guralnick. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998. 766 pp. $27.95/£19.99.

"He bridged the hard-edged, rhinestone and showgirl entertainment of Las Vegas and Frank Sinatra—with an emphasis on retinue and prescriptive drugs—and the more transcendental, less sociable approach of those that succeeded him, notably John Lennon. . . . Elvis in person emerges as expected: deferential and well-mannered, but trapped. . . . He lived by night—a strangely passive existence, despite the amphetamines—with endless reruns of Monty Python and bizarre attempts to assert himself. . . . Guralnick's extended description of the downfall contains the most revealing individual description of his subject from Marion Keisker, Sam Phillips's assistant when the 18-year-old Presley first entered the Sun recording studios: . . . 'Whatever you were looking for you were going to find in him. He had all the intricacy of the very simple.'"

Chris Petit. *Guardian Weekly,* Feb. 28, 1999: 28.

"Peter Guralnick's two-volume life of Elvis Aron Presley, of which 'Careless Love: The Unmaking of Elvis Presley' is the second

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installment, is not simply the finest rock-and-roll biography ever written. It must be ranked among the most ambitious and crucial biographical undertakings yet devoted to a major American figure of the second half of the 20th century."

Gerald Marzoati. *NYTBR*, Jan. 3, 1999: 4.

"Guralnick himself is loath to force any particular thesis onto his work or to describe what he thinks might have happened. Facts are everything. The other notable conclusion from Guralnick's set of impeccable facts is (despite the weirdness) the stability and conservatism of Elvis's domestic life."

Harry Mount. *TLS*, Feb. 12, 1999: 28.

Proust, Marcel

Marcel Proust. Edmund White. New York: Lipper/Viking, 1998. 165 pp. $19.95.

"White manages to add to the joy of reading his subject, not diminish it."

The New Yorker, Feb. 8, 1999: 80.

"White has a novelist's eye for the telling detail or the remarkable phrase and, like Proust himself, concentrates upon the minutiae of the past so that it might live again. He has a wonderful sympathy with his subject, adduced in such reflections as 'Proust fancied that so long as he failed to begin his life's work, his life would go on.'... If there is a weakness, it is a tendency upon White's part to assert the gay life and consciousness of Proust; it is perhaps understandable in a novelist and critic who has written extensively on gay themes, but in a subtle and unintentional way it diminishes Proust's significance."

Peter Ackroyd. *NYTBR*, Jan. 10, 1999: 4.

Pushkin, Aleksandr

Pushkin's Button. Serena Vitale. Trans. Ann Goldstein and John Rothschild. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999. 355 pp. $30.00.

"Serena Vitale makes little mention of Pushkin's poetry, but in her own gossipy, vivacious manner—and like all good gossips, she is brilliantly well-informed—she does suggest in a most graphic way one side of the story, and one aspect of the extraordinary world in which—hating it and adoring it as he did—the poet was fated to live. A poem she does quote, 'It's time my friend, it's time!' expresses very well the naked contrast between the Pushkin who longed above all things for 'peace and freedom,' the freedom to write and think and be his own man, and the Pushkin who also loved above all things to plunge himself into the glamorous world of the capital, with its intrigues and amusements, the tittle-tattle of who's in, who's out, and the goings on in high places."

John Bayley. *NYRB*, Apr. 8, 1999: 10.

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"Pushkin's Button' is a delightful combination of retrograde pleasures (court balls, the demise of a doomed genius) and primary sources. Her [Vitale's] formidable skills as a scholarly detective led her to family archives, 19th-century diplomatic records and letters. The result, capably translated by Ann Goldstein and John Rothschild, is both illuminating and pathetic."

Richard Lamb. *NYTBR*, Mar. 7, 1999: 27.

Pushkin. Elaine Feinstein. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998. 309 pp. £20.00.

"This book is aimed at both the general reader and Pushkin scholars. Between explaining the obvious and settling the recondite, the text is intermittently boring. . . . [S]he gets all too much wrong in the atmosphere and in the language."

Donald Rayfield. *TLS*, Jan. 29, 1999: 29.

Rajchman, Ludwik

Ludwik Rajchman, Medical Statesman. Marta A. Balinska. Trans. Rebecca Howell. Budapest: Central European Press, 1998. 293 pp. £22.00.

A biography of the founder of UNICEF and an important international medical figure by a grandaughter. "She has done her research thoroughly, so that distant episodes, such as tsarist Poland, spring to life."

François Duchene. *TLS*, Feb. 19, 1999: 28.

Rāmprasād, Sen

Devoted to the Goddess: The Life and Work of Rāmprasād. Malcolm McLean. Ed. Wendy Doniger. Albany: SUNY Press, 1998. 205 pp. $59.50 cloth, $19.95 paper.

"It is high time that someone wrote a good book on Rāmprasād Sen (ca. 1718–75). A stock example of Bengali devotionalism to the goddess Kālī, Rāmprasād appears in all books on Bengali Sāktism. He is credited with reviving goddess worship in eighteenth-century Bengal, and he greatly influenced Rāmkrsna (1836–86). Yet almost nothing is known about Rāmprasād except that his biography is mired in legend and controversy. Malcolm McLean is the first scholar to write a careful study of the poet's life and work, a task to which he brings three strengths: wide reading in Bengali secondary literature, familiarity with Bengali religious history, and lingistic fluency, allowing him to interpret Rāmprasād's often elliptical phraseology."

Rachel Fell McDermott. *JAS* 57.4 (Nov. 1998): 1207–08.

Rivera, Diego

Dreaming with his Eyes Open: A Life of Diego Rivera. Patrick Marnham. New York: Knopf, 1998. 320 pp. $35.00.

"The primary challenge facing the biographer of an artist is how to negotiate the artificial border between the subject's life and work. . . .

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The smooth narrative and scholarly underpinning of Patrick Marnham's new biography . . . measure up well against this ideal.

Neil Baldwin. *LATBR*, Mar. 14, 1999: 7.

Roosevelt, Eleanor, and Lorena Hickok

Empty Without You: The Intimate Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt and Lorena Hickok. Ed. Roger Streitmatter. New York: Free Press, 1998. 304 pp. $25.00.

"This correspondence tells a public story, through Hickok's firsthand description of the Depression, and at the same time follows the private course of a love affair and its cooling, not without pain, to friendship."

The New Yorker, Feb. 8, 1999: 80.

Roselli, Jimmy

Making the Wiseguys Weep: The Jimmy Roselli Story. David Evanier. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 258 pp. $24.00.

"Those who know nothing of Roselli will meet in 'Making the Wiseguys Weep' an American original—a performer who finally succeeded not only in spite of his enemies but in spite of himself. If it sends them out to sample his singing (as it ought to) Evanier will have performed a well-needed service."

Vincent Patrick. *NYTBR*, Dec. 27, 1998: 22.

Rossellini, Roberto

The Adventures of Roberto Rossellini. Tag Gallagher. New York: Da Capo, 1998. 802 pp. $24.50.

"Even as big a fan as Gallagher acknowledges that from time to time, Rossellini the filmaker needed to be saved from Rosellini the man."

Alexander Stille. *NYTBR*, Feb. 7, 1999: 20.

Rothschilds

The World's Banker: The History of the House of Rothschild. Niall Ferguson. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998. 1,309 pp. £30.00.

"The Suez affair is only one of the emblematic episodes illustrating the convergence of Rothschild and world history that Ferguson has absorbingly illuminated. . . . a massive accomplishment in every sense. What makes this book fascinating . . . is the exuberant variety of individual lives made vividly present through contemporary letters and journals."

A. J. Sherman. *TLS*, Feb. 5, 1999: 3–4.

Savitri Devi

Hitler's Priestess Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth and Neo-Nazism. Nicholas Goodrick-Clark. New York: New York UP, 1998. 280 pp. £20.00.

"As Nicholas Goodrick-Clark demonstrates in this superb study, the

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Nazi usurpation of the swastika and the Hindu-Aryan myth . . . took permanent hold of this talented woman's imagination."

Daniel Johnson. *TLS*, Feb. 12, 1999: 36.

Schmidt-Nielsen, Knut

The Camel's Nose: Memoirs of a Curious Scientist. Knut Schmidt-Nielsen. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1998. 352 pp. $24.95.

"Knut Schmidt-Nielsen is one of the most influential comparative physiologists of our time. He won the International Prize for Biology, and his books include the now-classic text, *Animal Physiology*. . . . A single lecture of his can be more informative and worthwhile than an entire semester from most other professors. . . . In this autobiography, Schmidt-Nielsen describes the struggles throughout his life with questions in personal and scientific endeavors that cannot be separated from one another."

Sentiel A. Rommel. *American Scientist* 86.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1998): 574–76.

Schneider, Alan. See **Beckett, Samuel.**

Seeger, Ruth Crawford

Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music. Judith Tick. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 457 pp. $35.00.

"Written . . . for a general audience who might not be versed in music theory, the biography juxtaposes two Ruths: Ruth Crawford, the brilliant composer, and Ruth Seeger, the matriarch of a legendary family in the urban folk revival movement." Married to Charles Seeger "her charismatic teacher . . . her children, including her famous stepson Pete, would continue her work after her death."

Carol Kolmerten. *American Quarterly* 50.4 (Dec. 1998): 853–55.

Serenty, Vincent. See **Collections: Australian Environmentalists.**

Shahn, Ben

Ben Shahn: An Artist's Life. Howard Greenfeld. New York: Random House, 1998. 366 pp. $30.00.

"Howard Greenfeld's approach scrupulously balances the personal and the political to provide a rounded portrait. Steering a course between overempathy with its subject and depersonalizing theory, his book gives a convincing sense of a determined individual making his mark as an immigrant in the turbulent America of depression and war, social upheaval and reaction."

David Cohen. *NYTBR*, Jan. 17, 1999: 18.

Shakespeare, William

Shakespeare: A Life. Park Honan. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 479 pp. $30.00.

"Park Honan, a highly respected literary biographer, has done an

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admirable job of collecting, synthesizing, and judging this material [what is known about Shakespeare]. His book—comprehensive, up-to-date and agreeably written—is exactly what it is meant to be: a definitive (for the time being) life of Shakespeare."

Lois Potter. *NYTBR*, Feb. 28, 1999: 26.

AND *Shakespeare, The Evidence: Unlocking the Mysteries of the Man and His Work.* Ian Wilson. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. 498 pp. $19.95.

"Because he stresses the social and economic riskiness of putting on plays, evaluates the writer's early weaknesses and later experiments, and charts carefully the limits of Shakespeare's success in his own time, Honan portrays all the more plausibly just how extraordinary Shakespeare's life work was. . . . Honan summons up Shakespeare's material world so we can understand both its ideological structure and the resources it offered a poet. . . . In contrast to Honan's sustained critical equilibrium, Wilson rides a hobby horse: Shakespeare, he believes, was in some sense, a Catholic. . . . He tracks down even the most coincidental Catholic connection. . . . Misleadingly, Wilson treats Catholics as a consistently identifiable and homogenous group always under threat of persecution."

Copelia Kahn. *LATBR*, Feb. 14, 1999: 4–5.

Shaw, Bernard

Bernard Shaw: The One-Volume Definitive Edition. Michael Holroyd. New York: Random House, 1998. 704 pp. $45.00.

"Michael Holroyd required more than 15 years to research and write the four volumes of his biography. In abridging this to one volume, Holroyd emphasizes Shaw (1856–1950) the literary man; what seems like each of Shaw's 50 dramatic works is summarized and commented upon, along with his novels and pamphlets."

Michael Anderson. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 17.

Shirendev, Bazaryn

Through the Ocean Waves: The Autobiography of Bazaryn Shirendev. Bazaryn Shirendev. Trans. Temujin Onon. Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1997. 231 pp. $40.00.

"The translated autobiography occupies a large space in the small body of serious English-language historiography on twentieth-century Mongolia. . . . *Through the Ocean Waves* is the first autobiography of a major player in Mongolia's Communist state to be available in English. Shirendev's biography belongs on the shelf with other reminiscences of top-ranking Soviet-block Communists. Shirendev is a loyalist, viewing his own later disgrace as an accidental mishap and no reflection on the fundamental justice of the system. . . . *Through the Ocean Waves* gives an unintentionally revealing portrait of one kind of man who built the Mongolian party-state."

Christopher Atwood. *JAS* 57.4 (Nov. 1998): 1153–54.

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Simon, Norton

Old Man In: Norton Simon and the Pursuit of Culture. Suzanne Muchnic. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 314 pp. $29.95.

"[T]he author . . . turns the raw stuff of art world lore and scandal into history by thorough documentation and careful narration. . . . Muchnic's book is a must read for those looking for a comprehensive and fair-minded version of the fabled clash of titans between Simon and Howard Ahmanson. . . . Amid all the detail Muchnic provides us with, I missed some glimpse of the human qualities that motivated the man and made him tick."

Peter Clother. *LATBR*, Feb. 7, 1999: 7.

Sitting Bull

The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull. Robert M. Utley. New York: Ballantine. 413 pp. $14.00.

"The latest biographer of the great Sioux medicine man, Robert M. Utley, does not break stride over the difficulty of sources when writing the life of an Indian chief. A former chief historian for the National Park Service, Utley has published numerous deeply researched histories of the western Indian wars and has been in and out of the files for more than three decades. No significant claim in *The Lance and the Shield* fails to receive a footnote, and the portrait that emerges describes a man who shared little with Crazy Horse or Red Cloud except a determination to hold on to a traditional way of life."

Thomas Powers. *NYRB*, Mar. 18, 1999: 26.

Soljenitsyne, Alexandre (Solzhenitsyn, Alexander)

Le grain tombé entre les meules. Alexandre Soljenitsyne. Trans. Geneviève and José Johannet. Paris: Fayard, 1998. 552 pp. 148F.

More than twenty years after *The Oak and the Calf*, the second volume of Solzhenitsyn's *Memoirs* brings to the fore the resistance of a writer caught between two "conniving" forces, communism and the Occident, and reveals a crusader for the Russian soul.

Pierre Lepape. *Le Monde des Livres*, Nov. 20, 1998: 2.

Sondheim, Stephen

Stephen Sondheim: A Life. Meryle Secrest. New York: Knopf, 1998. 476 pp. $30.00.

"Secrest's commentary on Sondheim's work is usually thoughtful, though she seldom presents herself as a critic, which is just as well. . . . Despite occasional gaps or lapses, however, Secrest's *Sondheim* is irresistible. Anyone who wants to know more about the American musical theater's unchallenged master will have to read this book."

Don Shirley. *LATBR*, Feb. 14, 1999: 8.

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Sousa Mendes, Aristide de

Aristide de Sousa Mendes, le Juste de Bordeaux. José-Alain Fralon. Bordeaux: Editions Mollat, 1998. 122 pp. 95F.

Bordeaux, June 16, 1940. The Consul of Portugal, aged 55, catholic, conservative, brought up to obey, suddenly faced with human distress (refugees, Jews deprived of their rights), decided, in definite disobedience to Salazar's orders, to sign visas for Portugal (by the hundred). Removed from office, he will die in poverty (1954). This life deserved to be brought to life, and has its place in the larger history of the Justs of the nations.

Annette Wiewiorka. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 18, 1998: 11.

Sparrow, John

The Warden: A Portrait of John Sparrow. John Lowe. London: HarperCollins, 1998. 259 pp. £19.99.

A book about the Oxford personality. "Despite some insights, Lowe tends to praise and blame Sparrow for the wrong things. John Lowe's portrait reads easily, it is offered as a work of *pietas* by a friend, but it is so far from hagiography that many will think that Sparrow has been too harshly judged."

Richard Jenkyns. *TLS*, Mar. 12, 1999: 8.

Starr, Kenneth. See **Clinton, William Jefferson.**

Stein, Gertrude, and Virgil Thomson

Prepare for Saints: Gertrude Stein, Vergil Thomson and the Mainstreaming of American Modernism. Steven Watson. New York: Random House, 1999. 512 pp. $35.00.

"The story of how 'Four Saints' came to the stage is full of racy drama, and Steven Watson tells it engagingly. The author of histories of the Harlem Renaissance and the Beat Generation, Watson here manages to work into his narrative just about everyone and everything that made early-20th-century culture so interesting."

Jim Holt. *NYTBR*, Feb. 21, 1999: 9.

Strachey, James. See **Brooke, Rupert.**

Strunsky, Anna, and William English Walling

Revolutionary Lives: Anna Strunsky and William English Walling. James Boylan. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1999. 368 pp. $34.95.

"In 'Revolutionary Lives,' James Boylan, an emeritus professor of history and journalism at the University of Massachusetts, competently tells the story of Anna Strunsky and William English Walling, who became partners in writing, politics, and marriage."

David Greenberg. *NYTBR*, Feb. 21, 1999: 31.

Thomson, Virgil. See **Stein, Gertrude.**

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Trollope, Fanny

Fanny Trollope: The Life and Adventures of a Clever Woman. Pamela Neville-Singleton. New York: Viking, 1998. 398 pp. $29.95.

"One may question whether another biography is needed as much as editorial work at this time. . . . Nevertheless, Neville-Singleton's biography is a warmly sympathetic, carefully documented retelling of Frances Trollope's life, one which will make this important life-story available to many more readers."

Mary Wilson Carpenter. *Women's Review of Books* 16.5 (Feb. 1999): 2–4.

Truffaut, François

Truffaut: A Biography. Antoine de Baecque and Serge Toubiana. Trans. Catherine Temerson. New York: Knopf, 1999. 400 pp. $30.00.

"It is only in reading the new biogaphy . . . that one realizes how Truffaut's life was even more dramatic than his movies. The authors spare no detail in this comprehensive, weighty and engrossing study of a complex artiste. Baecque and Toubiana have written a riveting and revelatory biography."

Annette Insdorf. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 4.

Varnhagen, Rahel

Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess. Hannah Arendt. Ed. Liliane Weissberg. Trans. Richard and Clara Winston. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1998. 388 pp. $29.95.

"The quarrel over whether or not nineteenth-century German Jews had been able to become fully integrated into German society has long divided Zionists and assimilationists. Untold thousands of Jews—we will never know just how many—quietly assimilated by conversion to Christianity and succeeded in merging with the Gentile population. The question whether Jews could ever be truly accepted, as Jews, overshadowed Rahel Varnhagen's life and still does. Hannah Arendt wrote most of her intellectual biography of Varnhagen just before Hitler took power in 1933. In this book, published more than twenty years later, she made an eloquent plea for ethnic pluralism, articulating for the first time her notion of the Jew as a creative pariah."

Amos Elon. *NYRB*, Feb. 18, 1999: 19.

Velázquez

Velázquez: The Technique of Genius. Jonathan Brown and Carmen Carrido. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 224 pp. $50.00.

"Brown, a professor of fine arts at New York University, explains in his brief, cogent essay how Velázquez (1599–1660) conquered the royal court of Philip IV of Spain, eventually being appointed curator of the royal collection. Carrido, the head of technical services at the Prado in Madrid, uses techniques like x-ray and infrared images, examples

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of which generously pepper the text, to show that Velázquez rarely started with a fixed idea, preferring to work by trial and error and invent new techniques as he went along."

Robin Lippincott. *NYTBR*, Mar. 14, 1999: 22.

Villa, Pancho

The Life and Times of Pancho Villa. Friedrich Katz. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998. 985 pp. $85.00 cloth; $29.95 paper.

" . . . a masterpiece of contemporary historiography . . . Katz's biography shares something with . . . literary works: the enigmatic relationship between language and action. Do the facts unleash the words, or do the words announce the facts? Diligent, extremely well-documented, fluid and elegant at all times, Friedrich Katz presents Mexicans with our ghosts—alive."

Carlos Fuentes. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 2.

"If anything, Friedrich Katz's towering new biography, 'The Life and Times of Pancho Villa,' suggests that while he was alive Villa may have become too big a myth for his own good. To his adherents he was nothing short of a Robin Hood. To his enemies he was at best a mercenary bandit, at worst a bloodthirsty fiend, slicing through crowds with a machete. Katz calls these myths the Epic and the Black, and he finds both to be something of a stretch, but his own attitude toward Villa can hardly be called neutral. He is a historian by profession, and a rather passionate thesis runs beneath this book, to the effect that history has denied Pancho Villa his due."

Sarah Kerr. *NYTBR*, Jan. 17, 1999: 7.

"In the most detailed account of Villa's life to date, Katz produces a clear image of the multifaceted natures of the man and his supporters. . . . What Friedrich Katz does offer . . . is a treasure trove of details."

Keith Brewster. *TLS*, Mar. 12, 1999: 6.

Wagner, Richard. See **Nietzsche, Friedrich.**

Walling, William English. See **Strunsky, Anna.**

Warner, Sylvia Townsend, and Valentine Ackland

"I'll Stand By You": Selected Letters of Sylvia Townsend Warner and Valentine Ackland with Narrative by Sylvia Townsend Warner. Ed. Susanna Pinney. North Pomfret, VT: Pimlico/Trafalgar Square, 1999. 392 pp. $24.95.

"There is little in the correspondence that throws light on Warner as a writer; these are essentially love letters. Sylvia's writing may have in fact been a permanent problem for them."

Rosemary Dinnage. *NYTBR*, Mar. 7, 1999: 10.

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Warren, Earl

Chief Justice: A Biography of Earl Warren. Ed Cray. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. 603 pp. $30.00.

"...Ed Cray has not set out to transform radically our understanding of Earl Warren. . . . [I]n short, this is a life of Earl Warren that remains true to legend and a continuing inspiration to those who still believe in both the rule of law and the pursuit of social justice in America."

Michael Parrish. *Pacific Historical Review* 67.3 (Aug. 1998): 447–49.

Wasserman, Lew

The Last Mogul: Lew Wasserman, MCA and the Hidden History of Hollywood. Dennis McDougal. New York: Crown, 1998. 448 pp. $27.50.

"McDougal, who covered Hollywood for the Los Angeles Times for some 10 years, marshaled reams of documents and hundreds of interviews to show exactly how MCA used its muscle—from making friends with Presidents to strong-arming network executives and devising intricate tax shelters for star clients."

Ted Loos. *NYTBR,* Jan. 3, 1999: 14.

Western, David

In the Dust of Kilimanjaro. David Western. Washington, D.C.: Island Press/Shearwater, 1998. 297 pp. $24.95.

"Western is one of the world's leading conservationists. His story concerns the Amboseli Game Reserve, long the most popular spot on East Africa's tourist circuit. . . . Western's account is fascinating and suspenseful, even if roughened here and there by an occasional trite phrase or verbal overindulgence. . . . *In the Dust of Kilimanjaro* is far more than an autobiography. It is an eloquent brief for achieving wildlife conservation under a variety of pressures, national and international."

John Terbogh. *NYRB,* 18 Feb. 1999: 31–33.

Wheeler, John Archibald

Geons, Black Holes, and Quantum Foam: A Life in Physics. John Archibald Wheeler. New York: Norton, 1998. 380 pp. $27.95.

"John Archibald Wheeler was in the thick of the race to tap the destructive power of the atom. He willingly put his blossoming scientific career on hold to join the cadre of bomb designers working on the Manhattan Project. . . . Wheeler has the bright core of curiosity that dwells in every child, and it has not dimmed even after a long and rich life at the heights of his profession. As a youth, he exploded bottle rockets indoors, and he once touched a 11,000-volt power line to 'see what it would feel like.' We can see the intellectual lineage of the successful scientist. . . . This is not an easy book for the general

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reader. Physics is explained along the way, but the text is dense with ideas and technical insights."

Chris Impey. *American Scientist* 87.2 (Mar.-Apr. 1999): 178–79.

Wilder, Billy

On Sunset Boulevard: The Life and Times of Billy Wilder. Ed Sikov. New York: Hyperion, 1998. 675 pp. $35.00.

"All in all, Sikov has painted as good a portrait of Billy Wilder, the man, the artist, the showman, the self-promoter, the profitably prescient art collector and the successful businessman, as we are likely to get from the outside. Indeed, Sikov's is less a still portrait than a blurry, moving picture of an eternally restless human being, racing from country to country, pacing up and down during screen writing conferences, dashing from one set to another and from one story idea to another."

Andrew Sarris. *NYTBR*, Dec. 27, 1998: 5.

Yeats, Jack

Jack Yeats. Bruce Arnold. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 418 pp. $45.00.

"It is always Yeats the artist whom [Arnold] seeks to highlight rather than the Yeats who painted subjects amenable to nationalist interpretation. Yet his evident affection and respect for Jack Yeats the man shine through even as he must admit the mixed quality of the work."

Terence Brown. *NYTBR*, Jan. 24, 1999: 16.

Collections, Group Biographies, and Other Works of Interest

American Autobiography

The Norton Book of American Autobiography. Ed. Jay Parini. New York: Norton, 1999. 711 pp. $32.50.

"You, the reader, sit there, perhaps in the darkness of night, and witness a parade of individuality flow past that, en masse, adds up to a remarkable democratic vision of the American nation. For those (myself included) who imagined the youthful autobiographical rush-hour of recent publishing seasons to be something unprecedented, think again. Jay Parini's *The Norton Book of American Autobiography* is a bracing reminder that autobiography, as he says, has always been 'the essential American genre,' and youth, it turns out, never stopped anyone from writing one. Parini's editorial sense opens up radically new ways of considering the autobiographical form. His selections make an unimpeachable case for autobiography as this country's one true democratic form of writing and for the almost unbearable richness of that democratic impulse. Special thanks must be offered to Jay Parini and to Norton—for allowing this singing of the American body electric."

Tom Engelhardt. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 9.

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American Biography

American National Biography. Ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. 24 vols. $2,500.

"Some of the leading scholars of our time cover the lives of people that they have researched. . . . [T]here are 17,450 men and women, all of whom died before 1996. . . . [T]he essays themselves have a format familiar to researchers. . . . They open with a brief biographical statement; continue with chronological details of the person's life with emphasis on key achievements and essential details of private lives; and conclude with an evaluative paragraph putting the person's life in historical perspective. Each essay has a descriptive bibliography listing and discussing source material, including personal papers, and obituaries. . . . [T]he ANB is an essential addition to the reference collection of any large public and academic library."

Booklist, Mar. 15, 1999: 1351–52.

"He makes history come alive. John A. Garraty has chronicled the American experience for more than a half-century. . . . [I]t is probable that none will be more enduring than the newly published multi-volume *American National Biography,* which is arguably the greatest work of cooperative scholarship ever attempted in this country."

Steve Neal. *Chicago Sun-Times,* Mar. 9, 1999.

Autobiographies of Women Writers

Gendered Resistance: The Autobiographies of Simone de Beauvoir, Maya Angelou, Janet Frame, and Marguerite Duras. Valerie Baisnee. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997. 176 pp. $37.50.

"Of particular interest are Baisnee's detailed accounts of the social, economic and ideological factors that produced the young Simone de Beauvoir as a bourgeois and as a 'resistant' subject, and of Angelou's representation of the relationship between black institutions and black subjection."

Alex Hughes. *French Studies* 52.4 (Oct. 1998): 487.

Australian Environmentalists

Myles and Milo. Peter Meredith. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998. 376 pp. $24.95 Aus.

An Australian Life. Vincent Serventy. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre, 1998. 264 pp. $19.95 Aus.

"The artistic life, the sporting life, the political life are all established literary genres. The environmental life should become another. . . . [Meredith's] double biography of Myles Dunphy and his son Milo could not have had a better subject. While Myles was one of the most powerful advocates of national parks in New South Wales from the 1920s, Milo not only played this role from the mid-1960s but for much of this period was a figure of national significance. Together, they

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provide an opportunity to take a long view of the Australian conservation movement. . . . They equally provide an opportunity to explore a relationship between father and son and examine how ideals are transmitted and transformed over generations. . . . Meredith's treatment of these public and private dimensions of the Dunphys' lives is as shallow as it is mean-minded. . . . Although aware of the significance of earlier conservationists such as Myles Dunphy, [Serventy] still boasts that his 'good friends' have dubbed him the 'father of conservation'. Such self-aggrandisement makes Serventy's book almost as unappealing as Meredith's repeated denigration of the Dunphys is obnoxious. Like *Myles and Milo*, Serventy's *Australian Life* exemplifies that just because the environmental life is always worth living, it is not always worth reading."

Tim Bonyhady. *Weekend Australian*, Feb. 27–28, 1999: 11.

Biographers

Booknotes: Life Stories, Notable Biographers on the People Who Shaped America. Ed. Brian Lamb. New York: Times Books, 1999. 471 pp. $27.50.

"The experience of reading this chatty collection of edited interviews is like eavesdropping on a group of biographers talking frankly about what it's like to try to hunt the truth in a life and what they think of the quarry they have trapped in their sights. You're at the mercy, of course, of what the biographer wants to relate in a casual interview, and what Lamb has chosen to include here, but that's part of the charm of the particular collection."

Marc Pachter. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 8.

Civil War Soldiers

Controversies and Commanders: Dispatches from the Army of the Potomac. Stephen W. Sears. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. 320 pp. $26.00.

"These lucid, rather jaunty essays on some of the persistent mysteries, odd characters and hotly debated incidents of the Civil War demonstrate why Stephen W. Sears has become one of the most eminent historians of that conflict: he combines a wonderful command of primary sources with a contagious enthusiasm."

Richard E. Nicholls. *NYTBR*, Mar. 28, 1999: 19.

Feminist Memoirs

The Feminist Memoir Project: Voices from Women's Liberation. Ed. Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Ann Snitow. New York: Three Rivers, 1998. 531 pp. $20.00.

"The editors of this book, Rachel Blau DuPlessis, a professor of English and women's studies at Temple, and Ann Snitow, a professor of literature and gender studies at the New School for Social Research, asked women who were prominent in the women's liberation movement in the late 1960's to describe what its g[ains and failures

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have been. The intimate accounts collected in 'The Feminist Memoir Project' capture the exuberance with which many women embraced feminism and the link they felt as the movement spread nationally."

Winter N. Miller. *NYTBR*, Feb. 28, 1999: 16.

"[This book] has the strengths and weaknesses of the movement it celebrates—the strengths and weaknesses of a document that seeks more to reflect, than to reflect upon, a moment. Because so many of its contributions are personal narratives largely unfiltered by self-reflexivity, they recreate with eerie accuracy the feel of the early movement."

Anna Wilson. *Women's Review of Books* 16.6 (Mar. 1999): 2–3.

Letters of Intent: Women Cross Generations to Talk about Family, Work, Sex, Love and the Future of Feminism. Ed. Anna Bondoc and Meg Daly. New York: Free Press, 1999. 256 pp. $23.00.

"In the end, despite Daly's claim that letters have brought together an 'interconnected web' of women, the reader has a sense of having encountered a host of independent spirits—committed to feminist ideals, but determined to tread their own paths."

Polly Morrice. *NYTBR*, Mar. 28, 1999: 19.

Fourteenth Century Autobiography

Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century: Juan Ruiz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Geoffrey Chaucer. Laurence de Looze. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1997. $49.95.

Readers "will find in Laurence de Looze's book so many original, valuable insights into the art and artifice of fourteenth-century writing and living that even their mere enumeration is impossible here."

Hans R. Runte. *French Review* 72.4 (Apr. 1999): 748–49.

French Existentialists

Autobiography and the Existential Self: Studies in Modern French Writing. Ed. Terry Keefe and Edmond Smyth. New York: St. Martin's, 1995. 206 pp. $35.00.

"With the exception of two or three essays, the loose and often unsystematic 'discussions' that characterize this volume lack analytical rigor and fall short of contributing anything significant to a field of scholarship enriched by experts like Lejeune or Beaujour, despite the repeated claim to the contrary by one of the editors."

Constantin Toloudis. *French Review* 72.3 (Mar. 1999): 769–70.

Music Critics

Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America. Mark N. Grant. Eric Friedman, consulting editor. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1998. 374 pp. $37.50.

"Grant focuses mostly on individual critics. Examining the lives and

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opinions of nearly 50 major music journalists, from 19th-century Transcendentalists like J. S. Dwight to contemporary neo-conservatives like Samuel Lipman, he uses careers as lenses to view broader cultural developments, and he has a natural gift for the biographical sketch."

Dana Gioia. *NYTBR*, Jan. 24, 1999: 12.

Rock and Pop Artists

Grown Up All Wrong: 75 Great Rock and Pop Artists From Vaudeville to Techno. Robert Christgau. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 495 pp. $29.95.

"... though Christgau mostly writes about the 'human beings' rock-and-roll creates for him, whenever he pauses to offer a close reading of music, the results are invariably satisfying."

Laura Jamison. *NYTBR*, Dec. 27, 1998: 14.

Scientists

Strange Brains and Genius: The Secret Lives of Eccentric Scientists and Madmen. Clifford A. Pickover. New York: Plenum, 1998. 332 pp. $28.95.

"Pickover profiles nine scientists, philosophers, writers and inventors. ... [T]he biographies are fascinating, and Pickover lists accomplishments for each subject and elaborates on their abhorrent, often antisocial behavior.... In these presentations, the author is laying the groundwork for relating mental illness and genius."

Thomas L. Isenhour. *American Scientist* 86.5 (Sept.-Oct. 1998): 489–90.

Soviet Citizens

Everyday Stalinism, Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s. Sheila Fitzpatrick. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. 288 pp. $27.50.

"Sheila Fitzpatrick, the Bernadette E. Schmidt Professor of Modern Russian History at the University of Chicago and a pioneer in the field of Soviet social history, has been a leader of the revisionists. But in 'Everyday Stalinism' she transcends the debate, taking advantage of the wealth of new information to provide a street-level view of Soviet society and largely leaving it to readers to draw their own conclusions."

William Taubman. *NYTBR*, Mar. 14, 1999: 33.

Twentieth-Century French Intellectuals: Léon Blum, Albert Camus, and Raymond Aron

The Burden Of Responsibility: Blum, Camus, Aron and the French Twentieth Century. Tony Judt. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 196 pp. $17.50.

"'The Burden of Responsibility' is a less provocative book than 'Past Imperfect,' in the ways novels about wicked people are more exciting than those about good people. Or is it because Judt's three stood for

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what has now been absorbed by our post-communist, liberal culture. . . . Anyone who regrets the absence, in intellectual discourse, of 'honor,' 'spirit,' 'conscience' and their ilk, will find in Judt a great deal worth remembering."

David Coward. *NYTBR*, Jan. 31, 1999: 20.

U. S. Presidents

The American Leadership Tradition: Moral Vision from Washington to Clinton. Marvin Olasky. New York: Free Press. 298 pp. $25.00.

"... 'The American Leadership Tradition' doesn't even come close to offering a sophisticated public theology. Instead, it unwittingly illustrates how misleading it can be to mix the personal and the political. And Olasky's historical judgments are so crude and pinched that one suspects his main effect will be to buttress the stereotypes of those prejudiced against religious conservatives."

David Brooks, *NYTBR*, Feb. 28, 1999: 7.

Women Labor Activists: Gertrude Barnum, Mary Dreier, Pauline Newman, and Rosa Pesotta

To Do and To Be: Portraits of Four Women Activists, 1893–1896. Ann Schofield. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1997. 183 pp. $42.50 cloth; $15.95 paper.

"These biographies . . . illustrate that the intersection of the public and private is crucial to understanding a life story."

Carol Kolmerten. *American Quarterly* 50.4 (Dec. 1998): 858–59.

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Lifelines

Call for Articles. "Solitude and Women's Autobiography." Contributions are invited for *A House of One's Own: Women Writing from a Space of Solitude*, a collection of essays focusing on women who write autobiographically from a space of solitude in their own homes. For further information, contact Jo Malin, Office of the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs, AD 705, Binghamton University, P.O. Box 6000, Binghampton NY 13902-6000 (jmalin@binghamton.edu). **Deadline:** 31 Aug. 1999.

Call for Papers. "Late-Twentieth-Century Representations of American Plantation Slavery." 7–8 Apr. 2000. Northeast Modern Language Association, Buffalo. Papers are welcome which examine literary texts and cultural activities in the years since the Civil Rights Movement, such as African American neo-slave narratives (Ishmael Reed, Toni Morrison, Octavia Butler, etc.), recent autobiographical or historical studies to reclaim long-denied branches of racially mixed families (e.g., *Slaves in the Family*), or heritage tourism in the U.S. South. Possible lines of investigation include the continuities and adaptations of the slave narrative genre as produced in the context of twentieth-century politics. Send a one-page abstract and cv to Roumiana Velikova, Department of English, SUNY at Buffalo, Buffalo, NY 14260-4610; riv@acsu.buffalo.edu. **Deadline:** 15 Sept. 1999.

Call for Papers. "Dutch Artists in Britain, 1550–1750." 25–27 Jan. 2001. Leiden Institute for Early Modern Studies, Leiden University. The conference will explore the activities of artists from the Low Countries in Britain during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, focusing on the historical context, artistic output, and cultural significance of the painters, draughtsmen, engravers, sculptors, architects, cabinet-makers, stained-glass artists, and art dealers who worked in the British Isles. Send proposals for papers to J. G. Roding, Leiden Institute for Early Modern Studies, Faculties of Arts, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands; Roding@RULLET.Leiden.Univ.nl. **Deadline:** 30 Sept. 1999.

Call for Papers. "Lifestyles of the Needy and Ambitious as well as the Rich and Famous: Private Lives, Arrangements, Habits, Tastes, Pleasures, Hobbies, Diversions, and Environments of and for Enlightenment Literati and Intelligentsia." Oct. 1999. East-Central American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Washington and Jefferson College. Biographically oriented papers are sought that explore the lives of authors and artists during the long eighteenth century. Contributors

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need not limit themselves to one author or artist, but may carry out collective biographies on the exploits of assorted persons, communities, or groups. Send proposals to the panel organizer Kevin Cope at 73210.3204@compuserve.com.

Conference. "Giving Voice—Oral Historians and the Shaping of Narrative." 7–10 Oct. 1999. The Oral History Association, Anchorage. For further information, contact Sue Armitage, *Frontiers*, Women's Studies Program, Washington State University, Pullman, WA 99164 (armitage@wsu.edu).

Conference. "International Conference on Slave Narratives: Remembering Our Past, Chronicling Our Present, Predicting Our Future." 14–16 Oct. 1999. Wilberforce, Ohio. For further information, contact Muriel Brailey or Olabisi Gwamna, Humanities Department, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, OH 45384 (mbrailey@payne.wilberforce.edu or ogwamna@payne.wilberforce.edu).

Call for Papers. "Small Worlds: Visions of Childhood in Contemporary Literature in English." 9–11 Mar. 2000. University of Navarre. The conference will address contemporary representations of children and writing for children in English. Topics may include, among others, the child and childhood as theme, children's perspectives, childhood autobiographies, bildungsroman and künstlerroman, archetypal representations of children, writing the ethnic or postcolonial child, children and a sense of place, and childhood and memory. Send abstracts, in English, for twenty-minute papers to the conference organizers: Rocio G. Davis and Rosalia Baena, Modern Languages Department, University of Navarre, Pamplona 31080, Spain; fax: 948-425636; rgdavis@unav.es or rbaena@unav.es. **Deadline:** 31 Oct. 1999.

Call for Papers. "Ernest Hemingway and Religion." 24–27 Feb. 2000. Religious Faith and Literary Arts Conference, Baylor University. The session chair seeks papers that address any aspect of religion as it manifests itself, or fails to manifest itself, in the works of Ernest Hemingway. All theoretical perspectives will be considered, and papers need not limit themselves to fiction or novels, as discussions of biographical studies and non-fiction works are welcome. Send abstracts for twenty-minute papers to Andrew Spencer at Andrew_Spencer@baylor.edu. **Deadline:** 1 Nov. 1999.

Call for Papers. "The Presidency in Film." 9–12 Feb. 2000. Southwest Texas Popular Culture Association and American Culture Association, Albuquerque. Papers and panels are sought on images of American presidents in film, from Washington to Clinton, in or out of office, in any type of film (non-fiction, fiction, documentary, etc.). Papers or panels are also welcome on film images of imaginary presidents.

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Submit a one-page abstract or panel proposal to Susan Rollins, Southwest Texas Popular Culture Association, RR3, Box 80, Cleveland, OK 74020; fax: 918-243-7742; Ridgemt@aol.com. **Deadline:** 1 Dec. 1999.

Call for Papers. "Captivity Narratives." 9–12 Feb. 2000. Southwest Texas Popular Culture Association and American Culture Association, Albuquerque. Papers or panels are invited on any aspect of captivity narratives, from classical to contemporary texts. Send a one-page abstract or panel proposal to Mary Lynn Dodson, Amarillo College, P.O. Box 447, Amarillo TX 79178; mldodson@actx.edu. **Deadline:** 1 Dec. 1999.

Call for Articles. "Overcoming Boundaries: Gender, Sexuality, and Ethnicity." Special issue of *Thamyris*, edited by Gert Hekma and Isabel Hoving. The Spring 2000 (June) issue of *Thamyris* will explore ethnic, gendered, and sexual identities, communities, knowledges, and arts. The editors seek to highlight and problematize the ways in which ethnic, gendered, and sexual categories can marginalize people or can be empowering categories on which communities and coalitions are built. Articles should compare at least two of the three aspects, or should focus on groups or subjects that combine several threads. Requests for information, or proposals, abstracts, or articles should be sent to Gert Hekma, Department of Sociology, Amsterdam University, Oude Hoogstraat 24, 1012 CE Amsterdam, The Netherlands; hekma@pscw.uva.nl or ihoving@hovi.demon.nl. **Deadline:** 21 Dec. 1999.

Call for Articles. "Islamic Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* seeks empirical and theoretical articles for an upcoming multidisciplinary issue devoted to Islamic masculinities. Topics may include, among others, constructions of masculinities; questions of masculinity, maleness, and the male body; representations of the male body in cultural texts and in the media; sexual practices and sexual identities; race, ethnicity, class, and masculinities; male-female relationships; relationships between patriarchy and dominant masculinities; relationships between concepts of masculinity and nationalism or fundamentalism; or masculinities in the Islamic diaspora. Submit essays of up to 7,000 words to Lahoucine Ouzgane, Department of English, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E5 (Lahoucine.Ouzgane@ualberta.ca). **Deadline:** 14 Jan. 2000.

Call for Papers. "Constructions of Memory in Contemporary American Literature." 21–23 June 2000. Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier III. Papers are invited that reflect on the rediscovery and transformation of the past in contemporary American literature, and in particular on how ethnic and minority literatures use alternative sites of memory not simply as nostalgic returns to a "forgotten" past, but to transfigure the present. Emphasis should be given to the new artistic forms

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employed in these acts of memory and to the redefinition of American modes of expression that they entail. Themes may include, among others, the representation of pre-Colombian cultures, the representation of ways of life abandoned during the great waves of immigration, the return to continents left behind, or the return to key moments in U.S. history. Send inquiries or abstracts of 150–200 words to Wendy Harding (harding@bred.univ-Montp3.fr), Jacky Martin (jwmartin@bred.univ-montp3.fr), or Simone Pellerin (pellerin@smrl.univ-montp3.fr). **Deadline:** 30 Jan. 2000.

Call for Articles. "Pacific Travel." *Renaissance Studies* invites papers for a special issue devoted to Pacific travel. Articles are welcomed on any aspect of travel to the region, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, whether by English, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, French, or other voyagers. The aim of the issue is to provide an interdisciplinary perspective on European activity, addressing a range of potential issues: ethnography, cultural encounter, and exchange; the rhetoric and representational practices of travelwriting; missionary work; natural history (e.g. medicines, spices, diseases); trade and trade routes; or exploration, cartography, and geography. Send abstracts or papers to the guest editor, Daniel Carey, English Department, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland; daniel.carey@nuigalway.ie. **Deadline:** Mar. 2000, for completed essays.

Conference. "MELUS 2000: Multi-Ethnic Literatures and the Idea of Social Justice." 9–12 Mar. 2000. New Orleans. For further information, contact Gaurav Desai, English Department, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118 (gaurav@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu).

Conference. "Oscar Wilde: The Man, The Works, the Times." 27–29 Apr. 2000. Hempstead. For further information, contact Deborah Lom, Hofstra Cultural Center, Hofstra University, Room 107, 200 Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY 11549-2000 (hofculctr@hofstra.edu).

Dictionary of Literary Biography Entries. "Advocates and Activists Between the Wars." The editor of a two-volume *DLB* seeks contributions on British and American advocates and activists between the two world wars. Subjects may come from any discipline. For further information, contact David Garrett Izzo, 302 Kirkwood Drive, Chapel Hill, NC 27514 (dizzo@mindspring.com).

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A *Biography* Special Issue

The Biopic

The January 2000 issue of *Biography* will explore the Biopic. Guest editor Glenn Man is looking for papers which address the theoretical, generic, historical, cultural, or technical aspects of representing or telling lives in film or video—from Hollywood spectaculars to indie films, from short subjects to A & E Biographies. Interdisciplinary and multicultural approaches are particularly welcome.

Manuscripts should be between 2,500 and 7,500 words, though shorter and longer essays will be considered. Please submit two copies of any manuscript. Since *Biography* has a double-blind submission policy, the author's name should not appear anywhere on either copy, but in the cover letter. Decisions about publication will be received within three months, and comments will be provided for all essays. Consultation on manuscript ideas is welcomed.

For more information, contact the editor of *Biography*, Craig Howes,

by	Email:	biograph@hawaii.edu
	Telephone:	(808) 956-3774
	Fax:	(808) 956-3774
	Mail:	Center for Biographical Research University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822 USA

Deadline for completed papers: September 1, 1999.

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Cynthia Franklin (Rev. of Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory*) teaches ethnic American and feminist literatures and theory at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She is the author of *Writing Women's Communities: The Politics and Poetics of Contemporary Multi-Genre Anthologies* (U of Wisconsin P, 1998), and she has published articles and review essays in *American Quarterly, Hitting Critical Mass,* and *MELUS*. Two volumes of the series Literary Studies East and West (16 and 17) that she is co-editing with Ruth Hsu and Suzanne Kosanke are forthcoming this year—*Re-Placing America: Conversations and Contestations*, and *Navigating Islands and Continents: Conversations and Contestations in and around the Pacific.*

Katya Gibel Azoulay (Rev. of Sartwell, *Act Like You Know*) is author of *Black, Jewish and Interracial: It's Not the Color of Your Skin but the Race of Your Kin and Other Myths of Identity* (Duke UP, 1997), and her articles have appeared in *Cultural Studies, Research in African Literatures,* and *Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies.* Dr. Gibel Azoulay is Chair of Africana Studies at Grinnell College.

Ruth Hoberman (Rev. of Gould and Staley, *Writing the Lives of Writers*), is Professor of English at Eastern Illinois University. She is the author of *Gendering Classicism: The Ancient World in Twentieth-Century Women's Historical Fiction* (SUNY, 1998) and *Modernizing Lives: Experiments in English Biography 1918–1939* (Southern Illinois UP, 1987).

Tim Megarry (Rev. of Sutton, *Memories Cast in Stone*) is a social scientist with a special interest in preindustrial societies. His book *Society in Prehistory: The Origins of Human Culture* (Macmillan/New York UP, 1995) provides an introduction for social scientists to the issues and problems confronted in investigating human evolution and the emergence of human society. He teaches sociology and anthropology in the School of Social Sciences at the University of Greenwich.

Joe Moran ("'Simple Words': Peter Ackroyd's Autobiography of Oscar Wilde") teaches in the School of Media, Critical and Creative Arts at Liverpool John Moores University. He has written on contemporary fiction, authorship, and literary celebrity.

Panthea Reid ("Virginia Woolf, Leslie Stephen, Julia Margaret Cameron, and the Prince of Abyssinia: An Inquiry into Certain Colonialist Representations") is the author of *Art and Affection: A Life of Virginia*

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Woolf (Oxford UP, 1997), which won the year's SCMLA Best Book Award and was named among the best academic books of 1997 by *Choice*. Her memoir on William Faulkner and her father appeared in the Fall 1998 *Virginia Quarterly Review*. Under a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, she is currently working on a biography of Tillie Olsen and an edition of Olsen's letters.

William Todd Schultz (Rev. of Ludwig, *How Do We Know Who We Are?*), is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Pacific University, where he teaches, among other courses, psychobiography. He has also written on Ludwig Wittgenstein, Jack Kerouac, James Agee, and Truman Capote. His most recent article for *Biography* (21.4, Fall 1998) was "Finding Fate's Father: Some Life History Influences on Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*."

Steven Weiland ("Biography, Rhetoric, and Intellectual Careers: Writing the Life of Hannah Arendt") is Professor of Higher Education and Director of the Jewish Studies Program at Michigan State University. He is at work on *Writing Jewish Lives: Conversations with Biographers*, and a collection of profiles of leading American scholars.

Marilyn C. Wesley (Rev. of Melton, *The Face of Exile*) is the Babcock Professor of English at Hartwick College. Her books include *Refusal and Transgression in Joyce Carol Oates' Fiction* (Greenwood, 1993) and *Secret Journeys: The Trope of the Woman Traveler in American Literature* (SUNY, 1998). She is currently at work on a study of violence in contemporary fiction.

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Specimen Daze: Whitman's Photobiography

Sean Meehan

The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again.

Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History"

In the spring of 1888 Walt Whitman, irrepressible singer of himself, faced an identity crisis. "I meet new Walt Whitmans every day," he remarked to Horace Traubel, speaking doubly of himself in the first and third person: "There are a dozen of me afloat. I don't know which Walt Whitman I am" (Traubel 1: 108). We might justly imagine Whitman's confusion to be a problem peculiar to the autobiographical nature of his life's work. In his late years, Whitman was surrounded by the "litter-rary" clutter of his life piled upon his Camden floor, a life embodied in some thirty years of memoranda, manuscripts, and the various editions of *Leaves of Grass*, all directed toward putting "a person, a human being (myself, in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, in America,) freely, fully and truly on record" (*Complete* 671).[1] In fact, the Concluding Note of his *Complete Poems and Prose*, published later that fall, stressed the unifying character of this "Personal Book," which "is probably a sort of autobiography; an element I have not attempted to specially restrain or erase" (1341).

Whitman's remark to Traubel, however, actually refers to the various Walt Whitmans the poet met in the guise of photographic portraits. Whitman's confusion is thus a response, at least most immediately, to photography, reflecting a fascination with the medium which resulted in more than 130 photographic portraits taken over the previous thirty years. This visual record too is a "sort of autobiography," since as early as 1855, Whitman reproduced photographs

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with his writing—images which figure, for the author and the reader, as part of the identity represented by the work. "His name is not on the frontispiece," Whitman writes in an anonymous review of his first edition of *Leaves*, "but his portrait, half-length, is. The contents of the book form a daguerreotype of his inner being, and the title page of the book bears a representation of its physical tabernacle" (*Brooklyn Eagle*, 15 Sept. 1855; qtd. in Orvell 8). As he tells his reader in 1888, such photo-reproductions, like a signature, make a work "markedly *personal*." "I have put my name with pen-and-ink with my own hand in the present volume," he writes, "And from engraved or photo'd portraits taken from life, I have selected some, of different stages . . . and bequeath them at a venture to you, reader, with my love" (1341).

What can Whitman's use of photography in his writing—both literal photographs, and as in the 1855 self-review, figural references to them—tell us about his signature conception of autobiography? Or, to reverse Whitman's daguerrean metaphor, what might photography represent of his *autobiographical* being? My thesis may seem at once familiar and strange. Though Whitman employs the photographic medium to provide a faithful version of his autobiography, at the same time he challenges the medium—and by extension, challenges autobiography—by questioning the accuracy and completeness of its representations. In other words, photography is faithful to Whitman's sort of autobiography in its estrangement from conventional notions of the self-representative. Such a reading requires expanding the role photography plays in Whitman's poetics by focusing on his autobiographical works—for example, *Specimen Days and Collect*, his 1882 prose autobiography.

In his study of Whitman and photography, Ed Folsom argues that the new medium taught the nineteenth century a lesson in confusion. Photography revealed "that life was an incessant process, a shifting action" (*Whitman's Native Representations* 157); it also transformed Whitman's representational vision in ways which became incorporated into the very process of his poetry. "Whitman would not write *about* photography," Folsom argues, "so much as he would write *with* and *from* photography, discovering how to transform its

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new way of seeing to words, how to take its visual representations and find linguistic forms that were equally suggestive of detail, completeness, cluttered wholeness" (176). For Whitman, "photographs, as they captured and held fleeting moments, offered the only stasis, but it was a permanence that simply underscored change" (157). I would further like to suggest that this doubleness that Whitman recognizes and writes from is precisely the issue of autobiographical identity in a work whose well-known self-reflexive character ("I celebrate myself") the author insisted upon: "'Leaves of Grass' is, or seeks to be, simply a faithful and doubtless self-will'd record. In the midst of all, it gives one man's—the author's—identity" (658). To understand Whitman's "sort of autobiography," then, we must also understand that he envisions that "self-will'd record" as a sort of photography.

Though proposing to read Whitman's autobiography in relation to photography, I do not intend to produce an easy resolution to the "litter-rary" confusion we often associate with Whitman's various self-representations. Insistent though it may be on its autobiographical presence, and in particular in that self-described "melange" *Specimen Days*, Whitman's textual identity remains as confusing as a series of photographs. In a manner as unsettling as the photographic confusion with which we began, readers must therefore explore the relationship between autobiography and photography as something both evocative of identity and unsettling in its metaphysics. In *Picturing Ourselves: Photography and Autobiography*, Linda Haverty Rugg argues that the presence of photography, whether as medium or metaphor, within an autobiography invokes a "double consciousness" which informs and attends to both technologies of self-presentation. The "photographic situation," according to Rugg, offers "a representational image for the autobiographical act of looking at oneself, as well as a metaphor for the intrusive act of reading and interpreting that takes place after the publication of the autobiography" (5). Photographic and autobiographical discourses therefore share and illuminate both the confusion of disassociation and the uncanny reproducibility of identity of the kind we have observed with Whitman. But, as we have

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seen in Whitman's "venture" to his reader, photography can also offer what Rugg calls "a possibility of reconciliation or reintegration." Nor is this possibility merely within the text, for as Rugg explains, "The eye of the reader is one theater where the drama of divorce and reconciliation can take place" (14).

Whitman was very aware of how multiple and shifting representations of life and self could unsettle the very image of identity they represent. "Is the difference evolutional or episodical?" he asked on another occasion of photographic confusion, when attempting to situate the biographical identity displayed in four different photographic portraits: "Taking them in their periods is there a visible bridge from one to the other or is there a break?" (Traubel 4: 424–25). The very confusion provoked by this question points to that fluctuating presence of multiple incarnations of the author's auto/biographical identity—"Whitman's mutual portrait of self and America," as Graham Clarke puts it—which is characteristic of Whitman's sort of autobiography.[2] "Of the best of events and facts, even the most important," Whitman writes, "there are finally not the events and facts only, but something flashing out and fluctuating like tuft-flames or eidolons, from all" (*Complete Poems* 1338). This kind of dis-association, revealed by the process of photography and the potential in theory to have an endless series of photographs, further reveals the dynamic auto/biographical potential of Whitman's metonymic poetics. Writing, Whitman claims, issues in the very light of its subject, thus allowing the author to communicate to his future reader by conveying the specimens or "eidolons" of his days through the medium of his writing.

Specimen Days presents that dynamic of double identity, that relation between textual confusion and the potential of a reintegrative reading, probably more provocatively and self-consciously than any other of Whitman's "autobiographical" texts. Indeed, one of the work's more suggestive peculiarities is Whitman's anticipation and foregrounding of his concern for how this autobiography, with all its apparent confusion, might be mis/read. "May-be, if I don't do anything else," Whitman writes in the book's opening frame, "I shall send

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out the most wayward, spontaneous, fragmentary book ever printed" (690).[3] Whitman's "may-be" suggests, however, that something crucial remains in this autobiography's otherwise dissonant picture. Soon after it appeared, Whitman wrote in a notebook entry that the book's "cohesion and singleness of purpose [is] not so evident at first glance" (*Diary* 661), just as in the photographic portraits, the author's identity is similarly not so evident. The parallel lies in Whitman's own visual metaphor for reading the book—the glance—which appears throughout *Specimen Days*. Such figures of vision may be basic to autobiography, a genre traditionally linked to self-portraiture, or in Paul de Man's rhetorical terminology, prosopopeia—autobiography as a linguistic face. But Whitman's self-review suggests that visualizing an author's biographical identity is not as important as visualizing its doubleness: reading the relay between what is and is not evident.

This oscillation between identity and difference makes possible the dynamic sort of autobiography Whitman also recognizes in photography. The photographic portrait certainly provided him with the opportunity for capacious self-representation, but besides the most obvious use of the medium—the 1855 frontispiece, for example—Whitman incorporates the more implicit, if also more unsettling, representational lesson of photography into *Specimen Days*. "As I have always said, there's an element, margin, play, of uncertainty in every photo," Whitman writes to Traubel (Traubel 9: 35), and how Whitman translates into writing this sense of photographic play teaches us a crucial lesson about the double identity of his life's writing: how "specimen events" flash out, as Whitman put it in 1888, as though true pictures from his past. But for Whitman, as for Walter Benjamin, what makes that picture of history true is the relation between an image and its disappearance pictured in every photo. In *Specimen Days*, Whitman uses photography against its own positivist grain, by using photographs and their metaphorical registers to evoke neither a poetics of historical realism nor a transcendental selfhood, but rather, a recognition of the relationship between the positive identity represented and the means—call it the negative—of its representation.

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Parts of the Actual Distraction

The visual figure of the glimpse or glance that Whitman uses to read the "not so evident" cohesion of his autobiography pervades the central section of *Specimen Days*, which remains its most compelling and strangest feature. The book "dwells long in its own peculiar way on the Secession War," he writes to Sylvester Baxter, and "gives glimpses of that event's strange interiors, especially the Army Hospitals—in fact makes the resuscitating and putting on record the *emotional aspect* of the war of 1861–'65 one of its principal features" (*Correspondence* 3: 308). Such "glimpses," and other variations of Whitman's figure for partial, incomplete, or fluctuating vision, are found throughout these war memoranda, which are reproduced nearly verbatim in this section from his earlier book *Memoranda During the War* (1875). To provide readers with what he calls "A Glimpse of War's Hell-Scenes," Whitman copies directly (he insists) from blood-stained notebooks he kept while serving as a nurse in the hospitals. An entry captioned "A Night Battle, Over A Week Since," for instance, records an event that "afforded countless strange and fearful pictures" (722). Or more precisely, since Whitman did not see the battle firsthand, but only through the aftermath he encountered in the hospitals, he actually records his *attempt* to record that event: "I would like to give just a glimpse of—(a moment's look in a terrible storm at sea—of which a few suggestions are enough, and full details impossible.)" (721). "Glimpse" thus reminds us that, at least as Whitman remembers it, the war was prominently a visual experience: "things seen through my eyes and what my vision brings," as he put it in an early proposal for the book that became *Memoranda* (*Correspondence* 1: 171). But "glimpse" also suggests that Whitman's primary concern in representing these memories of the war is reflective *and* reflexive. The focus remains on the nature of his own (and any) war representation. Because they foreground their own suggestiveness, their ability to mediate a history that cannot be immediate, pictures and glimpses necessarily suggest why "full details are impossible." A few suggestions are often enough to tell the story that can't be told. "Of scenes like these, I say, who writes—whoe'er can write the story?" Whitman asks in

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"Unnamed Remains the Bravest Soldier": "Unnamed, unknown, remain, and still remain the bravest soldiers. Our manliest—our boys—our hardy darlings; no picture gives them" (724). But in the cenotaph suggested by his caption, "Unnamed Remains," Whitman provides a picture, and a name, for the soldiers.

This dynamic ambivalence informs the phrase that concludes this war memoranda section of the autobiography. "Such was the war," Whitman writes in "The Real War Will Never Get in the Books": "It was not a quadrille in a ballroom. Its interior history . . . will never be written—perhaps must not and should not be. The preceding notes may furnish a few stray glimpses into that life, and into those lurid interiors, never to be fully convey'd to the future" (779).[4] This peculiar representation of the war and his place in it is clearly Whitman's attempt to write a history about the history that can never be fully written. But even if Whitman's "stray glimpses" here suggest that ineffability familiar in representations of war, I would argue that they are not simply that. In these memoranda—and in Whitman's *reprinting* of them in *Specimen Days*, two decades after the war—Whitman authoritatively foregrounds the ambivalence of authorial vision, by stressing his own—and every other writer's—inability to remember and convey this war fully, or finally. Whitman suggests that the "real war" can never be known apart from representational pieces, parts that serve to represent the whole: in short, the specimen. Whitman pushes this insight to its metonymic extreme in another famous claim from his memoranda that reappears in the opening footnote of *Specimen Days:*

> I wish I could convey to the reader the associations that attach to these soil'd and creas'd livraisons, each composed of a sheet or two of paper, folded small to carry in the pocket, and fasten'd with a pin. I leave them just as I threw them by after the war, blotch'd here and there with more than one blood-stain, hurriedly written, sometimes at the clinique, not seldom amid the excitement of uncertainty. (689)

The bloodstains, the blotches, and the writing are all specimens of Whitman's vision of the war, and necessarily

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Whitman's alone, for though we may read of the stains and of their significance for the author, he can convey neither the stains themselves nor their associations fully to us. The story behind the bloodstains simultaneously can and cannot be told.

This keyword "specimen" thus serves a double function in Whitman's war writing and in his autobiography. In the synecdochal logic of Whitman's favored metonymy, specimen pages best represent the type of war they portray by reproducing some of the actual traits of the physical specimens that the war produced, those details and distractions that Whitman witnessed in the hospital interiors. The text remembers by gesturing toward what can no longer be restored, much like the amputated limbs Whitman would confront outside the hospitals. Whitman's metaphors in these memoranda often suggest the visual connotations of the term "specimen." Whether reproduced in writing or seen firsthand in hospitals, specimen cases are primarily visual representations, as the etymological *spec* of the word "specimen" (Lat. *specere*: to look at or behold) would suggest. A part or extract thus gives a visible trace of the whole, and for Whitman, such a notion remains the only way to read the real war that will never get in the books. But this too is Whitman's war: the experience of the "real war" *in relation to* the experience of reading and remembering it. As Whitman suggests in another remarkable passage from these memoranda, "The Weather.—Does it Sympathize with These Times?," the war must be read through stray glimpses and "strange analogies" (759). In conversation with Traubel years later, Whitman would return to this theme: "My experiences on the field have shown me that the writers catch very little of the real atmosphere of a battle. . . . It is like trying to photograph a tempest" (2: 53).

Though I am making much of this particular analogy, and offering it as a way to read the ambivalence, and the strangeness, that marks Walt Whitman's "vision" and version of the war, I realize, however, that the "pictures" and "glimpses" to which Whitman refers throughout the memoranda are by no means limited to the metaphor of photographic vision. In fact, neither an actual photograph nor an explicit reference to photography appears in this war

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memoranda section of the autobiography, and as far as I know, Whitman never even considered reproducing any of the many photographic representations of the war that would have been available in both 1875 and again in 1882. Such specimens of the Civil War produced by men like Mathew Brady and Alexander Gardner had as forceful an impact as the words produced by "the writers" on the way that the war got in the books. If photographs, as Whitman's metaphor reminds us, were a "strange analogy" for the war, I would also argue that the process of photography itself provides an equally strange but suggestive analogy for writing a war that "perhaps must not and should not" be written. If I have delayed, therefore, in introducing the photographic metaphor to our reading of Whitman's war "glimpses," it is to recognize that writing figuratively with photography for Whitman can mean, at the very same time, writing literally without it.

From his earliest attempts to confront the interiors of the war in his prose, those specimen cases that (fail to) tell the story, Whitman wrote with a *speculative* vision of photography in mind. In the spring of 1862, only months before he left New York for Washington and the hospital drama of the war, Whitman wrote a series of seven articles published pseudonymously in the New York *Leader.* Four of the articles focused on the author's impressions of the sick wards in the Broadway Hospital, interiors that included the first specimens of the war that Whitman would encounter. The series is suggestively titled "City Photographs," though the print technology of the time did not allow actual photographs to be reproduced with the articles, and the writer nowhere refers directly to the new medium. Instead, Whitman takes up the conventional metaphor of writing as a "sketch," and develops it through this invocation of photography. Perhaps like a photograph, a sketch "only aims to skim over the surface" (29), and in "City Photographs," Whitman displays strategies for retrospective writing—a kind of photographic prose—that will develop over the course of his career.

Take, for example, the form of the writing. The articles are made up of brief, two or three paragraph passages with

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captions—a form similar to the one that gives *Specimen Days* its appearance of confusion and "jumble." The brief, captioned paragraphs seem to be substitutes for those actual "city photographs" which cannot be there. But whether or not we are meant to read the prose as "photographs," Whitman in these pieces certainly links the power of the visual image to the problems he encountered in remembering and recording these "hospital scenes." Here, for instance, are the concluding words of the first article:

> After I have passed through [the wards] of late, especially in the South Building, which is now filled with soldiers, I have many hours afterwards, in far different scenes, had the pale faces, the look of death, the appealing eyes, come curiously of a sudden, plainly before me. The worser cases lying quite helpless in their cots—others, just able to get up, sitting weak and dispirited in their chairs—I have seen them thus, even through all the gayety of the street or a jovial supper-party. (29)

In Washington, Whitman would more directly address these hospital cases, but in his war memoranda he will continue to write about them with what I take to be a similarly photographic eye. As he reads the shadowy outlines of the soldiers' faces in "City Photographs," Whitman is not only employing the "photograph" as an implicit figure of writing—how he sketches or frames the scene—but also acknowledging that uncanny face of representation which photography brought to light in the nineteenth century. Whitman himself would describe this effect in his review of John Plumbe's daguerreotype gallery, which created "the impression of an immense Phantom concourse . . . a new world—a peopled word, though mute as the grave" (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 2, 1846; qtd. in Trachtenberg, "Photography" 25). In the daguerreotype, Whitman clearly recognizes photography's double consciousness, its ability to represent a human face so accurately that the representation becomes almost phantasmatic, creating in the viewer "an uncanny sense," as Alan Trachtenberg observes, "of something both already dead and still alive" ("Photography" 25).

It is no surprise then that Whitman links the ambivalence of photography's "phantom concourse" to death, nor that

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those pale faces in "City Photographs" seem related to those unsettling Civil War photographs which for the first time captured the war's look of death "curiously of a sudden, plainly." Whitman was not alone in this insight. One year after "City Photographs," Oliver Wendell Holmes, in an *Atlantic Monthly* article "Doings of the Sunbeam," wrote about revisiting the field of Antietam through the "terrible mementoes" of a series of photographs. "The field of photography is extending itself to embrace subjects of strange and sometimes of fearful interest," Holmes remarked: "It was so nearly like visiting the battlefield to look over these views that all the emotions excited by the actual sight of the stained and sordid scene, strewed with rags and wrecks, came back to us, and we buried them in the recesses of our cabinet as we would have buried the mutilated remains of the dead they too vividly represented" (11–12). For Holmes, the photographs uncannily reproduce not the war, but its "sordid scene"—the aftermath represented first by bodies and then by photographs that he would like to repress or bury.

Whitman also recognizes the power of revisiting the war through its stray remains. Speaking of his own notebooks, in the opening paragraph of *Memoranda During the War,* Whitman writes:

> Even these days, at the lapse of many years, I can never turn their tiny leaves, or even take one in my hand, without the actual army sights and hot emotions of the time rushing like a river in full tide through me. Each line, each scrawl, each memorandum, has its history. . . . Out of them arise active and breathing forms. They summon up, even in this silent and vacant room as I write, not only the sinewy regiments and brigades, marching or in camp, but the countless phantoms of those who fell and were hastily buried by wholesale in the battle-pits, or whose dust and bones have been since removed to the National Cemeteries of the land. (3)

War memoranda are for Whitman what war photographs are for Holmes—forms of representation which are uncanny in their ability to embody and to recall the remains from the battlefield as "active and breathing forms." Unlike Holmes,

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however, Whitman does not seek to bury his glimpses of "war's hell-scenes," but rather tries to resuscitate them through the memoranda of his notebooks. Writing thus summons up the uncanny forms of war, the "sort of fascinating sight" that Whitman first faced in the Broadway Hospital and then reinvoked through a visibly unsettled sort of text. Nearing the end of the Civil War section of *Specimen Days*, Whitman calls this unsettled quality "convulsiveness":

> As I have look'd over the proof-sheets of the preceding pages, I have once or twice fear'd that my diary would prove, at best, but a batch of convulsively written reminiscences. Well, be it so. They are but parts of the actual distraction, heat, smoke and excitement of those times. The war itself, with the temper of society preceding it, can indeed be best described by the very word *convulsiveness*. (775)

Here Whitman confronts those represented forms of war that unsettled Holmes. In Whitman's memoranda, however, he continues to look, though somewhat fearfully, into the "appealing eyes" of the war, even though its looks of death "come curiously" before him. But the distraction of memory remain as well, for "convulsiveness" suggests that the war and its history, "the war itself," can never be distinguished from the various "proof-sheets," or specimens, of its representation. Only through "convulsively written reminiscences," then, can the convulsiveness of war memory be invoked, and the italicization of the operative word, *convulsiveness*, may suggest that Whitman is aiming at some emphatic and visible textual counterpart to the "excitement" and "distraction" of the war.[5]

In *Reading American Photographs*, Alan Trachtenberg examines the relation between photography and the comprehension of the Civil War, particularly as mediated by the photographic albums of Mathew Brady and Alexander Gardner. "In their fragmentary presentation of the war," Trachtenberg argues, "their individual vividness at the expense of a blurred vision of the whole, the photographs may have conveyed a subliminal message of inexpressible interiors—not the stuff of romantic myth or heroic legend" (77). Such photographic images thus have the potential to

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show the convulsiveness of the war by being "parts of the actual distraction." To hear Whitman in Trachtenberg's "inexpressible interiors" suggests the degree to which Whitman's war writing has informed our own comprehension of the conflict, and it is perhaps not too far a stretch to suggest that Whitman's writing in turn, those leaves that can curiously and suddenly summon the war, may itself have been shaped by encounters with Gardner's photographic sketches.[6]

In fact, Gardner's *Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* (1866) can be thought of as a memorandum, especially given the extensive captions that face each photograph. In any case, Gardner's book can help us recognize the photographic dimensions of Whitman's "convulsiveness." Perhaps his most striking example can be found in the penultimate passage of the war section in *Specimen Days*, captioned "The Million Dead, Too, Summ'd Up." As we should expect by now, when writing of the countless "dead in this war," Whitman first asks us to see them: "the dead in this war—there they lie, strewing the fields and woods and valleys and battle-fields of the south . . ." (776). This opening sentence continues, disrupted and fragmented, for more than a page, ending without completion, a sentence fragment. Such textual discontinuity seems to ask the reader to recognize how the clutter of bodies "strewing the fields" resembles the cluttered images and phrases of the text. The disruption is both visual and verbal, as Whitman writes with and from the fragmented perspective that the view of so many dead bodies brings suddenly before the eyes. Similarly, in that same opening passage of the *Memoranda* where he recalls the "active and breathing forms" to be found in his hospital notebooks, Whitman goes on to remark that "Vivid as life, they recall and identify the long Hospital Wards, with their myriad-varied scenes of day or night—the graphic incidents of field or camp— [. . .] —the convulsive memories, (let but a word, a broken sentence, serve to recall them) . . . " (4). Graphic incidents, Whitman suggests, are best represented through the figural light and heat of their origin, one indexed like a photograph in the process of its composition. Whether recorded by Gardner or Whitman, then, the "photographic incidents" of the war create fragmented views which

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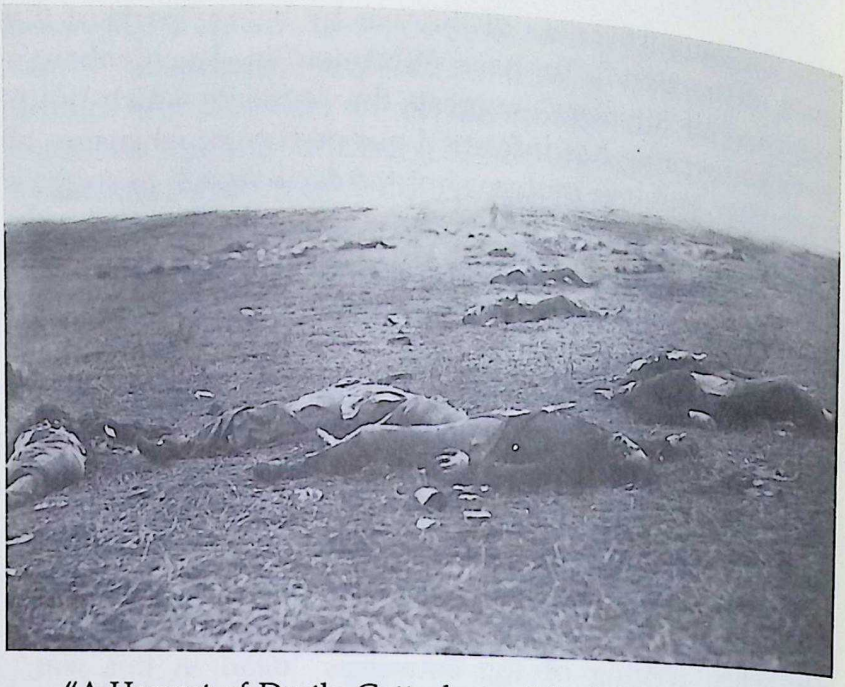

"A Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, July 1863." Plate 36 in *Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War.* Negative by T. H. O'Sullivan, positive by Gardner. Photo courtesy of the George Eastman House.

whether verbally or visually also communicate the war's actual distraction.[7]

Two comparisons between Gardner's and Whitman's achievements might prove useful here. One of the most famous and unsettling photographs from the Civil War is Gardner's "A Harvest of Death."[8] This graphic image of dead bodies stretching out to the horizon seems to need no explanation. This is in keeping with Gardner's own claim in his preface to a book that he himself declares needs no preface. "In presenting the *Photographic Sketch Book of the War* to the attention of the public," Gardner declares, "it is designed that it shall speak for itself." In fact, he even claims that "Verbal representations of such places, or scenes, may or may not have the merit of accuracy; but photographic presentments of them will be accepted by posterity with an undoubting faith." For Gardner, the photographic incidents of the war speak for themselves because they are unmediated presentations, presentments rather than representations (Sweet 120–21). And yet, as Timothy Sweet shows, Gardner's

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text is pervasively rhetorical, and most obviously in its captions, which by describing these scenes that supposedly speak for themselves, work to "heal or hide" the very wounds and disruption that pictures like "A Harvest of Death" would seem to reveal. In the caption for this photograph, Gardner names the horrors that the picture exposes: "shattered bodies" and "the litter of the battle-field." But he goes on to declare that "Such a picture conveys a useful moral: It shows the blank horror and reality of war, in opposition to its pageantry. Here are the dreadful details! Let them aid in preventing such another calamity falling upon the nation" (plate 36). If "A Harvest of Death" were truly the "photographic presentment" Gardner claims it to be, it could not be transformed into this or any other moral. Here, however, he enlists its representation of the scene as support for his ethical pronouncements.[9]

It is not, however, in their moral implications that Gardner's photographs most closely resemble Whitman's words. On the contrary, Sweet directs our attention to a stronger link between the "organicist poetics" of Whitman's war writing and "an analogous visual organicism" mobilized by Civil War photographers (78). Certainly Whitman's entire passage "The Million Dead, Too, Summ'd Up" might be read as a prose version of "A Harvest of Death." Not only does Whitman in this incredible fragment identify the death wrought by various diseases as "the crop reap'd by the mighty reapers," but he goes on to extend this metaphor to the battlefield, with "—the infinite dead—(the land entire saturated, perfumed with their impalpable ashes' exhalation in Nature's chemistry distill'd, and shall be so forever, in every future grain of wheat and ear of corn, and every flower that grows, and every breath we draw) . . ." (777).

Like Gardner's caption, such a passage seems self-contained and self-sufficient. In at least one sense, then, Sweet's reading, though compelling, is incorrect in linking Whitman's war writing, and specifically the prose of *Memoranda* and *Specimen Days*, so closely to the rhetoric of such a photographic project.[10] For as we have seen, for Whitman there is no "war itself" apart from its convulsiveness, that disjunction between the real and represented

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that Gardner's own "verbal representations" ironically interdict. Though it would seem that by distinguishing Whitman's "convulsiveness" from Gardner's representations I am undercutting the very analogy between Whitman's prose and photography I have been exploring, I would argue that the contrast here reveals something crucial about Whitman's photographic perspective. The difference is not in the photographic medium *per se*, but rather in the nature of its verbal and visual use. As I have already suggested, Gardner attempts to contain the unsettling debris and dead of battle by establishing through his moralizing what Alan Trachtenberg elsewhere calls a "perspective on the discordance" (*Reading* 97).

This does not mean that for Whitman there can be no moral drawn from the war, or that his Unionist sympathies must be wholly distinguished from Gardner's. I would suggest, however, that Whitman's moral of the *picture* of war can be contrasted usefully with Gardner's. Indeed, Whitman's moral speaks to the addition of the word "picture" to Gardner's reading of the clear and present "moral of the war." For Whitman, Gardner's photographs and captions might at best "furnish a few stray glimpses" of the details of the real war, "never to be fully convey'd to the future." In Whitman, there is no real war, horrible or fascinating as it is, that can be clearly, fully, or finally pictured. Any representative part of the actual distraction is itself a matter of distraction. Thus, to return to "The Million Dead, Too, Summ'd Up," the "harvest of death" cannot imply a full restoration, because the crop of dead remains distilled throughout the land as an uncanny presence remaining "in every future grain of wheat and ear of corn," and reinforced by that vision of "countless graves" with which the passage ends—or rather, fails to end completely. With what Gardner calls "an undoubting faith," we can stand with Whitman and "see, and ages yet may see, on monuments and gravestones, singly or in masses, to thousands or tens of thousands, the significant word Unknown" (777). Even as it vividly invokes it, Whitman's passage ends by unsettling, rather than asserting, the accuracy of any commemorative record: "but what visible, material monument can ever fitly commemorate that spot" (778).[11] All attempts

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to "sum up" the "dead in this war" can never put them to rest, for their commemoration comes by way of their "visible, material" summoning.

A passage like "The Million Dead" grants us Whitman's vision of "the real war" written in relation to "photography." The notion of "photographic presentment" for Whitman would mean to photograph a tempest: to attempt to portray or to capture fully the identity of a subject, be it person or event, even though the subject's representative character remains paradoxically latent. There is "no good portrait of Lincoln," for instance, because all the attempted portraits necessarily fail to capture the expression of his face (765). This is not, however, the failure of any particular representation, but the essential failure of all representations that attempt to speak to the real identity of the man, to that character that can never be fully conveyed or made apparent. This failure is tde subject of one of Whitman's verbal "portraits" of Lincoln given amidst his war memoranda. "I see very plainly Abraham Lincoln's dark brown face, with the deep-cut lines, the eyes, always to me with a deep latent sadness in the expression," Whitman writes, even as he admits that "None of the artists or pictures has caught the deep, though subtle and indirect expression of this man's face. There is something else there" (734). Here again, pictures from the war convulse for Whitman within his foregrounded verbal picture of his representation. The idea of portraiture is thus crucial to Whitman's "medium world" of the war, a world in which he finds and would like to show (as he wrote to Emerson in 1863) "deep things, unreckoned": "a world full of its separate action, play, suggestiveness" (*Correspondence* 1: 68–69). For Whitman, then, like the "latent personal character" of the war itself (778), Lincoln's latent, characteristic expression is best read in the recognition that there is always "something else there."

Whitman explores the recognition of latency in representations of Lincoln and the war and as a characteristic of photography itself. In that same conversation with Traubel in which Whitman recognizes the potential and confusion of photographic portraiture—"a dozen of me afloat"—he goes on to link photography to the problem of biographical

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representation, a problem that is crucial for him in drawing his picture of the war. "Now, there's Abraham Lincoln," Whitman explains, "people get to know his traits, his habits of life, some of his characteristics set off in the most positive relief." And yet, Whitman continues, "I know that the hero is after all greater than any idealization. Undoubtedly—just as the man is greater than his portrait—the landscape than the picture of it—the fact than anything we can say about the fact." Once again, though, this elusive characteristic of a man or a landscape or a fact like the Civil War still confirms that the "real" identity cannot be separated from the traces of its presentations. "It is hard to extract a man's real self—any man—from such a chaotic mass—from such historic debris," Whitman concludes (Traubel 1: 108). In other words, there is no trait of a real self that can be separated from the history of its portrayal, just as there can be no portrait without extract, and thus, no extract, no specimen, that is not for Whitman already a part of the actual distraction.[12] Photography shares in this "chaotic mass" because the process of the medium is always latent in the presented product. The positive print never stands fully by itself, but always in relation to the negative from which it is reproduced, that negative which is itself already a trace of the referent. The reproducibility that allows the photograph to be conveyed to the future means it is never conveyed fully or finally.

When Whitman describes writing the war as "like trying to photograph a tempest," then, he has in mind not a specific photograph, but the process of photographic representation, its infinitive. In this reading, photography is less an analogy for a particular kind of representation and more an analogy for Whitman's vision of the convulsive nature of representation as such. We should recognize, then, that for Whitman "to photograph," does not provide an analogy to the war itself but to the attempts of "the writers" to catch it. Since photographs can never speak for themselves, much in the way the real can never get in the books, the absence of photographs in Whitman's verbal glimpses of the war may ultimately be faithful both to that "medium world" of his memoranda, and to the kind of photography that would figure it.

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An Immensely *Negative* Book

Following his own photographic analogy, the associations that Whitman insists upon for his war memoranda might be pictured best this way. The word "*convulsiveness*" that Whitman employs to characterize both the war and his representation of it conjures up the image of the writer's distracted hand, almost as if in photographing the tempest, the hand shakes and his verbal "camera" moves. This analogy can be extended to those passages in *Specimen Days* where the focus shifts from memoranda of war to memoranda of his post-war paralysis and recovery. The tempests of war are no longer the issue in this second half of the book, but the atmosphere of representation—and more specifically, the latent character of the photograph—remain crucial to Whitman's sort of autobiography. Even as he focuses more directly on himself in these pages, through the suggestiveness and play of photography's medium world, Whitman continues to develop what he will call "the mystery of identity."

The "Interregnum Paragraph" immediately following "The Real War Will Never Get in the Books" enacts the sudden shift in scenery from Washington and its interiors of the war to Whitman's "restoration" in the open air of Timber Creek. "If the notes of that outdoor life could only prove as glowing to you, reader dear, as the experience itself was to me," Whitman writes, "Doubtless in the course of the following, the fact of invalidism will crop out (I call myself *a half-Paralytic* these days, and reverently bless the Lord it is no worse,) between some of the lines" (780). But though the actual "field and atmosphere" of the autobiography change abruptly, the metonymic perspective that is crucial to the war memoranda remains consistent. Indeed, Whitman saw it as basic to the whole book. "I suppose I publish and leave the whole gathering," Whitman writes in his opening footnote to *Specimen Days*, "first, from that eternal tendency to perpetuate and preserve which is behind all Nature, authors included; second, to symbolize two or three specimen interiors, personal and other, out of the myriads of my time, the middle range of the Nineteenth century in the New World: a strange,

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unloosen'd, wondrous time" (690). Even in the outdoor air of Timber Creek, then, we can expect to confront those "specimen interiors" of Whitman's autobiographical vision, reading this particular gathering of leaves—yet another "livraison"—with the very looseness of the text and pages in mind, for they best reflect the "strange, unloosen'd, wondrous" nature of the man and the myriads of his time.

In these remarkable "nature notes" comprising much of the second half of the autobiography, reprinted we are told, from memoranda "pencilled" on the spot, Whitman therefore represents not Nature by itself, but the autobiographical *nature* of his writing. The perspective here remains a matter of "convulsiveness": a vision of representation and its relation to the real that continues to conflate the author's production of a book with the process of his life. "Without apology for the abrupt change of field and atmosphere—," Whitman writes in a footnote explaining the "nature" of his "new themes," "after what I have put in the preceding fifty or sixty pages—temporary episodes, thank heaven!—I restore my book to the bracing and buoyant equilibrium of concrete outdoor Nature, the only permanent reliance for sanity of book or human life." "Who knows," Whitman has it in his "fancy," his "ambition," "but the pages now ensuing may carry ray of sun, or smell of grass or corn . . . to serve as cooling breeze, or Nature's aroma, to some fever'd mouth or latent pulse" (780). In this restorative section, then, we find what is there throughout the autobiography regardless of scene: that way in which Whitman envisions and perpetuates the personal life and character of his *text*, composting and compositioning "Nature's aroma" and chemistry in the field and the atmosphere of his self-representations. Though his explanatory note seems to refer to the progression of actual events in his life—his paralysis in 1873 (which he associated with the strains of the war), his migration to Camden, and his restoration at Timber Creek—the language here also suggests that it is Whitman's "self-will'd record," his autobiography, as much as Whitman himself, that is in need of recovery. Or as Whitman puts it, "I restore my book." Much like Oliver Wendell Holmes when he looked over the photographic incidents of Antietam, Whitman faces the remains of his past

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through the active and breathing forms conveyed by its representation.

In a letter to William D. O'Connor, written shortly after *Specimen Days* was first published, Whitman further describes the "nature" of this vision—what following Whitman we might call its latent pulse and potential: "Well, S.D. is a rapid skimming over the pond surface of my life, thoughts, experiences, that way—the real altogether untouch'd, but the flat pebble making a few dips as it flies & flits along—enough at least to give some living touches and contact-points—I was quite willing to make an immensely *negative* book" (*Correspondence* 3: 315). Unpacking Whitman's own metaphor, the Nature he observes and records in New Jersey reflects the nature of his own autobiographical identity, just as the pond surface suggests that life whose actual depth can never be completely told. This understanding of *Specimen Days* seems consistent with the effects we have explored in the war prose. The text's figural and literal vision, its distracting glimpses, are enough to give a few suggestions of that real which can never fully get in the books. As in "City Photographs," the author's approach deliberately "aims to skim over the surface." As for Whitman's judgment that *Specimen Days* as a whole is "immensely *negative*," his focus here seems to be on the book's perspective of autobiographical convulsiveness: what the portrayal in short successfully fails to show. A principal nineteenth-century connotation of the word *negative*—"characterized by the absence, instead of the presence, of distinguishing features" (*OED*)—is surely operating here. For as we have seen, for Whitman it is the strange relation between absence and presence, like the remains of a soldier, that best tell the story.

And yet, at the same time, Whitman's *negative* suggests that other, visual connotation of the word: "characterized by a reversal of the lights and shadows of the actual object, scene." Two citations for some of the earliest photographic usages of the word "negative" are suggested here. The first is from William Henry Fox Talbot's "Specimen Patent" (1841), for his discovery of the negative-positive process of photographic development. "The portrait," he writes, "is a negative one, and from this a positive copy may be

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obtained." In the second one, employed by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1858, the photographic connotation has already become figural: "Books are the negative pictures of thought." When Whitman describes *Specimen Days* as a "negative," he certainly seems to be suggesting that it is the negative picture of his thought and vision. The book therefore doesn't give us life or Nature, but rather copies and prints from it, stands in relation to it. "I will learn from thee, and dwell on thee," Whitman says to the inspiring utterance of a nearby brook, "receive, copy, print from thee" (782). Whitman's "immensely *negative*" thus suggests a latent potential of autobiographical reproduction—how identity may be skimmed over and contacted while at the same time altogether untouched. By drawing upon the photographic relation between a negative and its positive print, in *The Pencil of Nature* (1844–1846), in fact, Talbot views the new process of photographic representation and reproduction as a form of natural autobiography —"curious self-representations" in which the subject of a photograph (in this case, Plate 15, Talbot's own house) actually pictures itself (qtd. in Maynard 229). In his "notes" on his experiences in Nature, then, Whitman displays an understanding of the "nature" of photographic representation: its latent reproducibility that is, for Talbot and others, another form of Nature's chemistry.[13] Whitman's outdoor notes dwell on that latency. "The trick is, I find, to tone your wants and tastes low down enough, and make much of negatives, and of mere daylight and the skies," he writes in the "Interregnum Paragraph." In this way, by developing the insight and trick of the photographic process within the composition of his autobiography, Whitman finds it in his nature to represent himself by reproducing himself.

One scene set within these outdoor memoranda—the "scene" that includes the one actual photograph Whitman reproduced in most of the original copies of *Specimen Days*—provides us with a crucial example for exploring such self-representation.[14] Taken sometime in the early 1880s by Phillips and Taylor in Philadelphia, the infamous "butterfly picture" shows Whitman reposing in what seems to be the open air, staring intently, and in profile, at a butterfly perched on his left hand. This portrait appears after the passage

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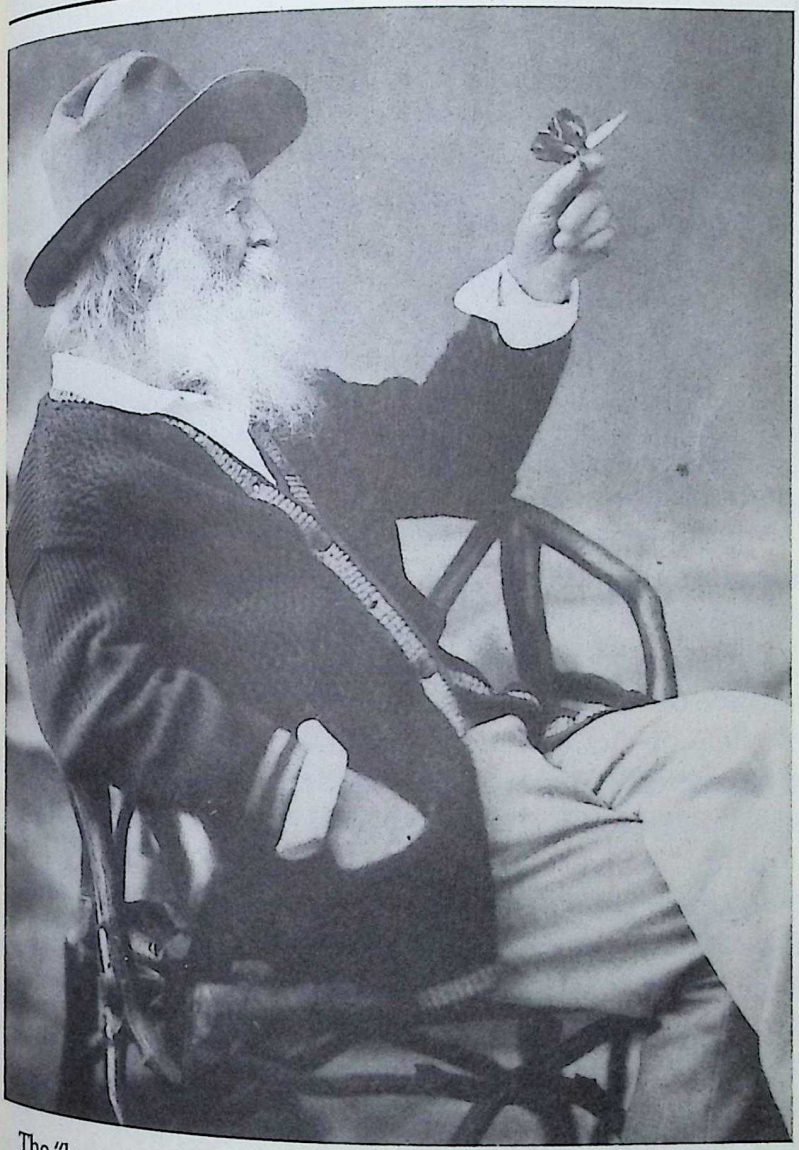
"Straw-Color'd and Other Psyches," in which Whitman, a convalescent pilgrim at Timber Creek, notices the "flashing" of butterflies or "psyches" as they "flit to and fro," passing "over the glistening bronze of the pond-surface" (829). The last sentence of the August 20 section appears directly across from the "real" Whitman's photographed hand: "I have one big and handsome moth down here, knows and comes to me, likes me to hold him up on my extended hand" (829).



The "butterfly portrait" taken in a Philadelphia studio in the early 1880s by Phillips and Taylor. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries.

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We now know that this portrait is artificial, the natural look posed. Not only was it taken in a studio, a fact obvious from the background, but the butterfly is cardboard, a photographer's prop (Folsom, "'This Heart's'" 54). Even before this trick was revealed, long after Whitman's death, questions arose about the photograph. In a 1919 reminiscence, William Roscoe Thayer, one of the many to whom Whitman insisted on the portrait's authenticity, expressed his own doubts: "why Walt should be clad in a thick cardigan jacket on any day when butterflies would have been disporting themselves in the fields, I have never been able to explain. Was this one of the petty artifices by which Walt carried out his pose?"[15] This confusion appears in *Specimen Days* itself, since the passage associated with the photograph describes Whitman sitting by the pond on a warm August day, with no mention of the cardigan. Since Whitman presumably arranged for the sitting, both text and image are autobiographical, but which one is authentic? Both? Neither? Reproduced next to its text, the photograph appears to undermine the authenticity of both "portraits" by exposing them as equally artificial representations.

Within a photographic context, however, this confusion concerning Whitman's "psyche" points to a use of trick photography that is an artifice more real than petty. Describing photography in the late nineteenth century as an "artifice of realism," Miles Orvell notes that such prominent practices of Victorian art photography as pictorialism openly embraced rhetorical effect, seeking "to develop a practice that understood the photographic representation to be a *type* of reality" (85). For any given representation, Orvell suggests the concern shifts from what is real and "truthful" to what is more and less "convincing." It is therefore the "approximation of the image to reality," the relation *between* real and copy, that is most important. Orvell outlines this "synthesis of the extremes of artifice and mimesis" by using as his example Napoleon Sarony's "The Butterfly." Much like the butterfly's own capacity for deceptive mimesis, Sarony's photograph reproduces a "literal representation of an imaginary conception" (81). The "artifice" of Whitman's portrait—the relation between the verbal and visual portraits in this section

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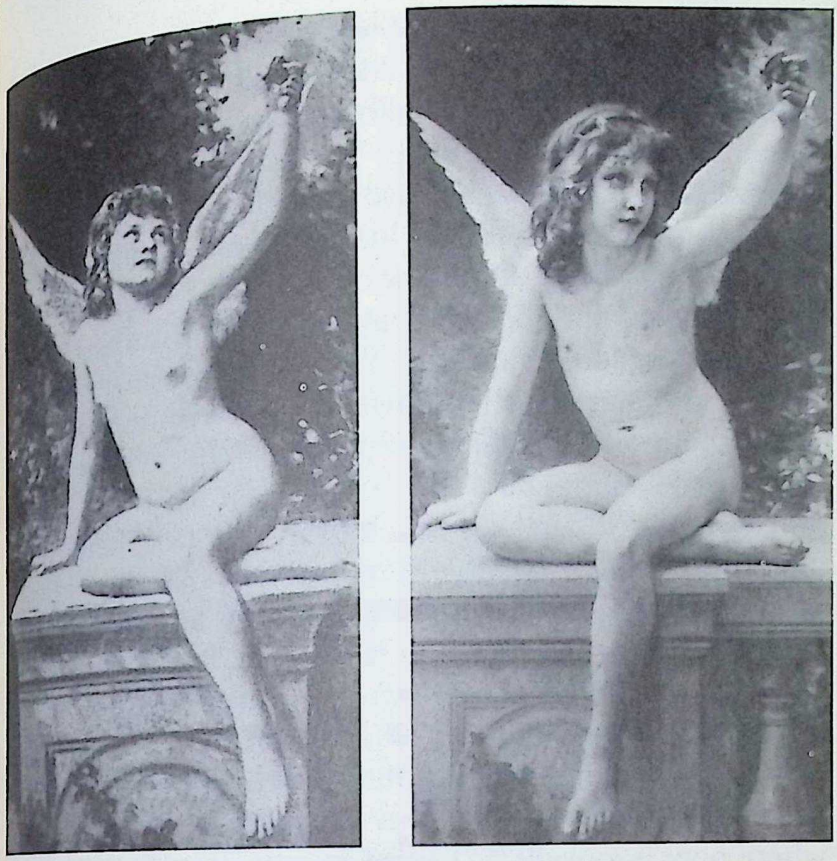

On the left, Napoleon Sarony's *The Butterfly*, a photograph, from *Sarony's Living Pictures*s (1894, The Library of Congress), of Adolphe William Bouguereau's oil on canvas painting *The Captive* (right, 1891, courtesy of The Toldeo Museum of Art).

of *Specimen Days*—is very similar. Whitman's curious self-representation lies itself between the literal and figural. Sitting amidst the verbal print of the scene, the image can be read as a type of the real.

What is most crucial, then, is the sort of allegorical conception of the author that the picture conveys. For Whitman, how and when the image is represented is more important than what it literally represents. Given this, the most significant "trick" of the picture is not the butterfly prop but the fact that in the "original" print Whitman is facing left, but in the autobiography, he is facing right (Folsom, "'This Heart's'" 54). This reversal makes Whitman seem to look away from the book and the page and toward the reader's world. Several years later, Whitman would describe a similar

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portrait which appeared as the frontispiece to his *Complete Poems and Prose*, as a profile, "the looking *out*: the face *away* from the book" (Traubel 2: 460; see also this article's frontispiece). This autobiographical "outlook" ironically alienates us from the author. As Ed Folsom argues, Whitman's portrait invites "the reader to follow his gaze out into the world, not to rest within either the book or the self" (*Whitman's Native Representations* 151). In this way, the two Whitmans he identifies as "My Book and I" in "A Backward Glance" share an identity as latent and unfinished as the butterfly picture. Once again like butterflies, photographs evolve through episodic development. The "play" that Whitman finds in photography, and makes much of in this case, derives most crucially from the creative dynamic of photo reproduction, which allows the reality of an image to be approximated, and then continuously revised. Or as he put it during that same conversation in which he spoke of the "margin, play, or uncertainty in every photo," Whitman proposes "to get some new reproduction of the butterfly picture": "I wonder if the process men can reverse the picture? Set it looking right where now it looks left? I want to have it done, for my own purposes. . . . I like the process pictures, at their best. They seem to utter a new thing in art" (Traubel 9: 35–36).[16]

However, even as Whitman explores a new thing in the technology of art—the photographic process—his writing points back to traditional strategies in his art of autobiography. Unavoidably, readers who examine Whitman's portraits in *Specimen Days* confront *the* image that he selected to represent himself. The photograph therefore encourages us to look in the text of this autobiography for the recognizable *type* of Whitman, in both senses of the word: a specimen of his identity conveyed through this specimen of print. After all, both the visual and verbal portraits give us a thoroughly represented Whitman, as opposed to a real one—the only "Walt Whitman," in fact, we can ever know. In this instance, the "process picture" can therefore be read doubly as an allegorical image of its own developed identity, both the photograph's and Whitman's. The photograph's posing, its "untruth," thus creates a pictorial representation that moves "away from itself in order to be what it is." Or as Eduardo

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Cadava puts it, "Like the photograph that tells us what is no longer before us, truth can only be read, if it can be read at all, in the traces of what is no longer present" (22). Whitman's self-portrait—and by that I mean the relation between the image and the text—is therefore a species of what Cadava calls allegory.[17] Whitman resists the kind of symbolic identification that Gardner's photographic "presentments" presumed. By displacing the notion of full representation and comprehension, Whitman reveals the latent character of his own portraiture, and that "negative" potential that the photograph itself (and Whitman's reprinting of it) makes so much of. In other words, the human subject of the butterfly photograph is not somewhere *in* the autobiography so much as it *is* the autobiography. It is a sign for Whitman's thirty-year construction and development of an autobiography in his texts, his "self-will'd record." The image is therefore not the subject, but the process of autobiographical reference and reproduction which both text and photograph employ. The visual only presents more literally what lies latent in the verbal portraiture surrounding it: the artist working in the photographic studio of his autobiography.

Whether or not a "handsome moth" actually landed on Whitman's hand at Timber Creek, the butterfly is a pervasive textual icon in Whitman, a "specimen" of the author and of the relation between his "Book" and his "I." As early as the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, an engraving of a butterfly similarly perched on an extended finger appears as a margin decoration. A similar engraving is embossed on the spine of *Specimen Days*.[18] And in the 1889 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman reverses the same butterfly portrait, turning the image into a sort of backward glance on the various auto/biographical media, visual and verbal, that he promises on the title page to employ in the collection of work: "stamping and sprinkling all with portraits and facial photos, such as they actually were, taken from life, different stages."

Thus by way of the butterfly photo and the suggestive play of its versions, *Specimen Days* provides us with a "specimen" of the subtle and suggestive interaction of visual and textual representation Whitman employs throughout the various editions of his "Personal Book," and most famously with the

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1855 frontispiece. That image, as Alan Trachtenberg suggests, "declares the method as well as the author of the book" (*Reading* 65), and a contemporary review of *Specimen Days* in the *Critic* for 13 January 1883 reads the butterfly photograph to the same effect. "Every sort of thing is crammed into" this book, the reviewer suggests, "and the manager is the big, good-natured, shrewd and large-souled poet, whose photograph shows him lounging in smoking-jacket and broad felt hat, gazing at this hand, on which a delicate butterfly, with expanded wings, forms a contrast to the thick fingers and heavy ploughman's wrist" (3). If Whitman as early as 1855 could claim through a frontispiece image engraved from a daguerreotype that the contents of his book formed a sort of photographic representation of the author's being or soul, then the identity of that soul will necessarily be pictured in the image of the "psyche" resting on the author's fingers. The identity in the photograph, like the identity of the Whitman represented in the autobiography proper, is the textual identity of an author who is and was, from first to last, an autobiographer. The butterfly picture is therefore the photographic soul of the autobiography's process.

Strange Developments

"So draw near their end these garrulous notes," Whitman writes in the penultimate passage of *Specimen Days*. "There have doubtless occur'd some repetitions," he continues concerning his attempt to give "some authentic glints, specimen-days of my life." But such redundancy has not deterred him from following his method, "jotting all down in the loosest sort of chronological order, and here printing from my impromptu notes, hardly even the seasons group'd together, or anything corrected—so afraid of dropping what smack of outdoors or sun or starlight might cling to the lines, I dared not try to meddle with or smooth them" (925–26). Again, Whitman admits that at least here the autobiography's "cohesion and singleness of purpose" is "not so evident at first glance." On the contrary, incohesion and incompleteness are. And yet, Whitman continues to emphasize the visually speculative nature of his work, as the metaphor of light clinging to his lines suggests yet another photographic

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analogy for the writing. Like light clinging to the emulsion on a photographic negative or paper print, the "smack" of a given subject allows the best versions of its identity to be imaged, approximated, reproduced, conveyed. The character and identity of the author's days are best represented, like a photographed subject, in pieces that flash between their appearance and disappearance. Specimen interiors from life are indeed best reflected in the curious and fascinating sight of their specimen daze, "something flashing out and fluctuating like tuft-flames or eidolons, from all" (1338).[19]

I therefore both insist and repeat myself when I say that Whitman's autobiographical lines are not merely written with photographs in mind—or in the text, as the case may be—but written as a sort of photography. For Whitman's interest in the process does not lie with the image as supposedly fixed forever in a photograph, but with what Oliver Wendell Holmes calls a photograph's "latent soul." "There is a potential image in it," Holmes observes of the negative in the process of its development, "a latent soul, which will presently appear before its judge" (5). For Whitman, this potential is latent in every auto/biographical representation, every formulation and judgment of identity, for two related reasons. First, because there is no real identity separate from the forms of its unfoldings. Second, because there is no unfolding, no process of development, that can ever be fully present or wholly contained. "Long, long are the processes of the development of a nationality," Whitman writes in a *Collect* piece on the future of American history, and therefore, on the future of his own past: "Only to the rapt vision does the seen become the prophecy of the unseen" (1027). It is along these same lines of "development" that in the opening of "A Backward Glance O'er Travell'd Roads," Whitman reviews the autobiographical nature of his "leaves" by suggesting that the "certain unfoldings" of their "own (at the time unconscious, or mostly unconscious) intentions" can never be fully intended: "These lines, therefore, will probably blend the weft of first purposes and speculations, with the warp of that experience afterwards, always bringing strange developments" (656). For Whitman, such developments make it as hard to extract a man's real self from the warp and

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debris of his historical experience as it is to separate the photographic portrait from the negative by which it is printed. Both types of representation suggest a blend of identity and its forms that is, at least for Whitman, unending.

Walter Benjamin's thesis concerning the influence of photography on conventional notions of the work of art, and specifically during Whitman's nineteenth century, remains an insightful, if by now very familiar place to turn. In his oft cited "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Benjamin declares that the kind of technical reproducibility photography enjoys "emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual." Such a reversal frees art from its customary reception, as the aura of authenticity gives way to the multiplicity of reproduction, and ritual gives way to politics (224). This emphasis on the shift from the auratic to the relational, from one-of-a-kind to many-of-the-same, seems applicable to Whitman's case. That kind of "development" whose "democratic republican principle" Whitman speculates upon in *Democratic Vistas*, the work reprinted at the opening of the *Collect* (929), seems to combine, like Benjamin, aesthetic and political meaning. By way of conclusion, however, I would like to push Benjamin's photographic insight into Whitman's sort of autobiography even further. In his notion of technical reproducibility, Benjamin recognizes the play and uncertainty of photography in ways that agree with Whitman's conception of the "strange developments" of autobiography.[20] Reproducibility, Benjamin observes, is possible thanks to the potential of every photograph located in its negative. But this potential is not a photograph's nature or essence, but in fact, the condition of its reproducibility: "one can make any number of prints; to ask for the 'authentic' print makes no sense" (224). Further, since the potential of reproducibility lies in the negative, to use Gardner's words, positive photographs can never speak for themselves. Thinking about the technology of photographic development therefore reveals the mediated nature of the photographic view—a nature paradoxically concealed in the photograph's apparent immediacy. This dialectical presentness of photography, then, suggests that strange relation between the identity of the past and the

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unforeseen future of its reading. "The past has deposited in it images which one could compare to those captured by a light-sensitive plate," Benjamin writes in a draft of his "Theses on the Philosophy of History," but "Only the future has developers at its disposal which are strong enough to allow the image to come to light in all its details." For Benjamin, the goal becomes to read history not in the positive sense of an eternal picture of the past, but rather in the dialectical sense of a dynamic picture of history that also displays the time, the movement, and in this case, the language of photography. Or put another way, Benjamin joins Hofmannsthal in identifying the task of the true historian: "to read what was never written" (qtd. in Cadava 86–87).

Whitman's sort of auto/biographical work is informed both by this insight into photographic reproducibility and this dialectical image of history. His work reads both autobiography and photography against their own historical grain.[21] As a result, his *Specimen Days* must be read through second and third glances, because it must be read against a certain autobiographical grain. Much more than an album of portraits of the author and his era, portraits whose exactness might be likened to photographs, Whitman envisions autobiography faithful to the episodes of its author's textual evolution: a photography of autobiography; a photo-biography.[22] For Whitman, autobiography develops from an inseparable difference between the self or the real and the forms of its representation—the "I" (auto) of genuine identity always remembered, and therefore also displaced, by the light (photo) of its graphic conveyance. Or as Whitman writes in "Seeing Niagara to Advantage" from *Specimen Days*: "not the great majestic gem alone by itself, but set complete in all its varied, full, indispensable surroundings." This passage suggests not only that Whitman conceives of memory photographically, but has conveyed that in this very autobiography: "Brief, and as quiet as brief, that picture—a remembrance always afterwards" (877).[23] Whitman's vision of the "picture," the "brief flash" of memory conveyed in the forms of its representations, suggests a photography of autobiography to the extent that "complete" remembrance can never be complete. The picture is complete "always afterwards"; it is complete only in its ability to remain incomplete, in its potential to suggest, and never fully close

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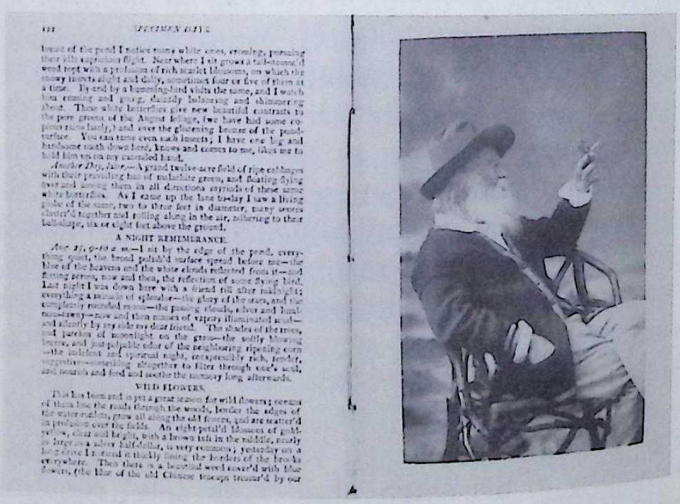
off, a temporal relation between a past, its absence in the present, and latent character of its future development.

For Whitman, the potential of photography is indistinguishable from the autobiographical potential of his writing; it is, in fact, the very nature of what he calls the work's "suggestiveness." "The word I myself put primarily for the description of them as they stand at last, is the word Suggestiveness," he writes of the "Leaves" in "A Backward Glance," recognizing once again the necessarily wayward vision of his authorial intentions: "I round and finish little, if anything; and could not, consistently with my scheme. The reader will always have his or her part to do, just as much as I have had mine. I seek less to state or display any theme or thought, and more to bring you, reader, into the atmosphere of the theme or thought—there to pursue your own flight" (666–67). Here the "personality" of Whitman's writing, the suggestiveness of its autobiographical identity, arises from the movement between the present of the author's "theme or thought" and the future of its re-presentation—the "atmosphere of the theme or thought." Like the ongoing dynamic between the seen and the unseen that marks the process of photographic development, these intentions "stand at last" only to the extent that they also never stand completely or fully. Specimens of the author's identity, these fluctuating eidolons represent the Whitman whose final development remains in the hands of his future readers.



The "butterfly portrait," shown here in its first appearance in book form in *Specimen Days*. It would reappear as a frontispiece to the 1889 *Leaves of Grass*. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries.

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NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: The writing of this essay was made possible with generous support from the University of Iowa Fellowship Program, and with the guidance of Ed Folsom, Whitman's finest reader.

1. The "litter-rary" pun is Whitman's, found in an 1884 letter to John H. Johnston (*Correspondence* 3: 382). The "truly on record" statement comes from Whitman's "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," the essay that perhaps best expresses the complex nature of Whitman's autobiographical work, since in it he personally reflects upon—indeed, insists upon—the personal character of the work overall. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations from Whitman's poetry and prose will be from the Library of America edition of the *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose.*

2. Clarke finds in Whitman's construction and deployment of photographic images a "dual subject" of the "autobiographical element" that is basic to his poetics: a paradoxical relation between self and history or subjective and objective. It is this doubleness of Whitman's conception that has led me to use the term auto/biographical to suggest the fluctuation and movement in Whitman between autobiography and biography, between self-representation and the representation of selves. Paul John Eakin describes this understanding of autobiography as a dialectical relation between "biographical content" and "autobiographical act" (66). Both Clarke and Linda Haverty Rugg (who only mentions Whitman in passing) suggest that this dialectic of autobiographical representation is imaged in the process of photographic representation. Though to speak of autobiography in relation to a photographic portrait might seem to confuse it with biography—strictly speaking, Whitman doesn't actually take his own image—such photographic representation does remind us that the confusion between the autobiographical and the biographical results from that dynamic between self and other that constitutes autobiography.

3. In reference to this same line, Linck Johnson writes, "the few critics who have discussed [*Specimen Days*] have echoed this judgement." I agree with Johnson that the "formlessness" of the work, noted by all, is "more apparent than real" (3). Recent and more compelling readings of the autobiography have attempted to explain this apparent formlessness by referring to conversion narratives (Fichtelberg), prophetic autobiographies (Everett), and the generic ambivalence of transcendental autobiographies (Buell). I would argue that photography allows us to read this autobiography not simply as one more of Whitman's cultural contexts, but as the medium through which

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he theorizes autobiography. Photography, in short, foregrounds the problem of reading between the apparent and the real.

4. My reading here draws upon Katharine Kinney's argument that in his war prose Whitman displays a "powerful ambivalence about the textualizing of the war's casualties" (177).

5. Whitman's anticipation of the critical reception of *Specimen Days* follows along similar metonymic lines:

> After reading the pages of *Specimen Days* do you object that they are a great jumble, everything scattered, disjointed, bound together without coherence, without order or system? My answer would be, So much the better do they reflect the life they are intended to stand for. Though I would not have dared to gather the various pieces of the following book in a single volume with a generic name unless I felt the strong inward thread of spinality running through all the pieces and giving them affinity-purpose—I yet realize that the collection is indeed a melange and its cohesion and singleness of purpose not so evident at first glance. (*Diary* 661)

6. Since Whitman's actual battlefield experience was "virtually nonexistent," Ed Folsom argues that he "learned to see that aspect of the war through the photographic representations of Gardner, Brady, and the other photographers who followed the troops (*Whitman's Native Representations* 111). My comparison between Whitman and Gardner in what follows builds upon Folsom's understanding, but also distinguishes how Whitman viewed such representations (in comparison to his own), a distinction he makes, I argue, by way of photography.

7. I take the phrase from Gardner's first advertisement in 1863, where he offers "Photographic Incidents of the War" (reproduced in Taft 231). I foreground the ambiguity of the phrase—is Gardner selling photos of the war or photos of "photographic incidents of the war"?—to suggest the crucial issue of representation that photography raises about the war. This technology does not merely represent the incidents of the war, it changes how one views them. As such, all representations of the war's events become in effect "photographic incidents." Whitman's "photography of a tempest" suggests a similar understanding. When attempting to *write* the war, it becomes impossible to separate the actual tempest from the process of its representation, its photography.

8. As the caption for this image in the *Photographic Sketch Book* indicates, the negative was actually made by T. H. O'Sullivan, while Gardner made the positive.

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9. A more graphic instance of this can be found by comparing this caption with the caption Gardner provides for the following photograph, "Field Where General Reynolds Fell." Though both photographs are from the battlefield of Gettysburg, and appear to present similar views, Gardner's captions present different morals. The first photograph, of Confederate dead, reveals the "blank horror of war," while the second photograph, of Union soldiers, focuses on their "calm and resigned expression, as though they had passed away in the act of prayer." For further discussion, see Sweet 128–29.

10. The problem perhaps results because although he does see Whitman's war prose as an extension of his pastoral and organicist poetics, Sweet's focus remains on the poetry of *Drum-Taps* (66–67).

11. Gardner's *Photographic Sketch Book* ends with the photograph "Dedication of Monuments on the Bull Run Battle-Field, June 1865." Sweet neglects Whitman's questioning and foregrounding of the issue of commemoration in passages like "The Million Dead," though in a later chapter, he locates a similar questioning and critical re-presentation in Melville's *Battle-Pieces*. I would argue that they are also "aspects" of Whitman's specimen vision of war.

12. As the *OED* notes, the words "trait," "portrait," "extract," "distract," and all their variations share the Latin root *trahere*, to draw.

13. Though the daguerreotype's process of representation differs in crucial ways from Talbot's negative-positive photography, Daguerre himself described the "nature" of his invention in a similar way, suggesting that the daguerreotype "gives [Nature] the power to reproduce herself" (13). Calling photography a form of "Nature's chemistry" thus acknowledges that the process invented by Daguerre, Talbot, and others, in their own view, releases a potential for representation and reproduction already latent in Nature. In fact, Nature's chemistry might thus be considered a form of Nature's photography.

14. Joel Myerson indicates that in addition to the butterfly photograph that was inserted in most copies of *Specimen Days*, a large paper format printing of the text included three other pictures of Whitman and separate pictures of his mother and father (26).

15. In *Walt Whitman's Pose*, Esther Shephard not only records this comment from Thayer, but also reveals that the butterfly prop was included in the Harned Collection at the Library of Congress: "I found a small cardboard butterfly with a loop of fine wire attached by means of which it could be fastened to a

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finger. The lower sides of the wings of the butterfly, which would show in the picture, are colored in blue, red, green, and yellow, to imitate natural coloring. The upper side of the butterfly has a quotation printed on it in gold letters" (251–52). That same prop was recently rediscovered along with four missing notebooks from the collection. Both the photograph and the prop are reproduced in the Library of Congress's "American Memory" digital archive.

16. I am assuming that "process pictures" refers to the mechanical development of photographs. A process inherent in any photograph, it first requires the development or processing of a latent image on photographic film (thus forming the negative of the image taken), and then the development of a print from that negative. In the case of the butterfly picture found in *Specimen Days*, Whitman focuses on two technological developments in the photo-reproduction process: the ability to reverse the image, and to print the photograph directly in the book—a development of the early 1880s. To my knowledge, the butterfly photograph is the first in Whitman's books to be printed directly onto the page, facing the text, rather than glued in separately, which he did, for example, as late as *Two Rivulets* (1876). The introduction later in the 1880s of the half-tone process enabled photographs to be reproduced along with printed type. For a history of these developments, see Taft.

17. Literally meaning "to speak other," allegory suggests a representation in which what is present is always something else. When associating Whitman's photographic vision of autobiography—his conception of identity and history as always implicated in the temporal process of its representation —I draw on Paul de Man's account of the crucial distinctions between allegory and symbol. "Whereas the symbol postulates the possibility of an identity or identification," he argues in "The Rhetoric of Temporality," "allegory designates primarily a distance in relation to its own origin, and, renouncing the nostalgia and the desire to coincide, it establishes its language in the void of this temporal difference. In so doing, it prevents the self from an illusory identification with the non-self" (206). The citational nature of Whitman's text suggests, and indeed repeatedly foregrounds, this "negative moment"—the blood-stains, for instance. Illusory identification is prevented; the emphasis is on the relation rather than the convergence between origin and sign, real and represented. Photographic representation has a similar dynamic; I thus also draw on Eduardo Cadava's linking of the citational structure of photography with prosopopeia, the figure of autobiography (124).

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18. Whitman calls attention to this association: "the volume is issued in precisely the same style as 'Leaves of Grass'—same cloth binding, same butterfly on the back, same size, &c.—" (*Correspondence* 3: 308).

19. I am not reading Whitman's "flashing out" here, or his references to "flash" elsewhere, as implying flash photography, which I recognize would be anachronistic. Rather, I read "flashing out" as analogous to the photo reproduction process: the capturing of an image in the light of its disappearance, and the printing of that disappearance, its eidolons, in the appearance of film. Though photography enacts this process, as will flash photography later, it is by no means limited to the photograph.

20. When applying Benjamin to someone like Whitman, there is a tendency not to get Benjamin wrong, so much as to forge the parallel too specifically with the photograph, thereby neglecting those more "latent" implications raised through Benjamin's reading of the process and subject of photography and its implications for reading and historiography. Graham Clarke, for example, emphasizes a contradiction between Whitman's historical—what I have called auto/biographical—interest and use of photographs: "The 'comprehensiveness' Whitman seeks, as part of an inclusive picturing of history, cannot be found in the single or separate run of photographs, a set of stills" (145). Clarke then makes the Benjamin connection this way: "Whitman is caught in the paradox of what Walter Benjamin has termed 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction'. Thus the photograph as a mechanical art reinforces its democratic appeal, but it also negates the individual aspect of the portrayed as art for 'that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art'" (141). Clarke, it seems to me, neglects the fact that Benjamin is not merely concerned with "the photograph," but also with what he calls "the first truly revolutionary means of reproduction, photography" (224). As a result, Clarke concludes that through photographs "Whitman's 'history'" conceals its "negative image." What I, however, would argue is that by using photography precisely to foreground a recognition of the negative latent in every positive history, including his own, Whitman anticipates Benjamin's notion of the dialectical—not still—nature of the photographic image.

21. Scott McQuire argues that this ambivalence and irony remains crucial to photography's identity, observing "the manner in which the camera first lent itself to the totalizing model of history established under the sway of nineteenth-century positivism,

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while at the same time exceeding its limits and destabilizing its laws in provocative and unpredictable ways" (131).

22. In his introduction to "Autobiography, Photography, Narrative," a special issue of *Modern Fiction Studies*, Timothy Dow Adams notes Charles Desmarais's use of the term "photobiography" to refer to photographic autobiography; that is, work by photographers that is particularly autobiographical (474). An example might be photographer Jo Spence's *Putting Myself in the Picture*, subtitled "A Political, Personal and Photographic Autobiography." I, however, use the term not to emphasize the autobiographical use of photographs, but rather the photographic use of autobiography. In this sense, the term further points to the dynamic relation between the two processes of self/representation—not photographs and autobiography, but rather, photography and autobiography.

23. To my mind, it is not surprising that Niagara, by 1880 already the most photographed site in North America, and what's more a site often described in terms of its photographic potential, would become an emblem for Whitman's understanding of memory. Consider this description from F. H. Johnson's 1868 *Guide to Niagara Falls and its Scenery:* "The longer the visitor tarries, the more he enjoys and appreciates; the impression is indelibly stamped upon his memory, and for years infixed there, as with the imprint of a sunbeam" (25). This link between memory, photographic vision, and autobiography becomes even stronger in Whitman, who extends the process of remembering Niagara's image across the very autobiography we are reading. While remembering, and reprinting the memory of, his afternoon at Niagara, Whitman also remembers memory, and specifically his memories of the visual landscape covered by the entire book itself, from his boyhood on Long Island, through the Civil War—"night-views, I remember, on the field, after battles in Virginia"—through his western trip, up to this "present" moment of re-collecting his views at the Falls.

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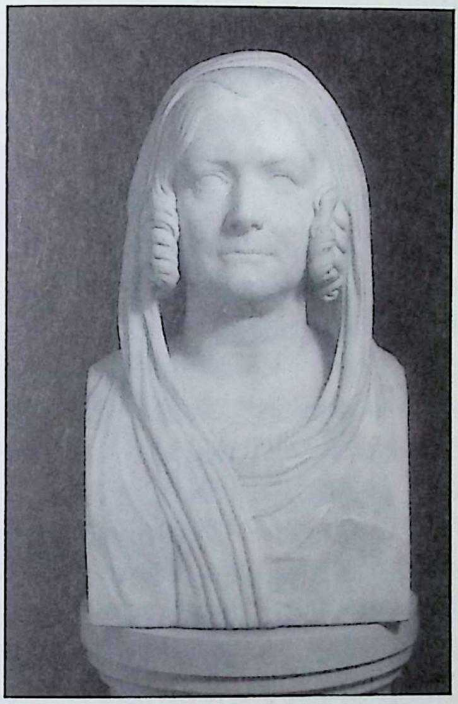
The Hero as Woman of Letters: Anna Jameson Revises Her Girlhood

Judith Johnston

Foreground

Anna Jameson's autobiographical fragment "A Revelation of Childhood" was published in *A Commonplace Book of Thoughts, Memories, and Fancies* in 1854. I have argued elsewhere that this particular volume might be read as a form of autobiography because it reveals Jameson's attitudes and ideas about her own working life. "A Revelation of Childhood" itself was developed from a letter Jameson wrote to Lady Byron, estranged wife of the poet, some fourteen years earlier, around 1840, in response to Lady Byron asking Jameson what childhood reading had been of benefit to her character. Jameson's autobiographical fragment thus exists in two forms, one a very public document, published as "A Revelation of Childhood," the other a very private document, the earlier letter to Lady Byron.



Woman of Letters as Hero: John Gibson's bust of Anna Jameson (1862). By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

I have discussed these two documents at some length in "'A Silent Existence': Women and Biography," chapter one of

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my monograph *Anna Jameson: Victorian, feminist, woman of letters*. By examining the variations between the two documents I demonstrate Jameson's deliberate reconstruction of herself, because the private narrative, the letter to Lady Byron, qualifies and at times subverts the authorized public version found in *A Commonplace Book* (45). Recently, though, I decided I could extend this discussion in quite different, and I hope, useful ways, by focusing primarily on the published, public version with only occasional references to the unpublished one, and without drawing particular comparisons between them. I begin with the premise, put forward by Mary Louise Pratt in her discussion of eighteenth-century biography and autobiography, that these forms are governed by "conventions of representation," which might include individualism, or eccentricity, or that "commonplace of eighteenth-century narrative," the childhood accident (18). It is clear that some of the "conventions of representation" survived well into the nineteenth century, and that indeed some survive to this day. I want also to add to Pratt's brief list two conventions that we may not always think of as conventions of biography and autobiography, and which are closely related but still worth considering separately, as I will show. The two conventions are medieval martyrology and hagiography, and the concept of piety.

To this end I will first consider to what extent Jameson's work on the lives of saints in her series *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848–52), published in the years shortly before "A Revelation of Childhood" appeared, informs the representation of her own girlhood. Second, I want to consider how Jameson negotiates her representation of her childhood in the fragment "A Revelation of Childhood" to capture an entrenched form of piety established by such primary texts as Carlyle's *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1840) and Ruskin's early volumes of *Modern Painters* (1843, 1846). This negotiation allows Jameson to construct herself as a woman of letters who should be ranked equally with both men in the public consciousness. I would further argue that in this process Jameson never for a moment wishes to regender herself or her writing. Throughout her writing life she insisted always on the category "woman" as the term most relevant to her

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work; "it is for women I write" is her constant theme (*Loves of the Poets* 1: 12; qtd. in Johnston 54). And it is also *of* women she writes, in such works as *The Loves of the Poets* (1829), *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831), *Characteristics of Women* (1832), *Legends of the Madonna* (1852), and *Sisters of Charity* (1855).

Part I: "something holy and beautiful in itself"

A revelation is a disclosure, a bringing forth into the light of something new, something not formerly understood. The word has considerable religious force; for instance, in the Judeo-Christian tradition the words of the Bible are a revelation. It is surprising to me that Jameson, a very careful, even judicious writer who preferred to be moderate in the way she expresses ideas which could be termed radical, or even polemic, should choose "Revelation" for her title and not the more standard "recollection," a term given such authority by Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood."[1] I can only imagine that her choice of the term "Revelation" is guided by two factors: first, by her sense of childhood theoretically as something holy and mysterious; and second, by her decision to reveal her own childhood, and by so doing perhaps offend against the decorum of the age. Valerie Sanders in *The Private Lives of Victorian Women* suggests that women often felt restricted as autobiographers and modified the content of their work to what was socially acceptable for publication (75-76). It is clear that in "A Revelation of Childhood" Jameson quite deliberately published certain confessions that lesser men and women might have chosen not to admit, in order to make a specific point about the importance of education for instance.

Jameson's published "Revelation of Childhood" begins by considering current debates on education practices. While dubious that worthwhile results will be obtained immediately, Jameson nevertheless hopes for good outcomes in the future. The problem, she decides, is that a child's spirit is sent by God:

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> What do we know of the mystery of child-nature, child-life? What indeed, do we know of any life? All life we acknowledge to be an awful mystery, but child-life we treat as if it were no mystery whatsoever—just so much material placed in our hands to be fashioned to a certain form according to our will. . . . Till we know how to *reverence* childhood we shall do no good. (117–18)

The combination of the terms "child-life" and "mystery," and their repetition, clearly reflects Jameson's protracted readings of saints' lives. In the introduction to the first volume of *Sacred and Legendary Art*, she says of such legendary material that as "a Protestant . . . I must also feel that we ought to comprehend, and to hold in due reverence, that which has once been consecrated to holiest aims" (6–7). While she is making a case in this instance for Roman Catholic art, the "Revelation of Childhood" is making precisely the same case, for "in the estimate of Christ, childhood was something for its own sake,—something holy and beautiful in itself" (118).

Likening the innocent lives of children to the lives of saints and martyrs is perhaps the most obvious way in which Jameson's previous work and study as an art critic informs her representation of childhood, and her recollections of her own childhood. There is, however, another way in which *Sacred and Legendary Art* informs Jameson's discussion of her own girlhood. In a striking disclaimer at the end of the Introduction to the first volume, Jameson reduces the style of her own critical practice to a mere child-like wonder and interest, so that tactically she is as one with her reader rather than an overbearing authority in the style of Carlyle or Ruskin:

> Let none imagine, however, that, in placing before the uninitiated these unpretending volumes, I assume any such superiority as is here implied. Like a child that has sprung on a little way before its playmates, and caught a glimpse through an opening portal of some varied Eden within, all gay with flowers and musical with birds, and haunted by divine shapes which beckon onward; and, after one rapturous survey, runs back and catches its companions by the hand and hurries them forwards to share the new-found pleasure, the yet unexplored region of delight; even so it is with me:—I am on the outside, not the inside, of the door I open. (37–38)

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The extant child within the mature woman so clearly located in this ingenious (or is it ingenuous?) disclaimer emerges I think in "A Revelation of Childhood," but in a very different, and far less calculated shape. The same child in "A Revelation of Childhood" is explorative, confident, forever running on ahead, giving to herself the "role of superiority and gratified Pride," or "fighting out alone the pitched battle between principle and passion" and declaring for herself "victory in the struggle." This child discovers "a keen sense of triumphant engagement" in deluding people with her fictions, and "a growing sense of power and self-reliance" (25, 26).

The third way in which her earlier study of sacred and legendary art informs the later autobiographical account of childhood is Jameson's expressed anxiety that her work on sacred art should be read as secular and not religious. Wishing her readers to know that she is Protestant, and at the same time wishing to affirm the value of the sacred subject of her study, Jameson achieves these goals by explaining the force in bygone eras of the legendary material, primarily by suggesting that the people of those times were unsophisticated and childlike in their reception of such legends:

> If those who consider works of art would be content to regard them thus,—not merely as pretty pictures, nor yet as repudiated idols, but as lovely allegories to which the world listened in its dreamy childhood, and which, like the ballad or fairy tale which kept the sleep from our eyes and our breath suspended in infancy, have still a charm for our latest years;— . . . how many pleasures and associations would be revealed in every picture, in every group or figure, which is now passed over with indifference or repugnance! Can they believe there is danger that any rational being should fall back into a second childhood of credulity? (2: 466)

Here Jameson also validates childhood experience as worthwhile to the mature adult, which she confirms in "A Revelation of Childhood": "as we grow old . . . we can look across the impassable gulf to that haunted fairy land which we shall never more approach, and never more forget" (123).

In "A Revelation of Childhood," however, Jameson also declares that she will tell "what I did *not* learn" and "what

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they could *not* teach me," adding that it is "of the undercurrent, the hidden, the unmanaged and unmanageable, I have to speak, and you, my friend, to hear and to turn to account, if you will and how you will" (123). It is thus that Jameson in the end repudiates hagiography as a legitimate form, and opts instead for a "warts and all" revelation. More importantly, in this confessional document she also, perhaps inadvertently, repudiates passivity—the saint or martyr is always acted upon—and celebrates activity, especially that of the mind:

> I imagined the house of my enemy on fire, and rushed through the flames to rescue her. . . . She was pining in prison, and I forced bars and bolts to deliver her. If this were mere magnanimity, it was not the less vengeance; for, observe, I always fancied evil, and shame, and humiliation to my adversary. (125)

In the article "Saints and Heroes," by "J.S.S.," published in *Eliza Cook's Journal* in 1849, sainthood is a "purely negative" quality, while the hero is the "positive" of all a saint's qualities (thus Wordsworth is a "philosophic poet-saint but Carlyle is a "mighty prophet hero"). The distinction is made because Carlyle "plunges himself into the thick of human struggling, madness, misery, and crime . . . rolling out the awful warnings of his prophetic soul" (197). It is clear from this article that in the immediate years following the publication of *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Carlyle's critics and readers did indeed read him as a hero akin to those celebrated in his lectures. Always attuned to popular ideas, Jameson embraces the active idea of the hero and the possibility of a female hero. It is not surprising, then, to note in J.S.S.'s article that the most famous of the only two female heroes mentioned is Joan of Arc, whose life Jameson also celebrates in *A Commonplace Book*.

In the end I think Jameson also refuses to be humble, and so in a further repudiation disposes of that very necessary biographical necessity, so common in any hagiography—the humility of the subject. She writes, I think, with a particular degree of triumph:

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> And as it fared with me then, so it has been in after life; so it has been, *must* be, with all those who, in fighting out alone the pitched battle between principle and passion, will accept no intervention between the infinite within them and the infinite above them; so it has been, *must* be, with all strong natures. (125).

Part II: "a growing sense of power and self-reliance"

In the letter to Lady Byron of 1840 Jameson writes:

> I had a turn for piety,—and used to put on a shirt of my father's for a surplice and preach sermons over the back of an arm chair—my head just above it—also I was always ready with a long extemporaneous prayer on all occasions —My pious feelings I owed to my mother—to Mrs. Barbauld's Hymns . . . and parts of the gospel of St. Matthew.[2]

You will note how quickly Jameson prevents this little scene from being read in its most obvious, and probably its true mode, the Comic—a convention of representation very popular in the eighteenth century, as Pratt suggests. The shrewd child (she admits to being described as "incorrigible") has recognized a source of particular power, of male power, and has been swift to imitate it. The claimed piety is at first then merely a comic "turn"—"I had a turn for piety." It is all simply a piece of theatre. This lapse in taste is swiftly amended when she quickly claims actual pious feelings, imbibed from that natural fountainhead, the Mother, as well as from particular pious reading: Anna Barbauld's captivating hymns for children, and the King James Bible of course. This swift adjustment reveals to what extent there existed a preordained shape to which accounts of childhood were forced to accommodate themselves, and especially, I hasten to add, if you were writing to the rather stern and strictly evangelical Lady Byron. When in the published "Revelation of Childhood" Jameson confesses "There was some danger of my becoming a precocious actress" (146), I cannot help but think that she was recalling this confession of her comic turn in the letter to Lady Byron. Although confessing to what seem to me to be other far more

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startling crimes, Jameson clearly deemed this recollection inappropriate for the published account of her childhood.

More importantly, we must not forget Lady Byron's original question—"what reading in your childish years had acted beneficially on your character?"—a portentous one indeed, because it suggests to Jameson's mind the general shape her autobiographical fragment might take. The inflection from the outset is therefore a moral one, which sometimes registers itself as a quest for piety, which here means both reverence for God, or regard for religious duties, and also faithfulness to the natural duties, such as those owed to parents. Further, piety is a major component in education and in educative texts, and therefore appears prominently in reconstructions of Victorian childhood, functioning as one aspect of ideology. Piety, in short, is an essential component in the body of doctrine which formed Victorian adult notions of exactly what childhood meant or should mean. This doctrine is probably most usefully encapsulated by that much cited and extremely popular epigraph taken from Wordsworth's poem "My heart leaps up":

> The Child is father of the Man;
> And I could wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety.

I am not particularly interested here in the child being father of the man, or mother of the woman, as Christabel Coleridge reworded the line when editing Charlotte Yonge's autobiography (120; qtd. in Sanders 62). Rather, I am more taken by this idea of "natural piety," because this element is gathered into subsequent Victorian biographical and autobiographical constructions of various kinds, thus contributing to the ways in which people saw and shaped themselves.

At mid-century in Victorian Britain, piety is an essential ingredient in a whole range of texts found in the literary market place, including novels and histories, conduct books and poetry, science and botany, and naturally enough biography and autobiography. I would like to suggest that Carlyle's lecture series "On Heroes and Hero-Worship" helped in part to consolidate this trend. In his familiar pulpit style, Carlyle thundered away at an eagerly receptive

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audience. The actor Charles Macready wrote in his diary of the second lecture in the series, "The Hero as Prophet," delivered on 8 May 1840, that Carlyle "descanted with a fervour and eloquence that only a conviction of truth could give. I was charmed, carried away by him" (2: 59). Delivered on 19 May 1840, the fifth lecture in the series, the "Hero as Man of Letters," both "interested" and "edified" Macready (2: 60). An important element of this fifth lecture is the claim Carlyle makes right at the beginning that the category "Man of Letters" is "altogether a product of these new ages" (154). Here, therefore, Carlyle constructs a blueprint that will give his male profession (and himself) validity and honor, by in part linking that profession to that very precise sense of piety which is by now a universal:

> Meanwhile, since it is the spiritual always that determines the material, this same Man-of-Letters Hero must be regarded as our most important modern person. He, such as he may be, is the soul of all. What he teaches, the whole world will do and make. (155)

These are grand claims, and Carlyle readily aligns his profession with a piety not merely local, but, as I have said, universal, asking "The Writer of a Book, is not he a Preacher preaching not to this parish or that, on this day or that, but to all men in all times and places?" (159).

It is notable that the childhoods of Carlyle's heroes share some common features, including a certain reverence (on Carlyle's part) for their parents or parental figures. Thus Mahomet is raised by his grandfather, "a good old man" (51), and though his parents were "poor mine-labourers," the occasion of Martin Luther's birth is written up in the distinctly recognizable form of other sacred births:

> Frau Luther was taken with travail, found refuge in some poor house there. . . . This poor Frau Luther, she had gone with her husband to make her small merchandisings; perhaps to sell the lock of yarn she had been spinning, to buy the small winter-necessaries for her narrow hut or household. (127–28)

My last example comes from Carlyle's own Scotland. Robbie Burns' father is "a poor toiling man," "a brave hard-toiling,

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hard-suffering father," and "the brave Father . . . —a silent Hero and Poet" (188, 189).

Carlyle's Men of Letters heroes—Samuel Johnson, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Robert Burns—are all linked to suffering as well: Johnson exists in "a whole world of squalor, rudeness, confused misery and want" (179); Rousseau has a "face full of misery, even ignoble misery . . . something mean, plebeian there, redeemed only by *intensity*: the face of what is called a Fanatic,—a sadly *contracted* Hero!" (185); and Burns is "uninstructed, poor, born only to hard manual toil" (189). In a Victorian age keen to promote a work ethic, this is the kind of suffering that can be read as character-building. As Carlyle adds of Johnson, his squalid world did not prevent him from being noble and manly.

In "A Revelation of Childhood," Anna Jameson fails to comply with these elements as established by Carlyle. Apart from recalling being sung to sleep, and piously invoking "blessings on the voice that sang it!" (123), Jameson does not have her mother and father figure much in her account in any specific or even unspecific way. Remarkably, any adjustment of character defects is implied as coming from within, from either a natural sense of rightness or piety that is neither inculcated nor taught, or simply from strength of mind. Thus she asserts that vindictiveness "was expelled at last by no outer influences, but by a growing sense of power and self-reliance" (126). Of night fears she writes that if she "had not possessed a strong constitution and a strong understanding, which rejected and contemned my own fears, even while they shook me, I had been destroyed" (129). Pride and a strong sense of personal dignity will not permit Anna Jameson to confess to the struggle she endured, including a very real poverty, to become a writer of note. By 1854, when "A Revelation of Childhood" appears in *A Commonplace Book*, Jameson is at the height of her popularity and success—confident enough, courageous enough perhaps, to give the lie to common tales of poor parentage and humble beginnings, and to celebrate instead the qualities she has discovered within herself: self-reliance, a sense of power, a strong constitution, and a strong understanding.

Jameson had written of the early martyrs in *Sacred and Legendary Art*,

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> Surely it is a thing not to be set aside or forgotten, that generous men and meek women, strong in the strength and elevated by the sacrifice of the Redeemer, did suffer, did endure, did triumph for the truth's sake, did leave us an example which ought to make our hearts glow within us, in admiration and gratitude. (2: 523)

This is clearly the precise structure used by Carlyle to write of Johnson and Rousseau and Burns, and used also by Ruskin to construct a sacred life for his personal English artist-hero, J. M. W. Turner, in which the key elements are suffering, endurance, and the triumph of truth. Writing of Turner in *Modern Painters*, Ruskin claims

> there has been marked and constant progress in his mind; he has not, like some few artists, been without childhood; his course of study has been as evidently as it has been swiftly progressive. . . . But from the beginning to the present height of his career, he has never sacrificed a greater truth to a less. (1: 611)

In startling comparison to Ruskin's confident assurance about Turner, Jameson confesses in "A Revelation of Childhood" to "confused ideas" about truth. And she distinguishes quite interestingly between lies and fiction, scorning to tell lies to her own profit or to the disadvantage of others but nevertheless delighting in the invention of tales with which she took in her listeners, and "triumphing" in their deception. These particular tales she describes as "a most artful and ingenious concatenation of impossibilities" (126).

In the same decade in which Carlyle delivered his influential lectures on heroes, John Ruskin in *Modern Painters* also attributes a certain spiritual influence to childhood:

> all great painters, of whatever school, have been great only in their rendering of what they had seen and felt from early childhood . . . no man ever painted or ever will paint anything but what he has early and long seen, early and long felt, and early and long loved. (1: 229)

Later, in a revision to *Modern Painters III* (1856), in the tradition of Carlyle's humble men of letters, Ruskin will write of his artist-hero that "Poor Turner for a long time

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knew no inspiration but that of Twickenham; no sublimity but that of Virginia Water" (3: 389–90). Again in contrast to Ruskin's account of Turner's boyhood, Jameson is for the most part as unspecific about precisely where she grew up and where she spent her girlhood as she is about her parents. There is no mention of the home above the bookseller's shop in Newcastle-on-Tyne for instance (Macpherson 6), nor of the later various addresses in and around London at which the Murphys resided. Nevertheless she claims, and this is important to her construction of herself as both writer and art critic, that a "great, an exquisite source of enjoyment arose out of an early, instinctive, boundless delight in external beauty" (135). She adds, "we were, unhappily for me, too early removed from the country to a town residence" (136).

What follows that statement, however, is, I would suggest, a quite spurious construction that is in no way a genuine recollection but a revelation of the mature writer in embryo. In this revelation Wordsworth is invoked to lend credence to the structure, but in fact the poet and his work have no real place in any actual childhood reading of Jameson's, as she herself admits. Note that while the following brief passage begins "I can remember," what follows is a string of fine phrases inspired either by Wordsworth's poetry itself or any number of other similar writings:

> I can remember, however, that in very early years the appearances of nature did truly "haunt me like a passion"; the stars were to me as the gates of heaven; the rolling of the wave to the shore; the graceful weeds and grasses bending before the breeze as they grew by the wayside; the minute and delicate forms of insects; the trembling shadows of boughs and leaves dancing on the ground in the highest noon; these were to me perfect pleasures of which the imagery now in my mind is distinct. Wordsworth's poem of "The Daffodils", the one beginning—
>
> "I wandered lonely as a cloud,"
>
> may appear to some unintelligible or overcharged, but to me it was a vivid truth, a simple fact; and if Wordsworth had been then in my hands I think I must have loved him. (136)[3]

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Jameson understands only too well that the love of place which romantic poetry especially captures and celebrates is already an important element for the Victorians in establishing the credentials of artistic sensibility, necessary to both art itself and to the art of writing. In the above passage she strictly adheres to Ruskin's dictum that the great artist will render best those things "early and long seen, early and long felt, and early and long loved," even though it seems plain that nothing she "remembers" here can be a true memory in the way that some other of her confessions and recollections so obviously are.

In "The Two Boyhoods," Ruskin writes in pathetic mode of Turner's childhood in the wasteland of Covent Garden, and laments that there are "No knights to be seen there, nor, I imagine, many beautiful ladies" (*Modern Painters* 5: 376). Jameson, in rather splendid contrast, *is* a knight and a beautiful lady all rolled into one:

> I was always a princess-heroine in the disguise of a knight, a sort of Clorinda or Britomart, going about to redress the wrongs of the poor, fight giants, and kill dragons. ("Revelation" 135)

At the same time one cannot help suspecting that the choice of characters—Spenser's Clorinda and Britomart—may have been dictated more by an awareness of the necessary reading background for a modern Woman of Letters than from any truly precise recollection of childhood reading and childish daydreams.

It is clear, or should be by now, that Anna Jameson is not a meek woman. She sifts through the various conventions of representation used in biography and autobiography, calculating which to throw over and which to embrace in order to construct a childhood suited to an heroic Woman of Letters. The whole impetus of *A Commonplace Book* works towards that aim. And it is perhaps in this very factor that she is so triumphant. She refuses to follow slavishly the traditional male structure; rather, she formulates a structure precisely designed for herself and subtly hidden in a book masquerading as a random collection of thoughts and ideas. In exploring the intersections of gender and class in the

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Victorian period, Judith Newton, in the words of Linda Shires, "argues that middle-class women of letters entered into the male struggle for cultural authority and formed their own 'counter publics'" (1). Thus it is that the writer and art critic Anna Brownell Jameson is, in her *Commonplace Book of Thoughts, Memories and Fancies*, a fancy indeed. A self-fashioned, original invention, she is a female product designed specifically for the new and modern age which Carlyle had signaled in writing about his men-of-letters heroes, but had managed to get so hopelessly wrong that he provoked Jameson's construction of a feminized counter-culture.

Anna Brownell Jameson, Portrait by David Octavius Hill (and Robert Adamson), 1848. By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

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NOTES

1. Jameson does in fact use the word "recollection" in the opening sentence of Part 2 of "A Revelation of Childhood," writing "I will here put together some recollections of my own child-life" (122), but this usage lacks the power that the word's presence in the title would bestow.

2. The letter to Lady Byron is found in Box 75, Letter 36–40, of the Lovelace Papers, Western Manuscripts Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford University; see also Johnston 42–43.

3. The phrase "haunt me like a passion" echoes Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey." For Jameson's "rolling of the wave to the shore," compare the lines from Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality": "And see the children sport upon the shore, / And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore." And for Jameson's "graceful weeds and grasses bending before the breeze," compare "When all at once I saw a crowd, / A host, of golden daffodils; / Beside the lake, beneath the trees, / Fluttering and dancing in the breeze," from Wordsworth's "I wandered lonely as a Cloud."

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Annual Bibliography of Works about Lifewriting

Phyllis E. Wachter

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY BIBLIOGRAPHER

William Todd Schultz

I never knew that she was other than I or that she would inherit a history apart from my own.

—Rachel Lockard

There is a community of the Spirit. Join it, and feel the delight. . . .

—Rumi

For those who would espouse the attainment of "a community of the Spirit," it is difficult to understand and accept attitudes of disrespect, hatred, and violence directed against certain individuals merely because they possess "a history apart" from our own. As many of this year's entries demonstrate, people are beginning to actively rethink and speak out against those policies and practices which insist on labeling individuals in one way or another. What better manner to edify human dignity than by seeking more expansive ways to describe who and what we are!

—Phyllis E. Wachter

This year's annotated list of books, collections, special issues and annuals, articles and essays, and dissertations about life-writing covers the period 1998 to August 1999.

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Books

Adamson, Lynda G. *Notable Women in World History: A Guide to Recommended Biographies and Autobiographies.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998.

Brief biographical descriptions and annotated bibliographies of over three hundred women born outside the United States and subject of at least one full-length English-language biography since 1970.

Alexander, Paul. *J. D. Salinger: A Biography.* New York: Renaissance, 1999.

Another effort to pin down the almost tiresomely un-pin-downable recluse and inventor of Holden Caulfield and the fictional Glass family. Takes up the recent revelations concerning Salinger's penchant for very young women.

Amburn, Ellis. *Subterranean Kerouac: The Hidden Life of Jack Kerouac.* New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Promises to "gaze into the writer's psyche" and there to find conflicting desires and beliefs centering around Kerouac's sexual relationships with men.

Amelang, James S. *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998.

Shows the striking variations in form and content of craftmen's personal documents.

Anderson, Robert D. *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon.* New York: Signature, 1999.

Psychological biography of the inventor of Mormonism.

Andrews, William L., and Henry Louis Gates. *The Civitas Anthology of African-American Slave Narratives.* Washington, D.C.: Civitas/ Counterpoint, 1999.

Collected edition of the autobiographical narratives of Mary Price, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Henry Bibb, William Croft, and Harriet Jacobs.

Asmolov, Alexander G. *Vygotsky Today: On the Verge of Non-Classical Psychology.* Commack, NY: Nova, 1998.

Formulates Vygotskyan alternatives to Freudian analyses of personality construction, showing how consciousness is shaped by the historical, institutional, and cultural settings in which it emerges.

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Baker, Alison. *Voices of Resistance: Oral Histories of Moroccan Women.* Albany: SUNY P, 1998.

Presents the history of Moroccan nationalism and feminism as told through oral histories of Moroccan women participants.

Berman, Jeffrey. *Surviving Literary Suicide.* Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1999.

Analyzes student reactions to suicidal literature, focusing on the portrayal of suicide in the works of four authors who committed suicide (Woolf, Hemingway, Plath, and Sexton), and two who did not (Chopin and Styron).

Bird, Stephanie. *Recasting Historical Women: Female Identity in German Biographical Fiction.* New York: Berg, 1998.

Critical readings of eight contemporary German novels which feature historically documented women as protagonists, with a theoretical analysis of how their lives are reconstructed from source materials and invention.

Bjorklund, Diane. *Interpreting the Self: Two Hundred Years of American Autobiography.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Investigates social aspects of a spectrum of autobiographies outlining four models of the self.

Brettell, Caroline B. *Writing Against the Wind: A Mother's Life History.* Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999.

In writing a biography of Canadian journalist Zoe Bieler, her anthropologist daughter explores the genres of women's biography and autobiography, using Bieler's life as a timeline for tracing the triumphs and frustrations women have experienced in the last eighty years.

Broughton, Trev. *Men of Letters, Writing Lives: Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography in the Late Victorian Period.* New York: Routledge, 1999.

Focusing on the works of Leslie Stephen and Froude's account of the marriage of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle, asks what Victorian auto/biography can reveal about the development, conditions, and limits of male literary authority.

Cady, Barbara. *Icons of the Twentieth Century: Two Hundred Men and Women Who Have Made a Difference.* Woodstock: Overlook, 1998.

Presents faces and facts about individuals who for good or for ill have shaped the course of modern history.

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Carby, Hazel V. *Race Men: The W. E. B. Du Bois Lectures.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998.

Critiques definitions of black masculinity at work in American culture by showing how the defining images, from Du Bois through Samuel R. Delany and Danny Glover, play out socially, culturally, and politically for black and white society, and how they exclude women altogether.

Casper, Scott E. *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1999.

Focuses on the cultural and historical significance of the genre of biography as a part of Americans' preoccupation with themselves.

Caton, Steven C. *Lawrence of Arabia: A Film's Anthropology.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1999.

Reads the film as an allegory of anthropology, and links the film's ethnographic gaze and presentation of Lawrence to the economics of the film industry and to themes of colonialism.

Chambers, Ross. *Facing It: AIDS Diaries and the Death of the Author.* Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1998.

Examines the genre of the AIDS diary as the site of social interaction between authors, whose subject is their own death and dying, and readers, for whom reading becomes a form of mourning.

Crawford, Fred D. *Richard Aldington and Lawrence of Arabia: A Cautionary Tale.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1998.

Examines various aspects of the controversy generated by Aldington's biography of T. E. Lawrence.

Crimmins, Susan. *Lethal Losses: When Women Kill.* Boulder: Westview, 1999.

Looks at links between early life experiences and later acts of lethal violence, based on interviews conducted with women who have killed.

De Rivera, Joseph, and Theodore Sarbin. *Believe-In Imaginings: The Narrative Construction of Reality.* Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1998.

Explores how stories that organize experience come to define "reality," with much discussion of "false" memory and so-called alien abduction. Provides direction for how to work with stories in examining lives and sets of self-defining beliefs.

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Dickey, Christopher. *Summer of Deliverance: A Memoir of Father and Son.* New York: Touchstone, 1999.

Tells the story of making his father's book, *Deliverance*, into a Hollywood film. A sort of inadvertent biography of the volatile poet.

Doss, Erika. *Elvis Culture: Fans, Faith, and Image.* Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1999.

By exploring Elvis images, discusses the power of the visual image in American culture, and its use in constructing American identity.

Douglass, Frederick. *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series Two: Autobiographical Writings, Vol. 1: Narrative.* Ed. John W. Blassingame, John R. McKivigan, and Peter P. Hinks. New Haven: Yale UP, 1999.

Authoritative edition of Douglass's first autobiography, comprehensively annotated and accompanied by reproductions of historical documents relating to its publication and critical reception.

Egan, Susanna. *Mirror Talk: Genres of Crisis in Contemporary Autobiography.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1999.

Drawing on theatre, film, and comics, as well as traditional texts, looks at genres of autobiography as malleable to continuing crisis, as shown by diaspora, Holocaust, and terminal illness literature.

Elliott, Anthony. *The Mourning of John Lennon.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1999.

By unravelling cultural and ideological meanings invested in and provoked by Lennon, creates a metabiography of collective imaginings, read for what they reveal about contemporary society.

Enenkel, Karl, Betsy de Jong-Crane, and Peter Liebregts. *Modelling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.

Discusses how life-depictions helped to bring about the "rise of the individual" as well as the beginnings of literary and art histories.

Evans, Mary. *Missing Persons: The Impossibility of Auto/Biography.* London: Routledge, 1999.

Pursues various vexations of the autobiographical enterprise, mostly of the epistemological variety. Sections on the Royal Family, Germaine Greer, Sylvia Plath, Tobias Wolff, and others.

Ferris, Paul. *Dr. Freud: A Life.* Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1998.

Biography focused on the details of Freud's life and family.

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Fletcher, Tony. *Moon: The Life and Death of a Rock Legend*. New York: Avon, 1999.

Biography of The Who's spectacularly immoderate drummer who died of an overdose at age 32. Diagnoses Moon as a "borderline personality."

Fortune, Brandon Brame, with Deborah J. Warner. *Franklin and His Friends: Portraying the Man of Science in Eighteenth-Century America*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P and Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, 1999.

Uses portraits to examine the social construction of identity, by showing how portraits of early American scientists situate their subjects in their local communities and in an international community of science.

Friedman, Laurence. *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson*. New York: Scribner, 1999.

Psychohistorian Friedman traces the relationship between Erikson's personal life and his groundbreaking ideas. First comprehensive biography of this hugely influential psychological figure who, among innumerable other achievements, wrote two of the most important psychobiographical works of this century, *Gandhi's Truth* and *Young Man Luther*.

Gates, Barbara T. *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999.

Explores the contributions of Victorian and Edwardian women to the study, protection, and portrayal of nature.

Gelbart, Nina Rattner. *The King's Midwife: A History and Mystery of Madame du Coudray*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.

Addresses issues in the histories of medicine, gender, society, and politics by recreating from archival records Coudray's royal mission to travel throughout France training midwives.

George, Alexander, and Juliette George. *Presidential Personality and Performance*. Boulder: Westview, 1998.

Examines the leadership styles and decision-making practices of presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Bill Clinton. Includes essays on the methodological problems involved in writing personality-oriented biography.

Gilbert, Robert V. *The Mortal Presidency: Illness and Anguish in the White House*. Bronx: Fordham UP, 1998. [Reviewed in *Biography* 22.2 (Spring 1999).]

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Complete account of presidential death and illness, and the impact of physical or psychological problems on job performance.

Gill, Gillian. *Mary Baker Eddy*. Reading, MA: Perseus, 1998.
Based on unparalleled access to Church of Christian Science archives. Author questions how a frail, impoverished invalid rose from her bed after a life-threatening fall, asked for her Bible, and subsequently took the first steps towards the founding of Christian Science.

Griffith, Mattie. *Autobiography of a Female Slave*. Afterword by Joe Lockard. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1998.
A new edition of a pseudo-slave autobiography by a white abolitionist, with an afterword discussing the genre.

Haaken, Janice. *Pillar of Salt: Gender, Memory, and the Perils of Looking Back*. Piscataway: Rutgers UP, 1998.
Uses the controversy over recollections of childhood sexual abuse to explore the psychology of women's memory and storytelling, and the use of transformative remembering in narrative.

Hamilton, Carolyn. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998.
Traces the changes in the construction of Shaka's image over time, addressing the reasons for the continued potency of the image and the way indigenous discourses shaped colonial texts.

Hampl, Patricia. *I Could Tell You Stories*. New York: Norton, 1999.
Moves back and forth between memoirs and stories that tell about the writing of a life.

Hare, Robert. *Without Conscience: The Disturbing World of the Psychopaths Among Us*. New York: Guilford, 1999.
Theory of psychopathy along with detailed case descriptions.

Hartman, James D. *Providence Tales and the Birth of American Literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1999.
Traces the origins of American captivity literature to the seventeenth-century English providence tale.

Hellman, John. *The Kennedy Obsession: The American Myth of JFK*. New York: Columbia UP, 1998.
Traces Kennedy's self-invention via cultural figures like Lord Byron, Hemingway, and Cary Grant.

Henke, Suzette A. *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

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Focuses on the use of "scriptotherapy," the process of writing out and through traumatic experience for therapeutic reenactment, using as examples the literary testimonies of Colette, Hilda Doolittle, Anaïs Nin, Janet Frame, Audre Lorde, and Sylvia Fraser.

Henry, Charles P. *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other?* New York: New York UP, 1999.

In discussing Bunche's rise and fall as a public figure, addresses the racial politics of public service.

Hermanowicz, Joseph C. *The Stars Are Not Enough: Scientists—Their Passions and Professions.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Provides a view of the scientific academic career path through interviews with early, middle, and late career physicists, at universities ranging from those emphasizing undergraduate teaching, to elite research institutions. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography.*]

Hoffman, Edward. *The Right to be Human: A Biography of Abraham Maslow.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1999.

Revised and updated edition includes new material from unpublished texts and private diaries. Maslow made it his life's work to describe and explain the characteristics of the "fully-functioning," actualizing personality.

Homans, Margaret. *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837–1876.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Investigates the meanings Victoria held for her times, her contributions to Victorian writing and art, her equivocal model for women's powers in and out of marriage, and the influence of her self-representations on subsequent political self-representation. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography.*]

Hones, Donald F., and Cher-Shou Cha. *Educating New Americans: Immigrant Lives and Learning.* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999.

Focusing on the educational life of immigrant children, explores multiple levels of contemporary immigrant experience and the complications of a life across borders, examining what it means to be an American through the life story of a Laotian refugee.

Hunsaker, Stephen V. *Autobiography and National Identity in the Americas.* Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1999.

Uses texts from English and French Canada, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Brazil, Bolivia, and the U.S. to show how different populations within a single nation challenge established collective identities.

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Imbarrato, Susan Clair. *Declarations of Independency in Eighteenth-Century Autobiography.* Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1998.

Shares how self-reflection in a revolutionary era was able to foster new perspectives about individual rights, ushering in a new social order which questioned established social constructs. [Reviewed in *Biography* 22.2 (Spring 1999).]

Irvine, Leslie. *Codependent Forevermore: The Invention of Self in a Twelve Step Group.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999.

Based on interviews and personal experiences, explores the narrative construction of selfhood accomplished by people telling to and about themselves stories which combine elements of autobiography and popular culture in an adopted language of psycho-spirituality.

Keren, Michael. *Amnon Zichroni: A Different Lawyer.* Tel-Aviv: Hed-Arzi, 1999.

Through a biography of Israel's foremost civil rights lawyer, illuminates the history of the State of Israel from the unique perspective of civil society.

Kibler, James Everett. *Our Fathers' Fields: A Southern Story.* Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1998.

States that although the family names and places of origin might vary, certain Southerners' family life stories tell essentially the same chronicle.

Kitchen, John. *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography.* New York: Oxford UP, 1999.

Challenges the distinctiveness of female sanctity and writing by examining texts from sixth-century France, written by male and female authors, that depict the lives of male and female saints.

Klages, Mary. *Woeful Afflictions: Disability and Sentiment in Victorian America.* Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1999.

Provides an historical analysis of the types of cultural work performed by sentimental representations of disability in public reports and lectures, exhibitions, autobiographies, and popular media in the U.S. from the 1830s through the 1890s.

Kirk, Pamela. *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz: Religion, Art, Feminism.* New York: Continuum, 1998.

Close readings, primarily from theological perspectives, of varied writings.

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Kremer, S. Lillian. *Women's Holocaust Writing: Memory and Imagination*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1999.

Analyzes American Holocaust writing by and about women by comparing eyewitness accounts working from memory with later fictionalized texts.

LaCapra, Dominick. *History and Memory After Auschwitz*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1998.

Six essays focusing on the interactions among history, public and private memory, and ethicopolitical concerns emerging in the aftermath of the Shoah.

Lee, A. Robert. *Designs of Blackness: Mappings in the Literature and Culture of Afro-America*. London: Pluto, 1998.

Includes a section on autobiography and self-representation.

Leigh, David J. *Circuitous Journeys: Modern Spiritual Autobiography*. Bronx: Fordham UP, 1999.

Analyzes life stories by twentieth-century leaders from a variety of religious and cultural traditions: Mohandas Gandhi, Black Elk, Thomas Merton, Dorothy Day, C. S. Lewis, Malcolm X, Paul Cowan, Rigoberta Menchú, Dan Wakefield, and Nelson Mandela.

Linville, Susan E. *Feminism, Film, Fascism: Women's Auto/Biographical Film in Postwar Germany*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1998.

Draws on women's feminist auto/biographical films of the 1970s and 1980s to challenge misogynist interpretations of the German failure to mourn the Nazi past.

Lipking, Lawrence. *Samuel Johnson: The Life of an Author*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998.

Demonstrates how Johnson developed his authorial voice, and its implications for writing the life of an author. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography*.]

Long, Judy. *Telling Women's Lives: Subject/Narrator/Reader/Text*. New York: New York UP, 1999.

Assesses autobiographical and biographical traditions for a method of conveying the contexts and contents of women's lives within the tenor of feminine subjectivity.

Mageo, Jeannette Marie. *Theorizing Self in Samoa: Emotions, Genders, and Sexualities*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.

Develops a new theory of the self in culture through a psychological and historical ethnography of Samoa, introducing a way of charting human development using cultural discourses.

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Mahler, Alma. *The Diaries, 1898–1902*. Ed. Anthony Beaumont and Susanne Rode-Breymann. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999.

The diaries, written in her early twenties, of the legendary wife, pupil, or lover of Mahler, Zemlinsky, Klimt, Burckhard, Gropius, Kokoschka, and Werfel.

Maitland, Sara, and Wendy Mulford. *Virtuous Magic: Women Saints and Their Meaning*. New York: Continuum, 1998.

Pairs biographical accounts of over thirty women saints with prose and poetry reflections or meditations on their lives.

Mariani, Paul. *The Broken Tower: A Life of Hart Crane*. New York: Norton, 1999.

Probes the poet's inner demons, promiscuity, alcoholism, and self-destructive behavior which prefigured his suicide at age thirty-two.

Mason, Andrew. *Victory from Defeat: Learn How and Why Winners Win from History's Greatest Success Stories*. Pittsburgh: Sterling House, 1998.

Moves beyond the individual success story to offer an overview of how setbacks and heartbreaks form the stuff of all human biography and autobiography.

Mattingly, Cheryl. *Healing Dramas and Clinical Plots: The Narrative Structure of Experience*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Through an ethnography of occupational therapy in a North American hospital, explores the socially constructed world of disability and the transformation of clinical interchange into a dramatic experience governed by a narrative plot.

Mavor, Carol. *Becoming: The Photographs of Clementina, Viscountess Hawarden*. Durham: Duke UP, 1999.

By comparing Hawarden's photographs of her daughters with work by Vermeer, Degas, Christina Rossetti, George Eliot, Lewis Carroll, Francesca Woodman, and Sally Mann, explores Victorian culture, eroticism, intimacy, and mother-daughter relationships.

Maxwell, Rhoda. *Writing Our Lives*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999.

Sequential approach to writing based on personal memories, reflected upon and extended into the future.

McAdams, Dan P., and Ed de St. Aubin. *Generativity and Adult Development: How and Why We Care for the Next Generation*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1998.

Explores Erikson's concept of generativity, the concern for and commitment to promoting the next generation, and its central place

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in adult life, with chapters on Martha Graham, Frank Lloyd Wright, and other case studies.

Melton, Judith M. *The Face of Exile: Autobiographical Journeys.* Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1998.

Sets out themes of exile autobiography, drawing on works by twentieth-century authors for whom the choice of exile from the rise of fascism in Europe became the defining event in their lives.

Mendelson, Edward. *Later Auden.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999.

A history of Auden's poems from 1939–1973, and the private and public events that went into them.

Mendoza, Patrick M. *Extraordinary People in Extraordinary Times: Heroes, Sheroes, and Villains.* Englewood: Teacher Ideas, 1999.

Uses oral tales as a springboard to show that biography has much to do with the art of storytelling.

Middlebrook, Diane Wood. *Suits Me: The Double Life of Billy Tipton.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

Tells the tale of jazz musician Billy Tipton, a brilliant deceiver who grew up as Dorothy Tipton but lived as a man from age nineteen till her death at seventy-four.

Modleski, Tania. *Old Wives' Tales and Other Women's Stories.* New York: New York UP, 1999.

In looking at the narratives that women tell about themselves, and how such genres as autobiography, film, and performance can be used to tell women's stories, addresses how women can become makers, rather than simply bearers, of meaning.

Mostern, Kenneth. *Autobiography and Black Identity Politics: Racialization in Twentieth-Century America.* New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Uses narrative and racial categories in works by Du Bois, Hurston, Malcolm X, and Robeson to consider why autobiography has been central to African American political discourse.

Mullen, Harryette. *Freeing the Soul: Race, Subjectivity, and Difference in Slave Narratives.* New York: Cambridge UP, 1998.

Critical study of slave narratives, focusing on the texts of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs and their differing ideas of gender, literacy, and freedom.

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Olney, James. *Memory and Narrative: The Weave of Life-Writing.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999.

Follow-up to Olney's text of twenty-five years ago, *Metaphors of Self*, describes the evolving literary form from Augustine through Rousseau to Beckett and contemporary memoirs.

Owens, Louis. *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place.* Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1999.

Combines critical reflection with autobiography and family photographs to examine issues of Indian and mixedblood identity and relationship to the environment in literature and film.

Patterson, David. *Sun Turned to Darkness: Memory and Recovery in Holocaust Memoirs.* Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1999.

Connects the memory of loss to the recovery from loss by considering in Holocaust memoirs who the I is who speaks, about whom does it speak, who the implied reader is, and what response is sought.

Payne, Rodger M. *The Self and the Sacred: Conversion and Autobiography in Early American Protestantism.* Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1998.

Reads conversion narratives and spiritual autobiographies from American evangelical Protestant movements between 1740 and 1850 to see how their notions of selfhood were incorporated into Christian orthodoxy. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography*.]

Pilardi, Jo-Ann. *Simone de Beauvoir Writing the Self: Philosophy Becomes Autobiography.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998.

Follows the development of de Beauvoir's notions of existential and gendered self in both her philosophical and autobiographical work.

Pollack, Della. *Telling Bodies, Performing Birth: Everyday Narratives of Childbirth.* New York: Columbia UP, 1999.

Collects and analyzes autobiographical accounts of childbirth.

Porter, Joshua Roy. *Jesus Christ: The Jesus of History, the Christ of Faith.* New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Explores the life of the historical Jesus, the role of women in his career, and changing perceptions of Christ over time.

Prager, Jeffrey. *Presenting the Past: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Misremembering.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998.

Considers memory's relation to the interpersonal, therapeutic, and cultural worlds in which remembering occurs, and the degree to

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which we manifest the clichés of our culture in our most private recollections. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography*.]

Redlich, Fritz. *Hitler: Diagnosis of a Destructive Prophet*. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Matches a reading of Hitler's biography to his medical and psychiatric history.

Rinehart, Robin. *One Lifetime, Many Lives: The Experience of Modern Hindu Hagiography*. Atlanta: Scholars, 1999.

Draws on written and oral accounts of the life of Swami Rami Tirtha (1873–1906) to explore hagiographers' roles in shaping religious communities by mediating between a saint and the saint's followers.

Robinson, Paul. *Gay Lives: Homosexual Autobiographies from John Addington Symonds to Paul Monette*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999.

Reads the memoirs of fourteen French, British, and American gay authors through the prism of sexual identity, showing the extraordinary individual differences in the lives of gay men.

Roetzel, Calvin J. *Paul: The Man and the Myth*. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1998.

Chronicles the changing image of Paul through history.

Rorty, Amélie Oksenberg. *Philosophical Lives: Meditations and Reflections*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Addresses why people read philosophical autobiography and what its distinctive features are.

Rosen, Harold. *Speaking from Memory: A Guide to Autobiographical Acts and Practices*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham, 1998.

Explores autobiographical discourse by mapping out the diversity of life-writing practice.

Sabbioni, Jennifer, Kay Schaffer, and Sidonie Smith, eds. *Indigenous Australian Voices: A Reader*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1998.

Poetry and prose by thirty-six contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander writers, exploring the emerging multiple identities of indigenous Australians.

Sadoff, Dianne F. *Sciences of the Flesh: Representing Body and Subject in Psychoanalysis*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998.

Links the emergence of psychoanalysis to nineteenth-century

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medical research and practices, combined with autobiography and narrative, leading to a hybrid subjectivity rooted in but conceptually separated from the body.

Schiff, Stacy. *Vera (Mrs. Vladimir Nabokov)*. New York: Random House, 1999.

Estimates the subject's remarkable literary partnership with her genius husband.

Sigerman, Harriet. *Biographical Supplement and Index*. Vol. 11. *The Young Oxford History of Women in the United States*. Series ed. Nancy F. Cott. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Personal histories of about 250 women over the past four centuries who fought for women's social and political equality; includes a listing of museums, historic sites, and web sites related to the history of American women.

Silvas, Anna. *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*. Hull: Center for Medieval Studies, University of Hull, 1998.

Comprehensive collection of biographical sources on Jutta of Disibodenberg and Hildegard of Bingen, all translated by the author from the latest critical editions, and most never translated before.

Simon, Linda. *Genuine Reality: A Life of William James*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1998.

First full biography of James "in nearly a generation." An immensely interesting, multifaceted, and sometimes contradictory rebel, James "laid the groundwork for modern psychology," and many of his ideas are still remarkably fresh and prescient.

Simonton, Dean Keith. *Origins of Genius: Darwinian Perspectives on Creativity*. New York: Oxford UP, 1999.

Father of modern historiometry argues that creativity can be understood as a Darwinian process of variation and selection.

Sliwowska, Wiktoria, ed. *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*. Trans. Julian Bussgang and Fay Bussgang. Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1998.

English edition of 1997 Polish text that provides a different Holocaust narrative by presenting over sixty accounts from children interviewed in the late 1940s.

Sounes, Howard. *Charles Bukowski: Locked in the Arms of a Crazy Life*. New York: Grove, 1999.

Aims to reveal the extraordinary true story of this Dirty Old Man of American literature.

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Spoto, Donald. *The Dark Side of Genius: The Life of Alfred Hitchcock.* New York: Da Capo, 1999.

Argues that Hitchcock's films constitute a subtle, revealing autobiography.

Sullivan, Karen. *The Interrogation of Joan of Arc.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1999.

By comparing the minutes recorded by clerics at the interrogation of Joan of Arc with the transcripts of her trial for heresy, shows how the historical record is like a literary text resulting from the collaboration between Joan and her interrogators.

Summerfield, Penny. *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivities in Oral Histories of the Second World War.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998.

Based on oral histories of women's experiences during World War II, addresses theoretical uses and gendered relationships involved in oral history, and the status of oral histories as texts.

Thomas, Nicholas, and Richard Eves. *Bad Colonists: The South Sea Letters of Vernon Lee Walker and Louis Becke.* Durham: Duke UP, 1999.

Uses critical anthropology and theories of history-making to view as artifact and autobiography the letters of two late nineteenth-century British colonists of the South Pacific.

Tobias, Ted. *In Tribute: Eulogies of Famous People.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1999.

Rare glimpse into one of the less studied forms of life-writing.

Troup, Calvin L. *Temporality, Eternity, and Wisdom: The Rhetoric of Augustine's* Confessions. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1999.

By examining the integrative role of rhetoric in Augustine's *Confessions*, considers how rhetoric relates to Christianity.

Updike, John. *On Literary Biography.* Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1999.

Special printing of an Updike lecture recording his reflections on reading and writing about the lives of literary figures, and about the risks and satisfactions of literary biography.

Vannote, Vance. *Women of White Earth: Photographs and Interviews.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998.

Combines portraits of forty-three members of the Minnesota White Earth Tribe with interviews in which the women tell their own stories.

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Vickery, Amanda. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1998.

Based on letters, diaries, and account books of over one hundred women, argues that the lives of genteel women expanded and diversified in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Watson, Martha. *Lives of Their Own: Rhetorical Dimensions in Autobiographies of Women Activists.* Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1999.

Addresses the exemplary aspects of autobiographies by Frances Willard, Anna Howard Shaw, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Emma Goldman, and Mary Church Terrell to explore both the public and private voices of new womanhood in terms of each other.

Woods-Marsden, Joanna. *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1999.

Traces the genesis and early development of the self-portrait in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, arguing that the self-images represented their creators' attempts to change the status of art and thereby their own social standing.

Yamamoto, Traise. *Masking Selves, Making Subjects: Japanese American Women, Identity, and the Body.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.

Uses post-World War II autobiographical writings and fiction to argue that Japanese American women employ the trope of masking as a strategy to protect the self as subject and create an alternative discursive practice. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography*.]

Zelizer, Barbie. *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Discusses the significance of concentration camp photographs and how they have become the basis of both our memory of the Holocaust and our presentations and perceptions of subsequent atrocities.

Collections

BROWNLEY, MARTINE WATSON, AND ALLISON B. KIMMICH, EDS. *WOMEN AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY.* WILMINGTON: SCHOLARLY RESOURCES, 1999.

A collection, with new introductions, of articles by prominent theoreticians of women's autobiographical theory and practice (with the essay's original date of publication in parentheses).

Shari Benstock. "The Female Self Engendered: Autobiographical Writing and Theories of Selfhood." (1991). 3–14.

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Questions whether contemporary academic theories offer satisfactory treatments of the variety of women's autobiographical practices.

Carolyn G. Heilbrun. "Woman's Autobiographical Writings: New Forms." (1985). 15–31.
Argues that historically women's autobiographical writing downplays the autobiographer's accomplishments, but that the women's movement has encouraged greater honesty in more recent works.

Sidonie Smith. "Construing Truth in Lying Mouths: Truthtelling in Women's Autobiography." (1990). 33–51.
Explores the contradictory status of truth in women's autobiography, and strategies for truthtelling despite historical and linguistic limitations shaping concepts of what a woman is.

Mary Jean Corbett. "Feminine Authorship and Spiritual Authority in Victorian Women Writers' Autobiographies." (1990). 53–70.
Using the works of Mary Martha Sherwood, Charlotte Tonna, and Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck, shows how some middle-class Victorian women were able to assume cultural authority.

Winifred Morgan. "Gender-Related Difference in the Slave Narratives of Harriet Jacobs and Frederick Douglass." (1994). 71–93.
Juxtaposes Douglass' and Jacobs' slave narratives to show how gender shapes both their lives and their written accounts.

Helen M. Buss. "Reading for the Doubled Discourse of American Women's Autobiography." (1991). 97–112.
Suggests that American women's autobiography, in presenting a doubled discourse of the traditional male autobiographical self and female experience, combines views of the self as stable and unified, and as fragmented and decentered.

Donna Perreault. "Woman as Other, Other as Author, Author as . . . Man? The Auth*o*biographical Dimension of *The Second Sex*." (1993). 113–30.
In reading de Beauvoir's early autobiographical writing, coins the term auth*o*biography to describe lifewriting which self-consciously foregrounds the unique challenges that are part of a writer's life.

Ann Rayson. "Beneath the Mask: Autobiographies of Japanese-American Women." (1987). 131–47.
Argues that comparatively few male writers produced narratives about their internment during World War II because that experience disrupted the traditional male-dominated Japanese family structure.

Judy Nolte Lensink. "Expanding the Boundaries of Criticism: The Diary as Female Autobiography." (1987). 151–62.
Critiques the traditional definition of autobiography as too narrow, suggesting that such works as diaries need to be included.

G. Thomas Couser. "Autopathography: Women, Illness, and Lifewriting." (1991). 163–73.

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Connects the omission of illness from autobiographies with the tendency to value male experiences over those of women, and to overemphasize the mind at the expense of the body.

The final four entries are selections presented as examples of women's lifewriting over the past four centuries.

Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. From *A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding, and Life.* (1656). 177–84.
Excerpt from the first English-language autobiography by a woman.

Charlotte Charke. From *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke.* (1759). 185–94.
A selection of passages, describing childhood and adult experiences.

Harriet Jacobs. From *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* (1861). 195–200.
Excerpt describes the conflict between the author and her owner, Dr. Flint, over her desire to marry a free black man.

Barbara D. Webster. From *All of a Piece: A Life with Multiple Sclerosis.* (1989). 201–09.
Excerpts about the author's travels in Egypt reveal the limits of American assumptions about the realities of chronic disease.

CONYERS, JAMES L., JR., ED. *BLACK LIVES: ESSAYS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.* ARMONK: M. E. SHARPE, 1999.
Grouped in three sections—intellectual biographical studies, cultural biographical studies, and oral history narratives and biography as a teaching tool—these essays explore the role of African American biography in creating a group consciousness in the Black community, in the U.S. and abroad.

James L. Conyers, Jr. "Maulana Karenga, Kawaida, and Phenomenology: An Intellectual Study." 3–18.
Examines Karenga's writings on the plurality of Africana life, history, and culture, and considers the genre of Black biography from an Afrocentric perspective.

Calvin A. McClinton. "Vinnette Carroll: African American Director and Playwright." 19–31.
Explores the expressions of identity through new forms of theatre, involving the gospel song-play.

Earnest Norton Bracey. "Higher than the Eagle: The Legacy of General Daniel 'Chappie' James, Jr." 32–43.
Addresses the theme of Black service in the U.S. armed forces in the twentieth century, and explores why African Americans were willing to serve in the military.

Mitchell Kachun. "The Shaping of a Public Biography: Richard Allen and the African Methodist Episcopal Church." 44–64.

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Focusing on the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, shows how each generation records, interprets, and understands the role of Black ministers and church in African American life.

Gloria T. Randle. "Outlaw Women and Toni Morrison's Communities." 67–83.
Using as examples characters from Morrison's works, analyzes the role of the outlaw in Black communities.

Owen G. Mordaunt. "Bessie Head: The Idealist." 84–92.
Addresses the complexity of the world Black community, the role of writers in society, and the emergence of Black and women writers.

LaVerne Grant. "Working toward the Betterment of the Community: Elizabeth Ross Haynes." 93–109.
By studying the impact of domestic workers on the nation, shows the importance of recovering hidden histories.

Ralph Anthony Russell. "A Black Composer Speaks: William Levi Dawson." 110–16.
Analyzes the "Negro Folk Symphony," and the use of folk material by composers of the 1920s and 1930s.

Ida Young. "Keeping Truth on My Side: Maria Stewart." 117–28.
Discusses her account of a life's work in the abolitionist struggle.

Clement London. "Through Trinbagonian Eyes: Self-Portrait of a Caribbean Country." 131–150.
Explores oral history portraits made by young interviewees of twentieth-century Trinidad senior citizens.

Olga Idriss Davis. "Life Ain't Been No Crystal Stair: The Rhetoric of Autobiography in Black Female Slave Narratives." 151–59.
By analyzing the rhetorical nature of autobiography and slave narratives, addresses the use of autobiography as a teaching aid.

Robin Balthrope. "Literary Biographical Profiles as Teaching Tools in a University Black History Course." 160–68.
Compares works by Nate Shaw and Harriet Beecher Stowe as teaching tools.

Andrew Smallwood. "An Intellectual Aesthetic for Black Adult Education: Malcolm X." 169–81.
Describes the impact of Malcolm X on Black adult education, from the 1950s on.

Daniel Boamah-Wiafe. "Dr. James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey of Achimota: Preacher, Scholar, Teacher, and Gentleman." 182–96.
Addresses international dimensions of Black education, in the pan-African expression of Ghanian scholar Aggrey.

Maceo Crenshaw Dailey, Jr. "Bothersome Biography: Emmett Jay Scott." 197–210.
Describes his experiences writing the biography of Booker T. Washington's private secretary.

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ERBEN, MICHAEL, ED. *BIOGRAPHY AND EDUCATION: A READER*. LONDON: FALMER, 1998.

Addresses both the use of biography in teaching, and the centrality of education in biographies.

Michael Erben. "Biography and Research Method." 4–17.
Outlines central methodological issues for biographical research in social science, providing an overview of the ground most researchers would need to consider in carrying out biographical analysis.

Robin Usher. "The Story of the Self: Education, Experience and Autobiography." 18–31.
Addresses issues concerning the meaning of "experience" in education from autobiographical standpoints which reflect problematic notions of selfhood.

David Scott. "Fragment of a Life: Recursive Dilemmas." 32–45.
Hermeneutical discussion of the utility of the biographical approach for understanding the relationship between researcher and subject.

Chris Mann. "Adolescent Girls Reflect on Educational Choices." 46–58.
Empirical study of the processes by which adolescent girls preparing for A-level exams constitute their identities by negotiating home, school, family, and personal history.

Gill Clarke. "Voices from the Margins: Regulation and Resistance in the Lives of Lesbian Teachers." 59–71.
Discusses coping strategies used by lesbian physical education teachers, and attempts by those with marginal identities to appear acceptable.

Hilary Dickinson. "Perspectives on Learning Difficulties through Biographies." 72–87.
Narrative analyses of biographies of subjects with learning difficulties.

Mich Page. "Collecting Slices of College Dropouts' Lives." 88–102.
Empirical study of the biographical routes by which students drop out, and the implications for educational policy.

Brian Roberts. "An Auto/Biographical Account of Educational Experience." 103–15.
Relates educational theory to personal experience by describing his own journey through the state education system.

Zoë Parker. "PhD Students and the Auto/Biographies of Their Learning." 116–29.
Personal narratives of doctoral students.

Diana Jones. "A Biographical Approach to the History of Education: Nineteenth-Century Nonconformist Lives and Educational Expansion." 130–48.
Group biography of Nonconformist educational entrepreneurs.

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Peter Figueroa. "The Autobiographical Account of the Education of an African Slave in Eighteenth Century England." 149–63.
Through the story of Olaudah Equiano, relates issues of education, colonialism, exploitation, and the formation of selfhood.

GAMMEL, IRENE, ED. *CONFESSIONAL POLITICS: WOMEN'S SEXUAL SELF-REPRESENTATIONS IN LIFE WRITING AND POPULAR MEDIA.* CARBONDALE: SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UP, 1998.

Explores the association of confession, as a gender-specific discourse, with femininity, and the ways women tell their sexual stories to resist confessional practices that position women in conventional frameworks.

Marion Bishop. "Confessional Realities: Body-Writing and *The Diary of Anne Frank*." 13–27.
Shows how the diary resists reading as confessional, and enables the writing literally of a safe space.

Lori Saint-Martin. "Sexuality and Textuality Entwined: Sexual Proclamations in Women's Confessional Fiction in Quebec." 13–27.
Focusing on explicitly erotic writing in Quebec, describes a continuum from heterosexual to lesbian eroticism, and from confrontational to utopian texts.

Irene Gammel. "Parading Sexuality: Modernist Life Writing and Popular Confession." 47–62.
Investigates the relationship between female sexual expression marketed as popular "confessions" and unpublished self-disclosures, using as examples writing by German women of the 1920s.

Nathalie Cooke. "'Mi rage': The Confessional Politics of Canadian Survivor Poetry." 65–80.
Argues that politicizing experiences of sexual trauma does not sanitize the experience but is a strategy for the survivor to transform her identity and exit the victim role.

Elizabeth A. Wilson. "Not in This House: Incest, Denial, and Doubt in the White, Middle-Class Family." 81–98.
Connects the backlash and doubt about women's confessional disclosures and recovered memory to the politics of preserving middle-class U.S. family identity.

Lynda Goldstein. "Raging in Tongues: Confession and Performance Art." 99–116.
Discusses performance art as a form for expressing rage about sexual trauma, using as examples Karen Finley's and Holly Hughes's performance confessions.

Jessie Givner. "TV Crisis and Confession: The Hill-Thomas Hearings." 117–30.

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In light of traditional confessional hierarchies in politics and the popular media, shows how Anita Hill's testimonies strategically sidestepped the confessional modality and avoided displays of emotion or rage.

Marylynne Diggs. "Lesbian Confession and Case History." 133–47.
Explores how lesbian autobiographies strategically appropriate and invert negative labels to avoid patterns of confession and normalization or silence and marginalization.

Cynthia J. Davis. "B(e)aring It All: Talking about Sex and Self on Television Talk Shows." 148–66.
Discusses TV talk shows as a confessional genre shaping sexual and personal identities, confirming the voyeuristic middle class in its normality but also questioning imposed sexual identities.

Lorraine Janzen Kooistra. "Cross-Dressing Confusion: Men Confessing as Women." 167–86.
Delineates confessions by cross-dressing men as a subgenre of female confession that unsettles the notion of a "natural" body and calls into question gender essentialism as a feature of confession.

KRIDEL, CRAIG, ED. *WRITING EDUCATIONAL BIOGRAPHY: EXPLORATIONS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*. NEW YORK: GARLAND, 1998.
Applauds the resurgence of the use of the biographic method in educational research.

Robert V. Bullough, Jr. "Musings on Life Writing: Biography and Case Studies in Teacher Education." 19–32.
Using case studies of first-year teachers, considers biography's potential for teacher training, and particularly for assisting in understanding students better.

Corrine E. Glesne. "Ethnography with a Biographic Eye." 33–44.
Explores what biography can bring to ethnographic research.

Barbara Finkelstein. "Revealing Human Agency: The Uses of Biography in the Study of Educational History." 45–60.
Posits biography as a unique form of historical study focused on the intersection of literary narrative, human agency, and social structure.

William F. Pinar and Anne E. Pautz. "Construction Scars: Autobiographical Voice in Biography." 61–72.
Extends the role of the autobiographical voice in education as a way into the complexities of society, culture, and politics in the lives of others.

Blanche Wiesen Cook. "The Issue of Subject: A Critical Connection." 79–88.
Suggests the need for the biographer's personal identification with at least some of the subjects' views and beliefs.

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Linda C. Wagner-Martin."The Issue of Gender: Continuing Problems in Biography." 89–102.
By asking what counts as accomplishments in women's lives, raises issues of gender in biographical research.

Wayne J. Urban. "Black Subject, White Biographer." 103–112.
Reflects upon issues of compatibility between biographer and subject, using as an example his work on Horace Mann Bond, who shared many similarities with the author, except race.

Alan Wieder. "Trust and Memory: Explorations in Oral History and Biography." 113–19.
Discusses the place of trust and the reliability of memory in conducting oral histories.

Herbert J. Hartsook. "Unique Resources: Research in Archival Collections." 127–38.
An introduction to the use of archives and special collections.

Philo Hutcheson. "Fair Use Issues in Archival and Biographical Research." 139–46.
Presents some commonsense guides to copyright and privacy law.

Geraldine Joncich Clifford. "The Historical Recovery of Edyth Astrid Ferris." 147–56.
Discusses how to find information on a little-known subject.

Louise M. Smith. "On Becoming an Archivist and Biographer." 157–69.
Traces the transformation of her work on Nora Barlow, Charles Darwin's granddaughter, from ethnography to biography.

Katherine C. Reynolds. "Finding Facts, Telling Truths, Achieving Art." 177–86.
Explores the intersection of creativity and scholarship in writing a biographical dissertation.

Tony Reid. "Willing Biographer, Unwilling Subject." 187–94.
Considers difficulties and justifications involved in working on an unwilling subject.

Lynda Anderson Smith. "The Biographer's Relationship with Her Subject." 195–200.
Discusses the danger of transference between biographer and subject.

Thomas B. Horton. "A Search for Prose That Recreates the Past." 201–210.
Relates how to develop an appropriate historical voice for writing about a subject's time period.

Edwin C. Epps. "Is It Fiction or Biography?" 211–18.
Examines truth issues in dealing with a subject, Pat Conroy, who has produced substantial amounts of fictionalized autobiographical narrative.

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Janet L. Miller. "Biography, Education and Questions of the Private Voice." 225–34.
Suggests how to use biographical, autobiographical, and narrative forms to reveal multiple selves of a subject.

William Ayers. "I Search, You Search, We All Search: Biography and the Public Voice." 235–44.
Considers the appropriateness of using biography for teaching teachers.

D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly. "Asking Questions About Telling Stories." 245–54.
Addresses the role of storytelling in schools and universities.

Lorin W. Anderson. "Inquiry, Data and Understanding: A Search for Meaning in Educational Research." 255–64.
Examines how biographical inquiry can establish community among statistical researchers.

McNiven, Ian J., Lynette Russell, and Kay Schaffer. *Constructions of Colonialism: Perspectives on Eliza Fraser's Shipwreck.* London: Leicester UP, 1998.
Focusing on accounts of the 1836 shipwreck and marooning of Eliza Fraser on Fraser Island, examines issues of identity formation and the construction of history by analyzing textual and visual representations of Aboriginal people, and twentieth-century representations of the event.

Elaine Brown. "Eliza Fraser: An Historical Record." 13–27.
Sets the historical scene, and offers a critical look at events from a Western, reconstructivist, historical perspective.

Olga Miller. "K'gari, Mrs Fraser and Butchulla Oral Tradition." 28–36.
In a chapter that was related orally by a Butchulla elder, presents an Aboriginal view, based on oral history, of the Fraser saga.

Ian J. McNiven. "Shipwreck Saga as Archaeological Text: Reconstructing Fraser Island's Aboriginal Past." 37–50.
Contrasts Euro-Australian and Aboriginal constructions of identity to reconstruct Fraser Island's Aboriginal past.

Lynette Russell. "'Mere Trifles and Faint Representation': The Representations of Savage Life Offered by Eliza Fraser." 51–62.
Explores notions of otherness and the construction of "savage" identity in the saga.

Rod Macneil. "'Our Fair Narrator' Down-Under: Mrs Fraser's Body and the Preservation of the Empire." 63–76.
Examines notions of otherness, identity, and empire in the visual imagery of the shipwreck.

Kay Schaffer. "'We Are Like Eliza': Twentieth-Century Australian Responses to the Eliza Fraser Saga." 79–96.

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Traces the fascination with the story in twentieth-century Australia, indicating modernist, nationalist, and postcolonial readings.

Jude Adams. "Home Ground and Foreign Territory: The Works of Fiona Foley and Sidney Nolan." 97–115.
Contrasts treatment of the figure of Eliza Fraser and the representation of the landscape in art work by the young, female, Aboriginal artist Foley and the prominent, male, Anglo-Irish artist Nolan.

Jim Davidson. "No Woman Is an Island: The Eliza Fraser Variations." 116–25.
Locates the Fraser story against broader archetypes, in questioning what led to the recent upsurge in interest in the story in Australia.

Sue Kossew. "From Eliza to Elisabeth: André Brink's Version of the Eliza Fraser Story." 126–37.
Compares South African and Australian contexts by reading the Fraser story as transformed by a dissident, white South African.

Gerry Turcotte. "'Fears of Primitive Otherness': 'Race' in Michael Ondaatje's *the man with seven toes*." 138–50.
Traces the occlusion of nation and gender and the manipulation of indigeneity in Ondaatje's poem, resulting in the reconfirmation of stereotypes of primitive "other."

Barbara Blackman. "Barbara's Eliza" and "Eliza Surviva." 151–62.
An excerpt from the libretto for a musical collaboration by Blackman and composer Peter Sculthorpe, with an introduction sketching Blackman's personal involvement in the story.

Fiona Foley. "A Blast from the Past." 163–73.
Reflection on the "nouveau colonization" of indigenous intellects, juxtaposing cultural knowledge of Fraser with stories of little-known Aboriginal heroines.

MOONEY, CATHERINE M., ED. *GENDERED VOICES: MEDIEVAL SAINTS AND THEIR INTERPRETERS*. PHILADELPHIA: U OF PENNSYLVANIA P, 1999.

Considers the mediating role of male scribes, editors, and commentators on female saints.

Catherine M. Mooney. "Voice, Gender, and the Portrayal of Sanctity." 1–15.
Sets out themes of female self-portrayals versus portrayals by male admirers, in exploring how portrayals of sanctity are influenced by gender.

Barbara Newman. "Hildegard and Her Hagiographers: The Remaking of Female Sainthood." 16–34.
By comparing Hildegard's memoirs with vita by later male hagiographers, considers the nature of her inspiration and authority, and how the meaning of her prophecies evolved.

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Anne L. Clark. "Holy Woman or Unworthy Vessel? The Representations of Elisabeth of Schönau." 35–51.
Examines a series of texts that chronicle the visions of Elisabeth of Schönau as told to her brother Ekbert.

Catherine M. Mooney. "*Imitatio Christi* or *Imitatio Mariae*? Clare of Assisi and Her Interpreters." 52–77.
Focuses on the Franciscan theme of imitation of Christ and Mary in Clare's writings, in works by her many male interpreters, and in the writings of Francis of Assisi.

Amy Hollywood. "Inside Out: Beatrice of Nazareth and Her Hagiographer." 78–99.
Considers gender and generic differences separating Latin vita of Beatrice and Beatrice's own vernacular "Seven Manners of Loving God."

John Coakley. "A Marriage and Its Observer: Christine of Stommeln, the Heavenly Bridegroom, and Friar Peter of Dacia." 99–117.
Compares Christine's self-view with that of her depiction by Peter of Dacia, her confessor.

Frank Tobin. "Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel: Was the *Vita* a Cooperative Effort?" 118–35.
Reviews evidence for a literary partnership by considering Elsbeth Stagel's contribution to Henry Suso's autobiographical *vita*.

Karen Scott. "Mystical Death, Bodily Death: Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua on the Mystic's Encounter with God." 136–67.
Shows overlaps and differences between Catherine of Siena's self-portrayal in letters, and Raymond of Capua's *vita* written fifteen years after her death.

Dyan Elliot. "Authorizing a Life: The Collaboration of Dorothea of Montau and John Marienwerder." 168–92.
In reviewing the extensive Latin writing about Dorothea of Montau, considers John Marienwerder's role and his self-authorizing of himself as her interpreter.

"The Saints and Their Interpreters: Selected Primary Sources in Their Original Languages." 257–60.
A bibliography.

NEWMAN, BARBARA, ED. *VOICE OF THE LIVING LIGHT: HILDEGARD OF BINGEN AND HER WORLD*. BERKELEY: U OF CALIFORNIA P, 1998.
Sets Hildegard of Bingen in context, through essays addressing her work as theologian, mystic, administrator, artist, composer, poet, and doctor.

Barbara Newman. "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times." 1–29.

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Sketches Hildegard's life, pointing out her uniqueness and noting research sources.

John Van Engen. "Abbess: 'Mother and Teacher.'" 30–51.
Relates her journey from recluse to prioress to abbess, emphasizing her experiences and advice as abbess.

Constant Mews. "Religious Thinker: 'A Frail Human Being.'" 51–69.
Asks whether Hildegard should be regarded as a theologian or a mystic.

Kathryn Kerby-Fulton. "Prophet and Reformer: 'Smoke in the Vineyard.'" 70–90.
Shows the centrality of her prophetic gift to her vision of her self and her writing.

Joan Ferrante. "Correspondent: 'Blessed Is the Speech of Your Mouth.'" 91–109.
An overview of her varied and extensive correspondence, for what is revealed both by the contents of the letters and by the very fact of their preservation and collection.

Madeline Caviness. "Artist: 'To See, Hear, and Know All at Once.'" 110–24.
Reviews Hildegard's achievements and status as a pictorial artist.

Florence Eliza Glaze. "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature.'" 125–48.
Places Hildegard's medical writings in the context of the early medieval medical knowledge available to her.

Margot Fassler. "Composer and Dramatist: 'Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse.'" 149–75.
In light of the centrality of music in monastic communities, discusses her unique emphasis on communal singing and use of drama to educate the nuns.

Barbara Newman. "Poet: 'Where the Living Majesty Utters Mysteries.'" 176–91.
Considers Hildegard's textual innovations, use of rhapsodic and didactic poetry, and connection of poetry to music via chant.

WEILER, KATHLEEN, AND SUE MIDDLETON, EDS. *TELLING WOMEN'S LIVES: NARRATIVE INQUIRIES IN THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION*. BRISTOL: OPEN UP, 1999.

Explores the history of women in education in different national settings.

Marjorie Theobald. "Teachers, Memory and Oral History." 9–24.
Raises a set of related personal and theoretical problems in writing a history of twentieth-century Australian women teachers.

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Alison Prentice. "Workers, Professionals, Pilgrims: Tracing Canadian Women Teachers' Histories." 25–42.
Explores her own career as a historian of teachers, and the changing paradigms in her understanding of teaching as women's work.

Kathleen Weiler. "Reflections on Writing a History of Women Teachers." 43–59.
Combines theoretical debates on language, sexuality, and experience in her account of California rural teachers.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith. "Connecting Pieces: Finding the Indigenous Presence in the History of Women's Education." 60–72.
Recovers indigenous presences in educational history, focusing on teaching and research about educating Maori.

Sue Middleton and Helen May. "Disciplining the Teaching Body 1968–78: Progressive Education and Feminism in New Zealand." 75–95.
As part of an oral history project on educational ideas in New Zealand, relates the development of progressive education and feminism in New Zealand schools in the 1970s.

Alison Oram. "'To Cook Dinners with Love in Them'? Sexuality, Marital Status and Women Teachers in England and Wales, 1920–39." 96–112.
Based on lives of women primary and secondary school teachers in England and Wales between the wars, explores shifts in discourses of femininity and sexuality.

Helena C. Araújo. "Pathways and Subjectivities of Portuguese Women Teachers through Life Histories." 113–29.
Analyzes Portuguese women teachers' subjectivities under the fascist Salazar regime, and their resistances and accommodations to the regime.

Valinda Littlefield. "'To Do the Next Needed Thing': Jeanes Teachers in the Southern United States 1908–34." 130–46.
Investigates how the predominantly black, women Jeanes teachers in segregated schools in the Southern United States subverted expectations and encouraged self-sufficiency and cooperation.

Kate Rousmaniere. "Where Haley Stood: Margaret Haley, Teachers' Work, and the Problem of Teacher Identity." 130–46.
Using the life of Margaret Haley as an example, explores the intersection of class and gender in women's labor history.

WILSON, FRANCES, ED. *BYROMANIA: PORTRAITS OF THE ARTIST IN NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY CULTURE*. NEW YORK: ST. MARTIN'S, 1999.
Addresses constructions of Byron biography, from the poet's own efforts to modern films and romances.

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Frances Wilson. "Introduction: Byron, Byronism and Byromaniacs." 1–23.
Introduces the development of Byronism from the poet's attempts to construct and control his own image to the representations of Byron and the Byronic in portraiture, literature, drama, and film.

Peter W. Graham. "His Grand Show: Byron and the Myth of Mythmaking." 24–42.
Describes Byron's active participation in his own mythmaking.

Ghislaine McDayter. "Conjuring Byron: Byromania, Literary Commodification, and the Birth of Celebrity." 43–62.
Discusses the rhetoric of appetite and consumption in Byron and Marx, and traces Byron's growing alienation from his own image and product as he lost control over his representations.

Peter Cochran. "The Life of Byron, or Southey was Right." 63–76.
Shows how Byron's cinematic portrayal reflects the filmmakers' comfort or discomfort with the establishment.

Andrew Elfenbein. "Silver-Fork Byron and the Image of Regency England." 77–92.
Points out how middle-class Victorian England fashioned itself against the aristocratic Regency.

Werner Huber. "Byronic Bioplays." 93–108.
Contrasts the dramatic treatments of Byron's life in historical biographies and dramatic literature.

Christine Kenyon Jones. "Fantasy and Transfiguration: Byron and his Portraits." 109–37.
Discusses the contribution of visual representations to the Byron industry and the creation of the "Byronic."

Ramona M. Ralston and Sidney L. Sondergard. "Screening Byron: The Idiosyncrasies of the Film Myth." 137–53.
Decodes Byron's appearance in *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1933), *The Bad Lord Byron* (1948), *Lady Caroline Lamb* (1972), *Gothic* (1986), *Rowing with the Wind* (1988), *Haunted Summer* (1990), and *Frankenstein Unbound* (1990).

Tom Holland. "Undead Byron." 154–65.
Reads the Eastern Tales as a meditation on secret knowledge, and traces rumors of vampirism.

Roger Sales. "The Loathsome Lord and the Disdainful Dame: Byron, Cartland and the Regency Romance." 166–83.
Barbara Cartland's stereotypical heroes share Byronic biographical details, but the aristocratic hero succumbs to the values of the bourgeois heroine.

James Soderholm. "Byronic Confession." 184–94.
Explores Byron's self-dramatizing via oblique confessions and rituals of partial self-exposure.

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Frances Wilson. "'An Exaggerated Woman': The Melodramas of Lady Caroline Lamb." 195–220.
Compares biographical and fictional representations of Byron's battles with Lady Caroline Lamb.

Alex Alec-Smith. "Appendix: Byron in Fiction—A List of Books, Novels, Plays, and Films." 221–29.
A bibliography.

WOODWARD, KATHLEEN, ED. *FIGURING AGE: WOMEN, BODIES, GENERATIONS.* BLOOMINGTON: INDIANA UP, 1998.

Explores issues relating to older women in western culture, and to how they are aged and represented by the culture. [Reviewed in this issue of *Biography*.]

Nancy K. Miller. "The Marks of Time." 3–19.
Describes the way women witness age through the mirror of older women in their family, and the need for public bodies to represent women in other ways.

Mary Russo. "Aging and the Scandal of Anachronism." 20–33.
Points out the impact of the rhetoric of age in a culture of commodification, and the use of cross-generational relationships between unrelated women to disrupt developmental models of aging.

Margaret Morganroth Gullette. "The Other End of the Fashion Cycle: Practicing Loss, Learning Decline." 34–56.
Argues that categories of aging need to be considered in analyzing cultural practices, such as fashion, which tells us aging is a process of loss and decline.

Teresa Mangum. "Little Women: The Aging Female Character in Nineteenth-Century British Children's Literature." 59–87.
Shows how representations of older women in Victorian children's literature and conduct literature lead to a hegemony of middle age and to views of old age as a dependent second childhood.

Susan Squier. "Incubabies and Rejuvenates: The Traffic between Technologies of Reproduction and Age-Extension." 88–111.
Reviews converging discourses of medical science, feminism, and radicalism in the early twentieth century U.S. and Britain to see how growing older came to be viewed as a medical problem to be solved technologically.

Stephen Katz. "Charcot's Older Women: Bodies of Knowledge at the Interface of Aging Studies and Women's Studies." 112–28.
Using as an example studies of Charcot's use of sal pêtrière in late nineteenth century France, shows the need for a greater connection between women's studies and aging studies.

Teresa Brennan. "Social Physics: Inertia, Energy, and Aging." 131–48.

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Uses Freud to explain how people are aged by the process of "development" and by the rigidities of feminization and aging.

Kathleen Woodward. "Inventing Generational Models: Psychoanalysis, Feminism, Literature." 149–68.
Points out how a Freudian model of relations between generations is limited by its focus on the nuclear family and intergenerational struggle.

E. Ann Kaplan. "Trauma and Aging: Marlene Dietrich, Melanie Klein, and Marguerite Duras." 171–94.
Explores how the chosen work medium affects the experience of growing older.

Cecelia Condit. "*Not a Jealous Bone.*" 195–99.
Script of a videotape of a mini-opera with older and younger women characters.

Vivian Sobchack. "Scary Women: Cinema, Surgery, and Special Effects." 200–211.
Based on the portrayal of middle-aged women as scary in 1950s films, explores how bodies deflect the passage of time, using digital morphing as an analog for cosmetic surgery.

Joanna Frueh. "Monster/Beauty: Midlife Bodybuilding as Aesthetic Discipline." 212–26.
Discusses midlife bodybuilding and the strong and consciously built body as a rejoinder to the matronly, asexual body.

Jacqueline Hayden. "*Figure Model Series,* 1991–1995." 227–31.
Photograph series of nude, older women.

Jodi Brooks. "Performing Aging/Performance Crisis (for Norma Desmond, Baby Jane, Margo Channing, Sister George—and Myrtle)." 232–47.
Shows how women resist being aged by performing the crisis of aging.

Anne Davis Basting. "Dolly Descending a Staircase: Stardom, Age, and Gender in Times Square." 248–63.
In reaction to watching Carol Channing at 74 play Dolly, contrasts invisible and hyperpublic, and denied and celebrated aging.

Rachel Rosenthal. "Aging between the Ears." 264–67.
Reflects on her experiences as a seventy-year-old performance artist.

Anca Cristofovici. "Touching Surfaces: Photography, Aging, and an Aesthetics of Change." 268–94.
Uses photographic analysis to see through the body to the psychic identity of different age selves.

Marie-Claire Pasquier. "The Well of Wisdom: The Love of Older Women among French Lesbians." 297–309.
Considers the historical background for the prevalence in France of younger and older women couples.

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Patricia Mellencamp. "From Anxiety to Equanimity: Crisis and Generational Continuity on TV, at the Movies, in Life, in Death." 310–28.
Interlaces the story of four generations of personal life with Freudian views of aging to contrast images of aging as catastrophe and continuity.

Joanne M. Braxton. "Genealogy." 329–35.
Four poems tracing genealogy through four generations, emphasizing the continuity of age and generations.

Susan Letzler Cole. "Missing Alice: In Search of a Mother's Voice." 336–39.
Letters to her mother, written after her death, addressing in particular the persona of her adolescent diary.

Elinor Fuchs. "Making an Exit." 340–48.
Addresses the social and cultural dimensions of confronting physical aspects of aging by describing her relation to her mother over the years, and particularly her years with Alzheimer's.

Special Issues and Annuals

A/B: Auto/Biography Studies 13.1 (Spring 1998). "Autobiography and Neuroscience." Ed. Tom Smith.

Tom Smith. "Introduction: Autobiography in Fresh Contexts." 1–6.
Suggests that neuroscientific knowledge can open up thinking about autobiography in general, and in understanding particular texts.

Francis F. Steen. "'The Time of Unrememberable Being': Wordsworth's Autobiography of the Imagination." 7–38.
Reads Wordsworth's efforts to tell the story of the growth of his imagination in light of various theories of self-construction, which can be revivified by attending to developments in neuroscience and psychology.

Kirsten Shepherd-Barr and Gordon M. Shepherd. "Madeleines and Neuromodernism: Reassessing Mechanisms of Autobiographical Memory in Proust." 39–60.
Uses experimental neurological research to show how Proust's rendering of the madeleine episode accords with current understanding of the operations of memory and the sense of smell.

Roger Porter and Daniel Reisberg. "Autobiography and Memory." 61–70.
Argues against Freud's idea of the necessary repression of memories by citing examples of how horrific memories have been accessed, manipulated, and transformed in autobiographies.

Maia Saj Schmidt. "Literary Testimonies of Illness and the Reshaping of Social Memory." 71–91.

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Applies creativity theory to autobiographies of illness to suggest how students of literature can make broader use of theories of artistic production grounded in neuroscience.

Tom Smith. "Neuroscience and Autobiography: A Selected Bibliography." 92–96.
A bibliography.

Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly 22.1 (Winter 1999). "A Festschrift for George Simson." Ed. Marie-José Fassiotto, Michael Fassiotto, and Craig Howes.

Merle, Gabriel. "What I Know of George Simson: Scrappy Notes for a Distant Biography of the Founder of *Biography*." 1–15.
By retracing the history of their friendship, presents a portrait of the founder of the journal.

Noel Annan. "Keynes and the Bloomsbury Group." 16–31.
Considers whether Keynes's success as a public figure led him to betray the ideals of the Bloomsbury Group, as feared by some of its members.

Michael Holroyd. "Carrington and Strachey." 32–45.
Investigates the complex relationship between Strachey and Carrington, concluding that Strachey's life was at one with his writings, illustrating a reaction to the sexual repression of late Victorian Britain.

Edward Seidensticker. "Autobiography." 46–56.
Discusses difficulties in writing autobiography when compared to such forms as diary, memoir, and autobiographic fiction as practiced in the Anglo-American and Japanese traditions.

Glenn D. Paige. "Gandhi as Leader: A Plutarchan Perspective." 57–74.
Explores criteria used for judging leaders by asking how Plutarch might have evaluated Gandhi, and how categories developed for a martial society could be extended to a nonviolent leader.

Frederick R. Karl. "Writing George Eliot's Biography." 75–85.
Explains how he decided upon a particular psychological approach to writing Eliot's biography.

Stephen O'Harrow. "Babar and the *Mission Civilisatrice:* Colonialism and the Biography of a Mythical Elephant." 86–103.
Reveals the colonialist perceptions, a reflection of Jean de Brunhoff's social milieu, underlying the character, world, and experiences of Babar.

Johan Galtung. "A Multicultural Global Culture: Not a Question of When, But How." 104–12.
Compares multilingual and multicultural competencies.

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Anthony M. Friedson. "George Simson: A Grateful Summary." 113–14.
An appreciation of a long friendship by the literature editor of *Biography*.

Biography and Source Studies 4 (1998). Ed. Frederick R. Karl.

Brenda Wineapple. "The Biographical Imperative; or, Hawthorne's Family Values." 1–14.
Using as an example her work on Hawthorne's relations with his children and son-in-law, argues for maintaining a suggestive tension between documentation and revelation, rather than giving way to full speculation about potentially scandalous matters.

Patrick Samway, S.J. "Grappling with the Philosophy and Theology of Walker Percy." 15–30.
Discusses his attempt to explain Percy's philosophical and theological ideas, even though they are antithetical to his own.

Barbara Belford. "Oscar Wilde: Yet Again, and Why?" 31–40.
Argues for a postmodern interpretation of Wilde, and justifies the need for writing another biography even when no new, startling material has been discovered.

Anna Battigelli. "Virginia Woolf's Wild Goose Chase: *Orlando* as Biographical Criticism." 41–56.
Suggests that *Orlando* anticipates postmodern anxiety toward the biographical, the feeling that biography may never catch the sense of a subject's life and work, but only the work.

Herbert Leibowitz. "Strange Bedfellows: Poetry as Biographical Evidence." 57–69.
Using as examples Robert Lowell and William Carlos Williams, explores the special complexities of literary biographies of poets.

William Luhr and Peter Lehman. "Writing a Biography of Blake Edwards." 71–86.
Discusses the difficulties of writing about someone whose career has crossed several genres, who is still very much at work, who is a celebrity, and who is married to an even greater celebrity.

Ira Nadel. "Authorized Secrets or Lives of the Living." 87–99.
Drawing on his work on Leonard Cohen and Tom Stoppard, locates dangers involved in writing about a living subject.

Frederick R. Karl. "Some American Biography: An Article-Review." 101–27.
Reviews a number of recent biographies of American novelists to see what directions the biographical craft is taking.

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Death Studies 22.8 (Dec. 1998). "The Suicide of Sylvia Plath: Current Perspectives." Ed. David Lester.

American poet Plath has long fascinated biographers, partly for her searing, psychologically-focused later poetry, partly for her marriage to the late poet Ted Hughes, and partly for the manner of her death. She gassed herself in her flat while her two toddlers slept, roughly a month after the publication of her autobiographical novel *The Bell Jar*. This special issue contains the following entries:

Ernest Shulman. "Vulnerability Factors in Sylvia Plath's Suicide." 597–614.

Antoon Lenaars and Susanne Wenkstern. "Sylvia Plath: A Protocol Analysis of Her Last Poems." 615–36.

Mark Runco. "Suicide and Creativity: The Case of Sylvia Plath." 637–54.

David Lester. "Theories of Suicidal Behavior Applied to Sylvia Plath." 655–66.

Lisa Firestone and Joyce Catlett. "The Treatment of Sylvia Plath." 667–92.

Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 19.2 (1998). "Varieties of Women's Oral History."

Malia Mulder-Wollan. "Harvest Stories: Interviews with Gladys Lillian Marke." 1–15.
Interview with her neighbor, an Oregon homesteader and farmer.

Jerry Garcia. "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sanchez Treviño." 16–52.
Interview with a member of the growing Mexican American population of Washington State.

Bonnie J. Morris. "In Their Own Voices: Oral Histories of Festival Artists." 53–71.
Creates a group oral history of performers at women's music festivals.

Linda Ann Kittell. "The Helga Pictures." 72–82.
Poems inspired by Andrew Wyeth's 1986 revelation of his paintings of Helga Testorf.

Susan Platt and Kathryn A. Glowen. "PETLAND: A Woman's Life." 83–88.
Artist Glowen assembles artifacts from Mamie L. Rand's life and house to construct an exhibit representing her life, with an introduction by art historian Platt.

Cheryl Rodriguez. "Activist Stories: Culture and Continuity in Black Women's Narratives of Grassroots Community Work." 94–112.

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Uses oral history to uncover the story of black women's community activism in Tampa.

Delores Delgado Bernal. "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts." 113–42.
Oral histories recover and incorporate gender, and female leadership, into the story of the Chicano incident that had generally been told as a story of male bravado.

Jean Calterone Williams. "Domestic Violence and Poverty: The Narratives of Homeless Women." 143–65.
Shows how careful attention to the narratives of homeless women reveals that they are frequently caught, rather than helped, by the institutional demands of battered women's refuges and homeless shelters.

Rosemary Sayigh. "Gender, Sexuality, and Class in National Narrations: Palestinian Camp Women Tell Their Lives." 166–87.
Interviews with Palestinian women in Lebanese refugee camps foreground the conflict between the women's desires for autonomy and the terms on which they are encouraged to be part of the liberation struggle.

Alison Marchant. "Treading the Traces of Discarded History: Oral History Installations." 186–98.
Combines oral and art history to portray the lives of British women textile workers.

Jaclyn J. Gier-Viskovatoff and Abigail Porter. "Women of the British Coalfields on Strike in 1926 and 1984: Documenting Lives Using Oral History and Photography." 199–230.
Documents the continuity of women's strike activities in Welsh coal-mining towns.

Janet L. Finn. "A Penny for Your Thoughts: Stories of Women, Copper, and Community." 231–49.
Explores women's community activism in the copper-mining towns of Butte, Montana, and Chuquicamata, Chile.

Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 19.3 (1998). "Problems and Perspectives in Women's Oral History."

Susan Armitage and Sherna Berger Gluck. "Reflections on Women's Oral History: An Exchange." 1–11.
Historical exploration of changes and current trends in women's oral history.

Sandy Polishuk. "Secrets, Lies, and Misremembering: The Perils of Oral History Interviewing." 14–23.
Describes her many interviews with a friend and the discovery of discrepancies after her friend's death.

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Debra J. Blake. "Reading Dynamics of Power through Mexican-Origin Women's Oral Histories." 24–41.
Discusses her role as an outsider, a white woman, interviewing Chicanas.

Martha J. Einerson. "'Do ya wanna dance?': Collaborating with and Empowering Preadolescent Girls in Feminist Interpretive Research." 42–57.
Explains her use of popular music to get the attention and confidence of pre-adolescent girl interviewees.

Gail J. Stearns. "Reflectivity and Moral Agency: Restoring Possibility to Life History Research." 58–71.
Explores the power relationships in oral history interviews.

Maya Socolovsky. "Moving Beyond the Mint Green Walls: An Examination of (Auto)Biography and Border in Ruth Behar's *Translated Women*." 72–97.
Using Behar's work, discusses complexities of reflexivity.

Shawn Michelle Smith. "Fragile Testimony: Family Photographs and Kelly McKaig's Dreamworlds." 98–111.
Focuses on the use of family photos in McKaig's art.

Judy Yung. "Giving Voice to Chinese American Women." 130–56.
Tells how and why over many years she interviewed Chinese and Chinese-American women in the San Francisco Bay area, and how she used the oral histories.

Carole Garibaldi Rogers. "Overlooked Narrators: What Women Religious Can Contribute to Feminist Oral History." 157–70.
Suggests what can be learned from interviews with members of a particularly overlooked group, women religious.

Jessie L. Embry. "Oral History and Mormon Women Missionaries: The Stories Sound the Same." 171–88.
Explains the similarities among interviews with Mormon women missionaries.

Connie Broughton. "Filming Nana: Some Dilemmas of Oral History on Film." 190–99.
Offers an insider's account of the use of family oral history in documentary film.

Anne M. Butler and Gerri W. Sorenson. "Patching the Past: Students and Oral History." 200–13.
Provides an example of the use of oral history in the classroom.

Journal of American History 85.2 (Summer 1998). "The Uses of Memory: A Round Table" and the "Oral History Section."

Robert McGlone. "Deciphering Memory: John Adams and the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence." 411–38.

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Uses cognitive psychology research to show how Adams rehearsed and reconstructed his memory of drafting the Declaration.

Jacquelyn Dowd Hall. "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique." 439–65.
Based on the life and autobiographical writings of Katharine Du Pré Lumpkin, explores the boundaries of memory and history, and the use of autobiography as social criticism.

Alastair Thomson. "Fifty Years On: An International Perspective on Oral History." 581–95.
Review of how scholars have used oral history, the challenges posed by new technology, and the importance of recognizing an interview's cultural context.

Rick Halpern. "Oral History and Labor History: A Historiographical Assessment after Twenty-Five Years." 596–610.
Explores how oral history has redefined labor history, making it both more inclusive and more radical.

Dale E. Trelevan. "Interviewing a Close Friend, First Amendment Activist Frank Wilkinson." 611–19.
Discusses the impact of an interviewer's relationship with a subject on the content and context of interviews, using as an example how his friendship influenced the narrative he created over years of interviews with Wilkinson.

Oral History 26.2 (Autumn 1998). "Dealing with Traumatic or Troubling Memories."

Wendy Rickard. "Oral History—'More dangerous than Therapy?' Interviewees' Reflections on Recording Traumatic or Taboo Issues." 34–48.
A group of former interviewees from an HIV/AIDS oral history project, left in a room with a tape recorder, discuss their experience of being interviewed.

David W. Jones. "Distressing Histories and Unhappy Interviewing." 49–56.
In pointing out overlaps between research interviews and therapy, calls for interviewer training in when not to ask further questions.

Nigel Hunt and Ian Robbins. "Telling Stories of the War: Ageing Veterans Coping with Their Memories through Narrative." 57–64.
Twenty-five British World War II veterans discuss their strategies for dealing with traumatic memories.

Sheena Rolph. "Ethical Dilemmas: Oral History Work with People with Learning Difficulties." 65–72.
Raises confidentiality concerns in delineating tensions between identifying hidden histories and revealing sensitive information.

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Oral History 27.1 (Spring 1999). "Migration Studies."

Alistair Thomson. "Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies." 24–37.
Sets out the contributions of oral history to migration studies over the last twenty-five years.

Olivia Bennett. "Breaking the Threads: The Real Costs of Forced Resettlement." 38–46.
Uses oral histories from communities in Lesotho that were displaced for a new reservoir to discuss the social costs of forced migration.

Sheena Rolph. "Enforced Migrations by People with Learning Difficulties: A Case Study." 47–56.
Oral history accounts of people with learning disabilities forced into and out of hospitals and institutions.

Michelle Winslow. "Polish Migration to Britain: War, Exile and Mental Health." 57–64.
Impact of migration to Britain on the mental health of first-generation Polish immigrants.

Katy Gardner. "Narrating Location: Space, Age and Gender among Bengali Elders in East London." 65–74.
Accounts of the aging experience of first-generation Bengali elder immigrants.

Fani Keramida. "A 'Repatriated' Migrant's Life Story." 75–85.
Using the life history of a Greek repatriated from the Soviet Union, raises questions about which aspects of national identity are emphasized in different circumstances.

Allen Redfern. "Children Exploring Immigrant and Migrant Experiences: Lessons in Oral History from Argentina." 86–90.
Based on a Buenos Aires project involving immigrant and migrant experiences, argues for the benefits of using oral history in primary and secondary schools.

Symposium 51.4 (Winter 1998). "Autobiography and the Hunger for Scholarship." Ed. Paul J. Archambault.

Paul J. Archambault. "Introduction: Periautography and the Scholar." 211–17.
Traces the scholarly or philosophical autobiography to Vico's foundational "periautography," and relates it to a new interview form, "livre d'entretiens."

Bettina L. Knapp. "Archaeology of the Soul? Historical and Literary Archaeology." 218–31.
Uses Jung's work to develop an historical or literary archaeology, which involves journeying into a creative work as a kind of cultural and psychological return to both collective and personal past.

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Paul J. Archambault. "Autobiography and the Search for Transparency." 232–46.
Explores the issue of sincerity in autobiography, from Rousseau's ideal of transparency, as explained by Sarobinski, to Lejeune's autobiographical pact, to Derrida's discussion of the death of the subject/author.

Paul J. Archambault. "Autobiography and the Hunger for History: An Interview with Jacques Le Goff." 247–75.
Wide-ranging interview with Le Goff covering his life story and views on teaching, research, religion, and the European community.

Paul J. Archambault. "'England Saved My Life': An Interview with Historian Roland Marx." 276–304.
Relates how Marx's decision to become a British historian was influenced by England's role in World War II, and by Marc Bloch and the Annales school.

Women and Performance 10.1–2, #19–20 (1999). "Performing Autobiography." Ed. Leslie Satin, with Judith Jerome.

Leslie Satin and Judith Jerome. "Introduction." 9–19.
Explores autobiographical performance, and in particular, the use of class, gender, and community to rethink self-representation as a circumstance grounded in cultural particularities.

Evelyn Velez-Aguayo and Lorena Figuerola. "Santa Perdida, July, Santa Perdida, August." 20–22.
Photographic collage about reclaiming the authors' own experiences of pregnancy from its representations in Western and Caribbean Catholic traditions.

Deb Margolin. "Count the I's, or, the Autobiographical Nature of Everything." 23–32.
Combines a meditation on the ubiquity of autobiography with an autobiographical script written for someone else.

E. Ann Kaplan. "Performing Traumatic Dialogue: On the Border of Fiction and Autobiography." 33–58.
Considers the politics of trauma, and the reworking of psychoanalytic dialogue so that it questions the therapeutic interview.

Marjorie Gamso. "Apartment." 59–68.
Combination of photographs and text describing her videotaping of her childhood home after her parents' deaths.

Gabrielle Civil. "*Body Dander, Dust.*" 69–72.
Script dealing with self-invention, using previous and present self-images.

Jill M. Carleton. "Embodying Autobiography: A Lesbian Performance of Gay Male Performance Art." 73–83.

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Describes a solo performance developed from an autobiographical script first presented by Tim Miller.

John Coplans. "Back with Arms Above; Three-quarter Back, Hands Clasped; Hands Holding Feet." 84–88.
Photographic self-portraits confronting or confirming the aging body.

An interview by Leslie Satin. "Yvonne Rainer on Autobiography." The filmmaker addresses her approaches to and departures from autobiographical impulses.

Nahum B. Zenil. "Benediciones" and "Retrato de Boda." 104, 134.
Photographs complicating traditional Mexican iconography with investigations of gender and identity.

Claire MacDonald. "Requiem for the Self: Kathy Acker's Final Work." 105–116.
Finds a literary preparation for death lurking behind all autobiographical writing, with death serving as the last page.

Judith Jerome. "Creating the World Waiting to be Created: Jack Smith and Karen Finley." 135–54.
Discusses the use of family and personal material by performance artist Finley and filmmaker Smith.

Lenora Champagne. "Notes on Autobiography and Performance Excerpts from *Wants*." 155–72.
Using as an example an excerpt from her play *Wants*, examines the interplay of memory, authenticity, and imagination.

Jenni Hurlbutt. "Fish Stories." 173–80.
Creates an autobiography by relating different life episodes involving fish or fishing.

Leslie Satin. "Autobiography in the Present Tense: Deborah Hay, Living and Dying at Once." 181–210.
Analyzes Hay's embodiment of autobiographical perspectives in dance.

Jason King. "When Autobiography Becomes Soul: Erykah Badu and the Cultural Politics of Black Feminism." 211–43.
Explores current music for cultural alternatives to conventional autobiographical presentations of women.

Annegret Soltau. "Generative." 244.
Photocollage connecting sewing and the creation of individual identities.

Geeta Patel. "Mirror and Breath: Grandmother and I." 245–54.
A meditation, first performed orally, on the author's relationship with her grandmother.

Marianne Goldberg and Christianne Brown. "Be To Want I: A Performance Piece for Print." 255–76.

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Autobiographical dialogue between a small pink doll and Brown's dancing.

Susan Edwards. "The Wild West Wind." 277–89.

An appreciation of Allen Ginsberg's life as a conscious autobiographical performance.

Articles and Essays

Albas, Anton. "Dear Diary: Gide and His Journal." *Australian Journal of French Studies* 35.3 (Sept.-Dec. 1998): 348–59.

Relies on the concept of "intimate addressee" to explain why and for whom Gide wrote.

Alford, C. Fred. "A Psychoanalytic Study of Evil." *American Imago* 56.1 (Spring 1999): 27–52.

Author interviews sixty-eight subjects on the topic of evil, fifty of whom are "average citizens," eighteen of whom are mostly murderers at a maximum security prison.

Andrew, Alison, and Jane Montague. "Women's Friendship at Work." *Women's Studies International Forum* 21.4 (1998): 355–61.

Explores autobiographically women's friendship in the gendered workplace.

Andrews, Molly. "One Hundred Miles of Lives: The Stasi Files as a People's History of East Germany." *Oral History* 26.1 (Spring 1998): 24–31.

Based on interviews with people who have read their own Stasi files, suggests how official histories can ignore complexities of character.

Ashley, Kathleen. "Historicizing Margery: 'The Book of Margery Kempe' as Social Text." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.2 (Spring 1998): 371–89.

Known as the first autobiography in English, but still in search of an appropriate interpretive community, "The Book of Margery Kempe" proves useful in representing ideological formations that reflect the transition from medieval to early modern culture.

Atkinson, Dorothy, and Jan Walmsley. "Using Autobiographical Approaches with People with Learning Difficulties." *Disability and Society* 14.2 (Mar. 1999): 203–16.

Reviews a variety of uses of biography and autobiography for representing people with learning difficulties, and suggests autobiography's potential for changing the power relationships in disability research.

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Bar-On, Dan, and Elke Rottgardt. "Reconstructing Silenced Biographical Issues Through Feeling-Facts." *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes* 61.1 (Spring 1998): 61–83.

By analyzing two forms of the undiscussible within daily discourse —one in which facts are independently verifiable but intentionally hidden, and one in which they cannot be verified—the authors contrast a psychoanalytic and a constructivist hermeneutic approach to narrative analysis.

Barros, Carolyn A. "Getting Modern: *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*." *Biography* 22.2 (Spring 1999): 177–208.

Argues that with *Toklas* Stein effects a shift to modernist autobiography, constructing herself as a modernist work of art, a collage of multiple identities.

Ben-David, Amith, and Ila Jasani Good. "Ethiopians and the Hmongs: A Comparative Study in Cultural Narrative from a Family Therapy Perspective." *Journal of Family Psychotherapy* 9.1 (1998): 31–45.

By comparing the experiences of Ethiopians in Israel and Hmongs in the U.S., offers guidelines for creative, culturally grounded approaches to life narratives.

Bergman, David. "Abbreviated Lives." *Harvard Gay and Lesbian Review* 6.3 (Summer 1999): 9–11.

Explores the beneficial consequences for lesbian and gay readers, and for literary biographies, of the trend away from long, ostensibly definitive lives to shorter studies.

Bernold, Monika, and Johanna Gehmacher. "A Private Eye on Feminist Agency: Reflections on Self-Documentation, Biography, and Political Consciousness." *Women's Studies International Forum* 22.2 (Mar.-Apr. 1999): 237–47.

Explores the strong imaginary component in the collection, storage, and representation of data documenting two biographical models.

Berryman, Charles. "Critical Mirrors: Theories of Autobiography." *Mosaic* 32.1 (Mar. 1999): 71–84.

Connects the evolution of autobiographical theory to questions mirroring larger critical trends.

Berthold, Michael. "Not 'Altogether' the 'History of Myself': Autobiographical Impersonality in Elizabeth Keckley's *Behind the Scenes, Or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House*." *American Transcendental Quarterly* 13.2 (June 1999): 105–19.

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Focuses on a species of memoirs that grows out of personal experience and concentrates on external events and figures occupying important places in world affairs.

Bosmajian, Hamida. "The Orphaned Voice in Art Spiegelman's *Maus* I and II." *Literature and Psychology* 44.1–2 (1998): 1–22.

Explores how Spiegelman pushes the conventions of Holocaust narrative by writing a double autobiography of a son's relation to his father and the father's survival.

Botonaki, Effie. "Marching on the Catwalk and Marketing the Self: Margaret Cavendish's Autobiography." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 159–81.

Traces Cavendish's creation of contradictory self-representations to her need to construct a marketable image that would undercut already circulating negative images imposed upon her.

Brah, Avtar. "The Scent of Memory: Strangers, Our Own, and Others." *Feminist Review* 61 (Spring 1999): 4–26.

Using autobiography as a springboard, tries to map the production of "gendered, classed, and racialized subjects" in west London.

Brereton, Bridget. "Gendered Testimonies: Autobiographies, Diaries, and Letters by Women as Sources for Caribbean History." *Feminist Review* 59 (Summer 1998): 143–63.

Focuses on testimony about gendered life experiences in memoirs, diaries, and letters written by English-speaking women living in the Caribbean since the early 1800s.

Brumberg, Joan Jacobs. "The 'Me' of Me: Voices of Jewish Girls in Adolescent Diaries of the 1920s and 1950s." *Talking Back: Images of Jewish Women in American Popular Culture.* Ed. Joyce Antler. Hanover, NH: UP of New England/Brandeis UP, 1998. 53–67.

Contrasts a 1920s diary, when it was rare for Jewish girls to keep one, with 1950s diaries showing a great impact of assimilation and mass culture.

Bruner, Jerome. "Narratives of Aging." *Journal of Aging Studies* 13.1 (Spring 1999): 7–10.

Explores how works of art provide narrative templates through which members of a culture construct their life stories.

Brush, Paula Stewart. "The Influence of Social Movements on Articulations of Race and Gender in Black Women's Autobiographies." *Gender and Society* 13.1 (Feb. 1999): 120–37.

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Using nine Black women's autobiographies published between 1960 and 1975, examines how the oppositional discourses of the civil rights and women's movements influence articulations of gender and race.

Buckle, Stephen. "Hume's Biography and Hume's Philosophy." *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 77.1 (Mar. 1999): 1–25.

Posits that misunderstandings and misrepresentations can surround an author's autobiographical self-portrait.

Buijs, Gina. "Black Jews in the Northern Province: A Study of Ethnic Identity in South Africa." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21.4 (July 1998): 661–82.

Explores how the Lemba people of the Northern Province of South Africa use oral history and traditional customs associated with distant Semitic origins in Yemen to claim a modern Jewish identity.

Burston, Daniel. "Archetype and Interpretation." *Psychoanalytic Review* 86.1 (Spring 1999): 35–62.

Investigates the theme of "sexual anguish" running repeatedly through Freud's writing, with particular attention paid to the fraught relationship between Freud and Jung.

Bushnell, Jack. "Loren Eisely and the Dancing Rat: Science as Autobiography." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 257–70.

Focusing on the works of Loren Eisely, explores the autobiographical dimensions of scientific discourse.

Carter, Mia. "The Politics of Pleasure: Cross-Cultural Autobiographic Performance in the Video Works of Sadie Benning." *Signs* 22.3 (Spring 1998): 745–69.

Addresses issues of age, ethnicity, gender, and culture in the autobiographical performance art videos begun by Sadie Benning as an adolescent.

Chaloupka, William. "Edward Abbey's Inadvertent Postmodernism: Theory, Autobiography, and Politics." *Coyote in the Maze: Tracking Edward Abbey in a World of Words.* Ed. Peter Quigley. Salt Lake: U of Utah P, 1998. 119–36.

Uses Foucault to read Abbey as moving beyond modernism to an active political radicalism.

Chothia, Jean. "Trying to Write the Family Play: Autobiography and the Dramatic Imagination." *The Cambridge Campanion to Eugene O'Neill.* Ed. Michael Manheim. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. 192–205.

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Describes how O'Neill forged new theatrical techniques suitable for writing autobiographical drama.

Christopher, Peter. "Assumptions: Identifying Race." *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 56.1 (Spring 1999): 84–90.

Discusses the disservice done to individual self-identity by racial labeling.

Clements, Barbara Evans. "Current Developments in the Study of Women in Russia." *Journal of Women's History* 10.1 (Spring 1998): 192–97.

A review essay on literature from 1992–1996 about the history and current status of women in Russia and Russian feminism.

Clements, Peter. "Autobiographical Research and the Emergence of the Fictive Voice." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 29.1 (Mar. 1999): 21–32.

Promotes autobiography as a means for educational practitioners to analyze their professional lives.

Consiglio, Anthony. "Gender Identity and Narrative Truth: An Autobiographical Approach to Bias." *English Journal* 88.3 (Jan. 1999): 71–76.

Demonstrates that the personalization of gay issues through self-identification can be an effective way of addressing stereotyping.

Couser, G. Thomas. "Making, Taking, and Faking Lives: The Ethics of Collaborative Life Writing." *Style* 32.2 (Summer 1998): 334–50.

Explores ethical dilemmas peculiar to collaborative lifewriting, showing that while the majority of such life stories are the products of voluntary, amicable, and mutually beneficial partnerships, the lines are not always clear between making, taking, and faking the life of another person in print.

Crick, Bernard. "Orwell and the Business of Biography." *More Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain.* Ed. William Roger Louis. Austin: U of Texas P, 1998. 151–68.

Using the example of Orwell, questions the status of evidence created by an author's use of a fictive "I."

Curtis, A. Cheryl. "Cultural Reflections: The Use of Autobiography in the Teacher Education Classroom." *Education* 119.1 (Fall 1998): 28–30.

Shows how autobiography can be used in classes to disengage the objectifying framework by which color-blind and gender-blind perspectives actually perpetuate racism and privilege.

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Dahmane, Razak. "Memory, Mimicry, and the Vindications of Ventriloquism in Dickens' *Hard Times*." *Journal of Psychohistory* 26.1 (Summer 1998): 37–84.

Finds in *Hard Times* the riddling symbolism of a secret autobiography.

Danahay, Martin. "Kathie Lee Gifford and the Commodification of Autobiography." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.1 (Spring 1998): 116–30.

Analyzes Gifford's commodification of her own identity through her creation of a simulated persona on TV, and her presentation of it as her "self."

Daniel, Mano, and Richard Holmes. "A Constructivist Account of Sartre's Theory of Biography." *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 29.2 (May 1998): 174–88.

From work on Sartre, considers what can be known about a self, and how we know when we come to know it.

Daschke, Dereck. "Desolate Among Them: Loss, Fantasy, and Recovery in the Book of Ezekiel." *American Imago* 56.2 (Summer 1999): 105–132.

Invokes Freud's theory of mourning to interpret the actions of the prophet Ezekiel.

Dean, Ruth G. "A Narrative Approach to Group." *Clinical Social Work Journal* 26.1 (Spring 1998): 23–37.

Examines ways to elicit and use narratives to organize the past, plan the future, and create meaning in groups.

De Fabrizio, Lucy. "Symbolic Disorder: The Terms of Anorexia Nervosa and the Weight of Representation." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 79–83.

Explores the use of critical autobiography as a medium for symbolic intervention into institutionalized discourses of anorexia nervosa.

Dervin, Daniel. "The Absent Father's Presence in Modern and American Gay Drama." *American Imago* 56.1 (Spring 1999): 53–74.

Pursues representations of the absent father in modern drama, with discussions of Tennessee Williams, Oscar Wilde, and Tony Kushner, among others.

de Vogüé, Adalbert. "Saint Benedict and Spiritual Progress: The Author of the 'Rule' between His Source and His Biographer." *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 34.3 (1999): 279–98.

Attempts to separate the interwoven threads of authorial influence to understand better the portrait of the artist.

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Disch, Robert. "Dignity, Cultural Power, and Narrative Redemption: Aging Male Writers Confront the Medical System." *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 29.2–3 (1998): 93–109.

In light of the increasing number of pathographies, illness narratives by men are examined for what they reveal about relationships among illness, age, dignity, and the medical system.

Dorsey, Peter A. "Going to School with Savages: Authorship and Authority among the Jesuits of New France." *William and Mary Quarterly* 55.3 (July 1998): 399–420.

Traces the missionary success of the Jesuits to their ability to appropriate Native languages and cultures.

Douthwaite, Julia V. "Private Life in the Public Eye: Rousseau's Autobiography and Eighteenth-Century Painting." *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 358 (1998): 135–60.

Draws correspondences between autobiographical narrative and portraiture, linking domestic and emotional passages to genre and didactic scenes, and reverie to still lifes.

Duchan, Judith Felson. "Describing the Unusual Behavior of Children with Autism." *Journal of Communication Disorders* 31.2 (Mar.–Apr. 1998): 93–112.

Analyzes the differences among four types of descriptions of people with autism—case studies, diagnostic reports, family accounts, and autobiographical descriptions—linking the descriptions to the goals of the describers.

Duncan, Derek. "Corporeal Histories: The Autobiographical Bodies of Luisa Passerini." *Modern Language Review* 93.2 (Apr. 1998): 370–83.

Analyzes Passerini's attempt to bring bodies into autobiographical texts, seeing self and body as historical entities.

Duffy, Jean H. "Artistic Biographies and Aesthetic Coherence in Claude Simon's 'Jardin des plantes.'" *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 35.2 (1999): 175–92.

Explores the relationship of autobiographic memory to the writing process.

Eakin, Paul John. "Autobiography and the Value Structures of Ordinary Experience: Marianne Gullestad's *Everyday Life Philosophers.*" *Making Meaning of Narratives.* Ed. Ruthellen Josselson and Amia Lieblich. The Narrative Study of Lives 6. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999. 25–53.

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Drawing from Gullestad's *Everyday Life Philosophers: Modernity, Morality, and Autobiography in Norway* (1996) its key insight that value is a repository of form, explores the narrative structures that emerge in the value dilemmas faced by three of her autobiographers, latent in the discourses used to express values are metaphors for self and life story, and rudiments of plot and character that individuals draw on as they live—and sometimes write—their lives.

Ellis, Carolyn. "Exploring Loss Through Autoethnographic Inquiry: Autoethnographic Stories, Co-Constructed Narratives, and Interactive Interviews." *Perspectives on Loss: A Sourcebook on Death, Dying, and Bereavement.* Ed. John H. Harvey. Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel, 1998. 49–61.

Suggests ways of writing open stories of various experiences that provoke readers to recall, imagine, tell, and write about their own situations.

Epstein, Catherine. "The Politics of Biography: The Case of East German Old Communists." *Daedalus* 128.2 (Spring 1999): 1–4.

Discusses the exploitation of biography for political ends by considering the case of the "Old Communists," like Erich Honecker, who joined the German Communist Party before 1933, were persecuted by the Nazis, but rose to power in the German Democratic Republic.

Erben, Michael. "Failure and Two Jewish Lives: A Biographical Approach to Franz Kafka and Walter Benjamin." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 7.1–2 (1999): 14–24.

Argues that Kafka and Benjamin are linked by their historical circumstances, their existence as Jews, and their conception of failure, and that most secondary literature fails to link them because Marxists, Liberals, and the Right have been reluctant to acknowledge that each writer was both progressive and reactionary.

Erdo, Paul. "Freud's Psychoanalysis: Interpretation and Property." *American Imago* 55.4 (Winter 1998): 459–82.

Asserts that Freud's "interpretations and discoveries are never just epistemological" but get woven into the very process of self-definition.

Evans, Eibhlin. "'Mise Eire': Nation and Identity in the Work of Eavan Boland." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 31–37.

Considers Boland's poetry and critical writing as explicitly autobiographical works concerned with questions of national, gender, and artistic identity.

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Finn, Mark. "Tibetan Buddhism and Comparative Psychoanalysis." *The Couch and the Tree: Dialogues in Psychoanalysis and Buddhism.* Ed. Anthony Molino. New York: American Psychological Association and Work Projects Administration, 1998. 161–69.

Uses the examples of Naropa and Tilopa to argue that the biography of a student-teacher relationship in Tibetan Buddhism mirrors a psychoanalytic account of a transformation involving transference, resistance, and the resolution of psychological difficulties arising in childhood.

Fitzmaurice, James. "The Cavendishes, the Evelyns, and Teasing in Verse and Prose." *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 16–17 (1999): 161–86.

Account of family interactions, involving among others biographer/autobiographer Margaret Cavendish and diarist John Evelyn.

Foley, W. Trent. "Suffering and Sanctity in Bede's Prose Life of St. Cuthbert." *Journal of Theological Studies* 50.1 (Apr. 1999): 102–18.

Compares representations of Cuthbert's life in an early Anglo-Saxon account and in Bede's poetic and prose biographies.

Freedman, Estelle B. "'The Burning of Letters Continues': Elusive Identities and the Historical Construction of Sexuality." *Journal of Women's History* 9.4 (Winter 1998): 181–200.

Explains how historians grapple with the sexual identity of their subjects, using as an example her research for a biography of prison reformer Miriam Van Watts.

Fuchs, Miriam. "Recalling the Past and Rescuing the Self: Autobiographical Slippage in Grete Weil's *The Bride Price: A Novel.*" *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 17.2 (Winter 1999): 73–83.

Argues that Weil's conspicuous subtitling is less an indication of genre than evidence of the difficulties of writing a life devastated by war and the Holocaust, as autobiographical reflection takes place through the novelistic intertext.

———. "The Triadic Association of Emily Holmes Coleman, T. S. Eliot, and Djuna Barnes." *ANQ: A Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 12.4 (Fall 1999): 28–39.

Uses unpublished diary entries and letters to place Eliot in the center of a Coleman-Eliot-Barnes association and show that Coleman's high-risk strategy to persuade Eliot to publish *Nightwood* was privately tempered by uncertainties and apprehension.

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Furbank, P. N. "A Craft, Not an Art." *Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 15, 1999: 14–15.

Discusses the challenges facing literary biographers.

Gluck, Sherna Berger, Donald A. Ritchie, and Bret Eynon. "Reflections on Oral History in the New Millennium: Roundtable Comments." *Oral History Review* 26.2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 1–28.

Roundtable about the leading transformations in oral history in the last fifty years, including new areas of study, theoretical frameworks, and technologies.

Good, Anne. "Listening to My Grandmother: (Re)Connecting Nationalism and Feminism through Intellectual Autobiography." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 39–44.

Uses Liz Stanley's concept of intellectual autobiography to discuss the relationship between the author and her grandmother as an example of connectedness between women activists of the period of Irish State formation and postcolonial, second wave feminists.

Gordon, Joel. "Film, Fame, and Public Memory: Egyptian Biopics from *Mustafa Kamil* to *Nasser 56*." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31.1 (Feb. 1999): 61–79.

Raises questions about public memory, historical accuracy, and artistic depictions of fame by considering film biography in Egypt, where cinema has been shaped by political factors and where government officials work with film makers to shape public memory and mold a social consensus.

Graetz, Michael. "Metaphors for God." *Conservative Judaism* 51.2 (1999): 69–80.

Discusses the importance of language in our efforts to describe God.

Greenberg, Judith. "The Echo of Trauma and the Trauma of Echo." *American Imago* 55.3 (Fall 1998): 319–47.

Suggests how "trauma studies" help to expose issues at stake in Ovid's story of Echo, and conversely, how the myth of Echo can provide a paradigm for listening to trauma survivors' stories.

Grivet-Shillito, Marie-Laure. "Carl Gustav Before He Became Jung." *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 44.1 (Jan. 1999): 87–100.

Links the dynamics of Jung's recently published first works to certain autobiographical and epistolary confidences.

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Harned, Jon. "Harry Stack Sullivan and the Gay Psychoanalysis." *American Imago* 55.3 (Fall 1998): 299–317.

Ponders the riddle of Sullivan's odd personal insignia, etched by a friend at his request, and its significance for Sullivan's life and theorizing, concluding that "homosexuality is the repressed other of interpersonal psychoanalysis."

Hempenstall, Peter, and Paula Mochida. "The Yin and the Yang of Wilhelm Solf: Reconstructing Colonial Superman." *Journal of Pacific History* 33.2 (1998): 153–62.

A revisionist biographical analysis of Solf via a critical rereading of his relations with the white settler community of German Samoa.

Hill, Lynda M. "Ex-Slave Naratives: The WPA Federal Writers Project Reappraised." *Oral History* 26.1 (Spring 1998): 64–72.

Reads the ex-slave narratives collected by the WPA for implicit racism and biased language.

Hill, Susan E. "(Dis)inheriting Augustine: Constructing the Alienated Self in the Autobiographical Works of Paul Monette and Mary Daly." *Literature and Theology* 13.2 (1999): 149–65.

Shows how autobiographers negotiate the relationships among private spiritual selves, public Christianity, and their readers.

Himmelfarb, Gertrude. "'A Man's Own Household His Enemies.'" *Commentary* 108.11 (July-Aug. 1999): 34–38.

Criticizes John Bayley's *Elegy for Iris* and James Trilling's memoir of his father Lionel as examples of lifewriting in which the subjects are publically eviscerated by friends or relatives.

Hindmarsh, D. B. "The Olney Autobiographers: English Conversion Narrative in the Mid-Eighteenth Century." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49 (Jan. 1998): 61–84.

Analyzes the nature of evangelical conversion narrative in works by John Newton, William Cowper, and Thomas Scott.

Hoffman, Eva. "True to Life? The Recent Publication of Several Apparently False Memoirs Suggests That We Shouldn't Believe Everything We Read." *Time International*, June 14, 1999: 144–45.

Highlights the fragility of the memoir form, its dependence on trust, and its susceptibility to manipulation.

Holen-Kirwan, Jennifer. "Contemplating Faith: Sylvia Plath's Spiritual Journey." *Christianity and Literature* 48.3 (1999): 295–307.

Suggests that Plath's poetry reveals an ongoing lifetime preoccupation with God-centered concerns.

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Hoog, Ann. "Slave Narratives at the Library of Congress." *Folklife Center News* 21.1 (1999): 9–10.

Surveys materials collected by workers for the Federal Writers Project under the Works Project Adminstration.

Horn, Nicholas. "Seeing Double: The Two Lives of Raymond Carver." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 271–97.

Using published interviews with Raymond Carver, and theoretical work by Philippe Lejeune, explores the nature of interviews with authors of fiction and poetry as biography and autobiography.

Horowitz, Roger, and Rick Halpern. "Work, Race, and Identity: Self-Representation in the Narratives of Black Packinghouse Workers." *Oral History Review* 26.1 (Winter/Spring 1999): 23–44.

Oral histories reveal the constructions of identity and memory, and how the packinghouse workers understood their lives in the context of Black experience.

Hunt, Celia. "Finding a Voice—Exploring the Self: Autobiography and the Imagination in a Writing Apprenticeship." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 93–98.

Discusses how a writing voice can be found by exploring the self through fictional autobiography.

Huston, Nancy. "The Decline of Identity?" *Salmagundi* 121–22 (Winter-Spring 1999): 10–22.

Muses about a new species of nonsectarian writers whose "only nation is imagination."

Hutton, M. A. "Challenging Autobiography: Lost Object and Aesthetic Object in Ernaux's 'Une Femme.'" *Journal of European Studies* 28.3 (Sept. 1998): 231–44.

By questioning the generic status of Annie Ernaux's book about herself and her mother, addresses the interrelational nature of biography and autobiography, and of identity, where the self must be conceived of in relation to social collectives.

Ibsen, Kristine. "Honor thy Father: Women's Autobiographical Writing as Confessional Discourse in Colonial Spanish America." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 182–98.

Unpacks the complex relationships between women religious and their male confessors in sixteenth and seventeenth century colonial Spanish America.

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Inglis, Tom. "Telling Stories about Irish Women." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 23–30.

Relying on theories of Bourdieu and Foucault, reviews ways of telling personal stories as part of rewriting Irish history, focusing in particular on the story of Joanne Hayes and the Kerry Babies.

Jolly, Margaretta. "Between Ourselves: Letters as Propaganda in the Second World War." *Propaganda.* Ed. Tim Thornton and Bernard Taithe. London: Sutton, 1999.

Contrasts British and American anthologies of letters produced during the Second World War.

———. "Writing Others Differently: Feminist Letter-Editing." *Narrating Selves and Others.* Ed. Christine Delhayes, Rene Hoog et al. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999.

Analyzes feminist interest in editing and publishing women's letters, comparing the meta-narratives of Karen Payne's *Between Ourselves: Letters between Mothers and Daughters, 1750–1982* and Shula Marks' *Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women.*

Kaufmann, Dorothy. "The Story of Two Women: Dominique Aury and Edith Thomas." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 23.4 (Summer 1998): 883–905.

Reveals the interrelated intrigues and subterfuge surrounding the relationship of an author and her muse.

Kayser, John A., and Charles T. Morrissey. "Historically Significant Memories in Social Work: Two Perspectives on Oral History Research and the Helping Professions." *Reflections* 4.4 (Fall 1998): 61–66.

Reflections on the enduring attraction, value, and uses oral history research has for members of the helping professions.

Killick, John. "'Climb Up the Family Tree and Look at the Vista from There': Writing Work with People with Dementia." *Oral History* 26.1 (Spring 1998): 81–85.

Highlights the difficulties of oral history work with people with dementia for whom the relations between words and meanings change frequently.

Kimmich, Allison. "Writing the Body: From Abject to Subject." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 223–34.

Examines representations of the body in works by Audre Lorde and Paul Monette to show how they create subjectivities against

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normative identity categories, and thus oppose the essentialist reasoning of much literary criticism.

Knowles, Caroline. "Race, Identities, and Lives." *Sociological Review* 47.1 (Feb. 1999): 110–24.

Uses an individual's biography to analyze racialized identity as a negotiation between existential conceptions of the self in racial terms and social mechanisms for categorizing individuals.

Kolmerten, Carol. "Writing Modern Women's Lives." *American Quarterly* 50.4 (Dec. 1998): 849–59.

Sets out the biographical theories behind four books examining the lives of modern women.

Krus, David J., Edward A. Nelson, and James M. Webb. "Issues in Oral History: Elaboration of Traumatic Events." *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 86.3 (June 1998): 928–30.

Points out how a narrative can be an allegory for a real, traumatic event which the society is trying to repress or forget.

Lembcke, Jerry. "From Oral History to Movie Script: The Vietnam Veteran Interviews for *Coming Home*." *Oral History Review* 26.2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 65–86.

Traces the transformations of Waldo Salt's interviews into the screenplay for *Coming Home*.

Lengel, L. B. "Researching the 'Other,' Transforming Ourselves: Methodological Considerations of Feminist Ethnography." *Journal of Communications Inquiry* 22.3 (July 1998): 229–50.

Based on writing by North African and Arab women, offers a pluralist understanding of subject formation expressed through the theories, methods, epistemologies, and politics of feminist ethnography.

Lindquist, Tarry. "3-D Biographies Give Depth to Women's History." *Instructor* 107.6 (Mar. 1998): 100–02.

Curricular uses for biography in elementary schools, including the creation of biography boxes, where students cover the sides of a box with information about the person, put objects that relate to the person inside the box, and have other students try to deduce the contents of the box from reading the biographical information.

Lloyd, Rosemary. "Writing on the Self: Mallarmé, Redon and Symbolist Autobiography." *Romance Quarterly* 45.3 (Summer 1998): 178–85.

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Raises the question whether there is such a thing as a symbolist representation of the creative/artistic self.

Long-Innes, Chesca. "The Psychopathology of Post-Colonial Mozambique: Mia Cuoto's *Voices Made Night*." *American Imago* 55.1 (Spring 1998): 155–84.

Reads Cuoto's stories, their peculiar blend of fantasy and reality, as a psychopathology of post-colonial Mozambique, "in which the society as a whole is figured as caught in the grip of a profound depression or melancholia."

Loureiro, Angel A. "Intertextual Lives: Blanco-White and Juan Goytisalo." *Intertextual Pursuits: Literary Mediations in Modern Spanish Narrative*. Ed. Jeanne P. Brownlow, and John W. Kronik. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1998. 42–56.

Explores implications of intertextuality for autobiography theory.

Luconi, Stefano. "The Machine Boss as a Symbolic Leader." *Oral History Review* 26.1 (Winter/Spring 1999): 45–64.

Interviews with constitutents of Pennsylvania politician John R. Torquato show the social and cultural reconstructions of memory.

Lundin, Anne. "Writing Kate Greenaway: Carrier-Bag Autobiography." *Children's Literature* 26 (1998): 169–84.

Based on her discovery of a Greenaway holograph manuscript in an unexpected place, discusses issues of manuscript and archival research.

Lynch, Joan D. "Camille Claudel: Biography Constructed as Melodrama." *Literature-Film Quarterly* 26.2 (Apr. 1998): 117–23.

Argues that Bruno Nuytten's film and Reine-Marie Paris's biography ignore the family's, and overstress Rodin's role, in Claudel's breakdown.

Machann, Clinton. "Gender Politics and the Study of Nineteenth-Century Autobiography." *Journal of Men's Studies* 6.3 (Spring 1998): 307–19.

Uses the reception of Machann's 1994 book *The Genre of Autobiography in Victorian Literature* to discuss ideologically-slanted reactions to the study of Victorian autobiography as examples of social agendas currently operating in the humanities, suggesting that male studies offers a space free of misandry and post-structuralism for examining such works.

Maddox, Brenda. "Biography: A Love Affair or a Job?" *New York Times Book Review*, May 9, 1999: 47.

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Discusses how biographers, even if they did not like their subjects when beginning their biographies, often come to like them by the end of the project, and must guard against becoming overly friendly with them.

Makkonen, Anna. "Holocaust Chronicle, Spiritual Autobiography, Portrait of an Artist, Novel in the Making: Reading the Abridged Diary of Etty Hillesum." *Biography* 22.2 (Spring 1999): 237–61.

Emphasizes the literariness of Hillesum's diary, examining the diary's relationship to spiritual autobiography, the bildungsroman, and (meta)fiction.

Manheim, Daniel L. "The Voice of Arii Taimai: Henry Adams and the Challenge of Empire." *Biography* 22.2 (Spring 1999): 209–36.

Represents Adams as divided on the question of imperialism, as reflected in his memoir about Arii Taimai, which provides a just representation of Adams' subject while silencing the narrative that implicates himself in his family's imperialist project.

McAdams, Dan P. "The Role of Defense in the Life-Story." *Journal of Personality* 66.6 (Dec. 1998): 1125–46.

Hypothesizes that defense mechanisms may specify certain narrative strategies that persons use to shape how their lives are told to others and to their own internalized audiences.

McCullough, Arthur. "National Identities in Auto/Biographical Films." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 15–21.

Contrasts postwar auto/biographical films from Germany, Japan, and Russia, which have often been critical of national identities, with films from the U.S., which contain confirmatory views of the nation.

McFarzean, Andrew. "Interviews with Robert Bowie: The Use of Oral Testimony in Writing the Biography of Professor Robert Richardson Bowie, Washington Policy Planner and Harvard University Professor." *Oral History Review* 26.2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 29–46.

Shows how McFarzean approached and prepared for the interviews.

McHugh, Kathleen. "Women in Traffic: L.A. Autobiography." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 97.2 (Spring 1998): 391–412.

Psychological interpretation of women's place in the film industry as objects to be viewed, and the use of automobiles as means of asserting independence or reinforcing convention.

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McQuaide, Sharon. "Opening Space for Alternative Images and Narratives of Mid-life Women." *Clinical Social Work Journal* 26.1 (Spring 1998): 39–59.

Shows how narratives of women satisfied with their lives at midlife differ significantly from the culturally dominant narrative.

Meyers, Jeffrey. "Repeating the Old Lies." *New Criterion* 17.8 (Apr. 1999): 77–80.

Because of the social, political, and ideological pressures that complicate writing historically accurate lives, biographers need to compare many different sources to create an accurate representation of their subjects.

Miliora, Maria T. "JFK: A Narcissistic Political Leader." *Journal of Psychohistory* 26.1 (Summer 1998): 19–36.

Diagnoses Kennedy as suffering from "developmental arrests in the narcissistic sector of his personality."

Miller, Sally. "Seventh and Ninth Grade Writing Exercises: Candy Biographies and E-Prime." *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 56.1 (Spring 1999): 91–101.

Discusses the use of E-Prime writing and speaking (employing the verb to be) to construct student autobiographies.

Mohavedi, Siamak. "The Utopian Pursuit of Death." *American Imago* 56.1 (Spring 1999): 1–26.

Analysis of final letters and near-death or suicide notes in terms of the "tell-worthiness" of their stories.

Moran, Joe. "'Simple Words': Peter Ackroyd's Autobiography of Oscar Wilde." *Biography* 22.3 (Summer 1999): 356–69.

Suggests that Ackroyd's fictionalized autobiography, *The Last Testament of Oscar Wilde*, raises questions about biographical and autobiographical interpretation, as well as about the relationship between Wilde's self-fashioning and the social construction of sexualities in Britain.

Norquay, Naomi. "Identity and Forgetting." *Oral History Review* 26.1 (Winter/Spring 1999): 1–21.

Addresses the importance of what we forget, intentionally or not, and the role of interviews in influencing memory, based on her work with female school teachers.

Nouri, Marilyn, and Marilyn Helterline. "Narrative Accrual and the Life Course." *Research on Aging* 20.1 (Jan. 1998): 36–64.

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Explores how older adults narratively construct their life courses in their later years, comparing differences in gender responses to the question of fate and life course.

O'Brien, Sharon. "A Short Reflection on Teaching Memoir and Oral History." *Oral History Review* 25.1–2 (Summer-Fall 1998): 113–18.

Compares the narrative forms, techniques, and goals of written memoir and spoken oral history.

Oster, Corinne. "*Dead Ringers:* A Case of Psychosis in Twins." *American Imago* 56.2 (Summer 1999): 181–202.

Assesses the psychopathology of the Mantle brothers in the film *Dead Ringers* in light of director David Cronenberg's tendency towards the blending of self and other.

Parini, Jay. "The Memoir Versus the Novel in a Time of Transition." *Chronicle of Higher Education,* July 10, 1998: A40.

Discusses the preference by college students for memoirs over fiction, and teachers' use of memoirs as introductory to novels.

Pattman, Rob. "Becoming White in Zimbabwe." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 51–58.

Drawing on his experience as a white European man under contract to teach educational theory at a "black" teachers' college, addresses intersections of race, gender, and sexuality in postcolonial Zimbabwe.

Pimlott, Ben. "Is Contemporary Biography History?" *Political Quarterly* 70.1 (Jan. 1999): 42–51.

Defends the use of biography by historians, exploring its limits and value.

Pope, Randolph D. "Autobiographical Selves as 'Transpersonal Beings': Gibbon, Kierkegaard, Goethe, and Luis Goytisolo among Others." *Intertextual Pursuits: Literary Mediations in Modern Spanish Narrative.* Ed. Jeanne P. Brownlow and John W. Kronik. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1998. 26–41.

Postulates the autobiographical "I" as a center of loneliness in a crowd of intertext circumscribed by family and social institutions.

Prescott, Renate W. "The Vietnam War and the Teaching and Writing of Oral History: The Reliability of the Narrator." *Oral History Review* 26.2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 47–65.

Discusses her experience of building a course around oral histories of the war, for which one student interviewed her brother, and the

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challenges of conducting oral histories of those close to the interviewer.

Preti, Antonio, and Paola Miotto. "Suicide Among Eminent Artists." *Psychological Reports* 84.1 (Feb. 1999): 291–301.

Explores the link between mental disorders and creativity through a statistical examination of suicide rates of architects, painters, sculptors, writers, poets, and playwrights.

Quigley, Ellen. "Unveiling the Ghost: Denise Chong's Feminist Negotiations of Confucian Autobiography in 'The Concubine's Children.'" *Essays on Canadian Writing* 63 (Spring 1998): 237–54.

Examines how Denise Chong blends traditional Confucian and patriarchal forms with other Eastern, Western, and feminist techniques to interpret ancestral and female presences and social constructions among Chinese Canadians.

Randall, William Lowell. "Narrative Intelligence and the Novelty of Our Lives." *Journal of Aging Studies* 13.1 (Spring 1999): 11–34.

Sketches the dynamics of narrative intelligence, which is seen as essential to making meaning across the lifespan.

Rapaport, Julian. "The Art of Social Change: Community Narratives as Resources for Individual and Collective Identity." *Addressing Community Problems: Psychological Research Interventions.* Ed. Ximena B. Arrinaga and Stuart Oskamp. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998. 225–46.

Illustrates how narratives are powerful resources for personal and social change by highlighting how assumptions about race and class are reproduced in the narratives of mainstream social institutions.

Reid, Panthea. "Virginia Woolf, Leslie Stephen, Julia Margaret Cameron, and the Prince of Abyssinia: An Inquiry into Certain Colonialist Representations." *Biography* 22.3 (Summer 1999): 323–55.

Connects Virginia Woolf's involvement in the 1910 "*Dreadnought* Hoax" to the political journalism of her father, to the photography of her great-aunt, and to Woolf's first novel, *The Voyage Out.*

Reisch, Michael, and Janice Andrews. "Uncovering a Silent Betrayal: Using Oral History to Explore the Impact of McCarthyism on the Profession of Social Work in the United States." *Oral History Review* 26.2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 87–105.

Oral histories reinforce the view that in the 1950s social work moved from more general social activism to treating individual cases.

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Richardson, Laurel. "The Politics of Location: Where Am I Now?" *Qualitative Inquiry* 4.1 (Mar. 1998): 41–48.

While discussing autobiography in academia, reflects on how the past remains in the present and shapes the future via narrative devices.

Roberson, Susan. "'With the Wind Rocking the Wagon': Women's Narratives of the Way West." *Women, America, and Movement: Narratives of Relocation*. Ed. Susan L. Roberson. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1998. 213–34.

Notes how writing blends and changes terrain and self, thus highlighting the fluid identity of the writers.

Robey, Judith. "Gender and the Autobiographical Project in Nadezhda Mandelstam's 'Hope against Hope' and 'Hope Abandoned.'" *Slavic and East European Journal* 42.2 (1998): 231–53.

Illustrates Leigh Gilmore's observation that women's autobiographical texts often "contest gender identity rather than simply enact it."

Robins, Steven. "'White Girl in Search of the Party': Oral History, Autobiography and Gendered Silences." *Oral History* 26.1 (Spring 1998): 46–54.

Using the work of an English Communist activist, suggests the subversive potential of oral history for supplementing the silences of published autobiographical writing.

Rorty, Amélie Oksenberg. "Witnessing Philosophers." *Philosophy and Literature* 22.2 (Oct. 1998): 309–27.

Discusses the distinctiveness of autobiographies by philosophers.

Rudnytsky, Peter. "The Analyst's Murder of the Patient." *American Imago* 55.3 (Fall 1998): 349–59.

Uses Sandor Ferenczi's *Diary*, and one comment from it in particular, to explore Ferenczi's relationship with Freud.

Sayigh, Rosemary. "Palestinian Camp Women as Tellers of History." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27.2 (Winter 1998): 42–58.

Lauds the value of personal narratives as historical sources which broaden concepts of national history to include the experience of non-elite classes and women, based on eighteen life stories recorded in 1990–1992 in Shatila camp in Lebanon.

Schmidt, Patricia Ruggiano. "Know Thyself and Understand Others." *Language Arts* 76.4 (Mar. 1999): 332–39.

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Shows how the strong emphasis on autobiography, biography, and cultural studies in the ABC's of Cultural Understanding and Communication teaching model greatly improves communication and understanding among teachers, students, and students' families.

Schoell, William. "Becoming a Biographer." *The Writer* 112.2 (Feb. 1999): 14–17.

Considers techniques and issues for aspiring biographers, including choice of subject.

Scholes, Robert. "The Monstrous Personal Chronicles of the Thirties." *Novel* 31.3 (Summer 1998): 414–29.

Argues that the best literary works published between the two world wars were extended chronicles or autobiographies, which comprised a literary genre whose aim was to establish the author's credentials as an artist or genius.

Schultz, William Todd. "Off-Stage Voices in James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*: Reportage as Covert Autobiography." *American Imago* 56.1 (Spring 1999): 75–104.

Looks into the essential role of sexuality in Agee's stridently idiosyncratic, putatively journalistic masterpiece.

____. "The Riddle That Doesn't Exist: Ludwig Wittgenstein's Transmogrification of Death." *Psychoanalytic Review* 86.2 (Summer 1999): 1–26.

Describes Wittgenstein's quasi-delusional fear of death and how it collided with his early philosophizing.

Sclater, Shelley Day. "Nina's Story: An Exploration into the Construction and Transformation of Subjectivities in Narrative Accounting." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 67–77.

Uses one woman's divorce story to explore the construction and transformation of subjectivities in narrative.

____. "Creating the Self: Stories as Transitional Phenomena." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 85–92.

Addresses the failure of narrative approaches to account for the production of subjectivity, as personal narratives are transitional phenomena in which subjectivities are formed, reformed, and transformed.

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Scrimgeour, J. D. "Casting the Nets: Audience and Selfhood in Langston Hughes's *The Big Sea*." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.1 (Spring 1998): 97–115.

Explores Hughes's nuanced presentation of a multiple self-definition for white and black audiences, and for himself as a writer, in his early autobiography.

Simon, Linda. "Sleuth, Hunter, Biographer." *The Writer* 111.8 (1998): 7–10.

Provides simple but handy tips for the prospective life-writer.

Sjoblad, Christina. "From Family Notes to Diary: The Development of a Genre." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.4 (Summer 1998): 517–22.

Traces the evolution of diary writing by Swedish women from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Skultans, Vieda. "Remembering Latvian Childhood and the Escape from History." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 5–13.

Using as an example memories from a Latvian childhood, argues that memories of childhood constitute a story told backwards, invested with meanings and values derived from the subsequent course of the narrator's life.

Slattery, Maureen. "Border-crossings: Connecting with the Colonized Mother in Maria Campbell's Life-writings." *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 18.2/3 (Summer/Fall 1998): 139–44.

Focusing particularly on Campbell's *Book of Jessica*, explores cultural and racial identity among metis women authors.

Sommer, Robert, Jennifer S. Clifford, and John C. Norcross. "A Bibliography of Mental Patients' Autobiographies: An Update and Classification System." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 155.9 (Sept. 1998): 1261–64.

Updates earlier bibliographies of books written by former mental patients, and introduces a classification system intended to increase the research value of the genre.

Soyer, Daniel. "The Voices of Jewish Immigrant Mothers in the YIVO American Jewish Autobiography Collection." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 17.4 (Summer 1998): 87–94.

Surveys the autobiographies collected by the Yiddish Scientific Institute in 1942.

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Swindells, Julia. "After We Have Told Our Stories." *Women: A Cultural Review* 10.1 (1999): 110–13.

Review essay on the relationship between autobiography and feminist politics.

Tapan, Mark B. "Authoring a Moral Self: A Dialogical Perspective." *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* 12.2 (Apr.-June 1999): 117–31.

Using as an example a work by an émigré from Nazi Germany, argues that autobiography shows that moral selfhood is a function of an ongoing dialogical interchange between self and others.

Tarozzi, Massimiliano. "Autobiography and Heterobiography: Two Approaches in Researching a Multi-cultural Context." *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 45–50.

Explores the role of cultural mediator in educational contexts by focusing upon the researcher-participant relationship between the author and a Moroccan living in Italy.

Thomas, Lyn, and Emma Webb. "Writing from Experience: The Place of the Personal in French Feminist Writing." *Feminist Review* 61 (Spring 1999): 27–48.

Explores the troubling nature of writing which combines the codes of realism and autobiographical fiction.

Tidwell, John Edgar. "Double Conscious Brother in the Veil: Toward an Intellectual Biography of Sterling A. Brown." *Callaloo* 21.4 (Feb. 1998): 731–39.

Focusing on the life of Sterling A. Brown and W. E. B. Du Bois's theory of double consciousness, explores the genre of intellectual biography and the connection between lifewriting and the history of ideas.

Tierney, William G. "Life History's History: Subjects Foretold." *Qualitative Inquiry* 4.1 (Mar. 1998): 49–70.

Focuses on cultural polyphony and multivocality in the development of life histories, and the use of autoethnography as a research tool for dealing with difference, using as examples college preparation programs for low-income youth, the success of Native Americans in educational systems, and gay bashing.

Tougaw, Jason. "Testimony and the Subjects of AIDS Memoirs." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 235–56.

Situates AIDS memoirs in relation to various traditions of autobiography theory and practice, in particular to Holocaust testimony, and to speech act theory.

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Treadwell, James. "Impersonation and Autobiography in Lamb's Christ's Hospital Essays." *Studies in Romanticism* 37.4 (Winter 1998): 499–522.

Analyzes how Lamb negotiates the ideas of subjectivity and objectivity, autobiography and impersonation, and fiction and reality.

Trela, D. J. "Sir Walter Scott on Oliver Cromwell: An Evenhanded Royalist Evaluates a Usurper." *Clio* 27.2 (Winter 1998): 195–220.

Tracks changes in the historical representations of Cromwell, focusing on Scott's portrayals and their influence on subsequent evaluations.

Tucker, Sherrie. "Telling Performances: Jazz History Remembered and Remade by the Women in the Band." *Oral History Review* 26.1 (Winter/Spring 1999): 67–83.

Oral histories with jazz women provide new narrative strategies for gender analysis and for recovering music history.

Uchida, Aki. "Reconstructing Identity: The Autobiographical Self of a Japanese American Woman in Lydia Minatoya's *Talking to High Monks in the Snow*." *Frontiers* 19.1 (1998): 124–46.

Seeks to understand autobiography as a site of identity construction of oneself and of one's family and community.

Updike, John. "One Cheer for Literary Biography." *New York Review of Books* 46.2 (Feb. 4, 1999): 3–5.

Locates the value of literary biography in the way it enables readers to extend their intimacy with the author and reexperience the author's works.

Von Blum, Paul. "Combating Historical Amnesia: Using Paul Robeson to Promote a University/High School Connection." *History Teacher* 31.3 (May 1998): 331–39.

Describes the creation of a course built around the life of Paul Robeson to teach American social, political, and cultural history.

Walsh, Val. "Women Academics of White Working Class Origin: 'Strangers' in Paradise or Just 'Other'?" *Auto/Biography* (British Sociological Association) 6.1–2 (1998): 59–66.

Work with a peer group life history project involving women academics of white working class origins suggests that constructing life histories, which mix intimacy and intellectuality, challenges conventional academic categories and practices.

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Weiland, Steven. "Biography, Rhetoric, and Intellectual Careers: Writing the Life of Hannah Arendt." *Biography* 22.3 (Summer 1999): 370–98.

Explores the rhetorical qualities of Elizabeth Young-Bruehl's biography of Arendt, as it illustrates problems and dimensions of intellectual biography.

Wentz, Cynthia Carson. "Jackpine Roots: Autobiography, Tradition, and Resistance in the Stories of Three Yukon Elders." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21.1 (Winter 1998): 1–22.

Explores the resistance to Euro-American cultural values and aesthetics Julie Cruikshank found while working with three Native American Yukon women, who focused on kinship structures, geographic sites, and oral tradition, rather than chronological order, while telling their life stories.

White, Daniel E. "Autobiography and Elegy: The Early Romantic Poetics of Thomas Gray and Charlotte Smith." *Early Romantics: Perspectives in British Poetry from Pope to Wordsworth.* Ed. Thomas Woodman. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 57–69.

Contrasts cryptic but genuine autobiographical elements in Gray's poems with more overt references in Smith's work.

Widerberg, Karin. "Teaching Gender through Writing 'Experience Stories.'" *Women's Studies International Forum* 21.2 (Mar.-Apr. 1998): 193–98.

Surveys the application of autobiographic approaches to equality awareness.

Wink, Amy L. "Narratives of Resistance: Negotiating the Altering and Altered Selves in the Diaries of Henrietta Baker Embree and Tennessee Keys Embree." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 13.2 (Winter 1998): 199–222.

Reads the mid- and late-nineteenth century diaries of both women as resistance narratives providing evidence of self-definition, agency, and inevitable adaption to their husband's, John Wilhoit Embree's, behavior.

Worth, Heather. "Fort/da: Life-history, Memory, and Pedagogy." *Psychoanalysis and Pedagogy.* Ed. Stephen Appel. Westport: Bergin and Garvey/Greenwood, 1999. 165–76.

Explores the drive in feminism to autobiography by examining how life history has been used as a tool of critical analysis and pedagogy, in light of Derrida's writing on autobiography and memory.

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Wortham, Stanton. "The Heterogeneously Distributed Self." *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* 12.2 (Apr.-June 1999): 153–72.

Applying Bakhtin's interactional function theory to life stories, focuses on autobiographical narrative discourse and the positioning of narrators as they tell stories about themselves.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "When the Melancholy Fit Shall Fall: Modern Southern Writers and Despair." *Journal of Psychohistory* 27.1 (Summer 1998): 1–18.

Looks into the incidence of depression in Southern writers, focusing on Ellen Glasgow, Reuben Davis, and Richard Wright, concluding that "dejection, when not emotionally paralytic, may be the actual source of creativity itself, however mysterious and still unfathomable it is."

Zinn, Nancy Whitten. "Looking for the Answer." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72.1 (Spring 1998): 94–104.

Guide to biographical and bibliographical resources in medicine.

Dissertations

Adams, Bonnie Jean. "Sending an American Indian Voice, D'Arcy McNickle: Educator, Anthropologist, Historian—An Intellectual Biography." Loyola (Chicago). 1998.

Uses journals, correspondence, vitae, and personal documents, gathered through extensive archival work, to tell McNickle's story in his own words.

Alabi, Ignatius Adetayo. "Continuities and Divergences in Black Autobiographies of Africa and the Diaspora." Saskatchewan. 1998.

Explores models for studying Black autobiographies by investigating continuities and divergences among autobiographies by slaves, political activists, and writers from Africa, the U.S., and the Caribbean.

Bishop, Marion Cathryn. "Witnessing Resistance in the Diaries of Mary Perkes, Alice James, and Anne Frank." New York U. 1998.

Analyzes diaries as providing both safe spaces for working through private needs, and strong public testimony.

Blazar, Sally Barron. "'Conventional Properties': Reception, Marketing, and Editing of Late Victorian Autobiographies by Women." Boston U. 1999.

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By focusing on works by Harriet Martineau, Fanny Kemble, Annie Besant, Frances Power Cobbe, and Margaret Oliphant, explores how institutionalized practices, including editing, marketing, and critical reception, codified a genre of professional women's autobiography in late-Victorian England.

Bowers, Timothy John. "Belonging and Estrangement: Narrative Strategies of Self-Representation in Contemporary Australian Autobiography." New South Wales. 1998.

Using as examples work by Jill Ker Conway, Germaine Greer, Gillian Bouras, Drusilla Modjeska, Rosa Cappiello, Morris Lurie, Andrew Riemer, and Peter Conrad, considers the importance of an individual's relationships with both people and places, and how the construction of these relationships in narrative is conditioned by senses of belonging and estrangement.

Cairnie, Julie. "'Imperialists in Broken Boots': Poor Whites and Philanthropy in Southern African Life Writing." York (Canada). 1998.

By examining works by Olive Schreiner, Doris Lessing, Robert Tressel, and Daphne Anderson, argues that poor white is a liminal category encompassing economic failures and social transgressors.

Carruth, Mary Clare. "The Flesh and the Spirit: The Female Subject and the Body in the Spiritual Autobiographies of Anne Hutchinson, Anne Bradstreet, and Mary Rowlandson." Louisiana State. 1998.

Places Hutchinson, Bradstreet, and Rowlandson within a subversive matrilineal autobiographical tradition, and analyzes how seventeenth-century American Puritan women engender the conversion genre.

Chaney, Eve Christine. "'The Aesthetic of Lived Life' from Wollstonecraft to Mill." Washington. 1998.

Argues for a counter tradition of self-narration in literature, initiated by Mary Wollstonecraft and expanded by Elizabeth Barrett Browning and John Stuart Mill, which while seemingly fragmentary involves more accurate textual embodiments of actual life narration.

Christensen, Mary Carol. "Different Accounts: Women's Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France—a Study of Class, Gender, and Genre." Michigan. 1998.

Examines the tensions between class and gender in noblewomen's memoirs, as they alter the generic and genderic paradigms of seventeenth-century France.

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Dunn, Sandra Loueen. "Body, Soul, Text: Teresa of Avila and the Written Self." Cornell. 1998.

Focuses on how Teresa of Avila articulated selfhood and acquired power variously through the genres of autobiography, epistolary writing, and mystical poetry.

Dykema-Vanderark, Anthony M. "'This Most Democratic Province of the Republic of Letters': Autobiography and Periodical Publishing in Turn-of-the-Century America." Michigan State. 1998.

By looking at periodical publishing, autobiography, and cultural democratization at the turn of the twentieth century, appraises the problematic democratization of the form and the forum, focusing on the New York *Independent*, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Native American Charles Alexander Eastman's autobiography.

Eisner, Caroline Leslie. "Re-Creating Lives: Negotiating Subjectivities in Women's Life Writing, 1755–1864." George Washington. 1998.

Considers the autobiographies of five so-called sexually deviant women—Charlotte Charke, Anne Lister, Eleanor Butler, Sarah Ponsonby, and Herculine Barbin—whose works attempt to disguise their subjectivities and control their self-representations to create more empowered and less socially suspect identities.

Glasroth, Anne. "'Enfance' de Nathalie Sarraute: Vers une autobiographie tropismique." New York U. 1998.

Argues that Sarraute's orientation toward "I" literature helps create a new genre of autofiction.

Greve, Janis Jean. "Inhabiting the Flesh: Trauma and the Body in Twentieth-Century Women's Autobiography." Massachusetts. 1998.

Focuses on the reconstruction from a "traumatic" experience of an impaired self through the act of writing in autobiographies by Mary McCarthy, Patricia Williams, Nancy Mairs, Mary Swander, and Lucy Grealy.

Harlos, Christopher. "The Jazz Life-Text: Autobiography and Biography in Jazz Art." Duke. 1998.

Explores the cultural paradox of conferring critical recognition through traditional lifewriting genres on members of a marginalized counterculture.

Heenan, Katherine Lynn. "Whose Story Is It? A Rhetorical Analysis of American Women's Slave Narratives in Fact and Fiction." Connecticut. 1998.

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Analyzes the rhetoric and style of slave narratives by Harriet Jacobs, Louisa Picquet, Bethany Veney, and Octavia Albert, and comparable strategies in Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, to show how gender and rhetorical situations affect content and rhetorical strategies.

Herrmann, Gina Ann. "The Self Writing War: Memory Texts of the Spanish Civil War and the Antifascist Resistance." Cornell. 1998.

Close readings of autobiographical work by active supporters of the Republican cause during Spain's civil war and the subsequent antifascist resistance reveal how the extrinsic factor of war impacts the intrinsic condition of the autobiographer, as these primarily political memory texts by left-wing Spaniards reflect how people use literature to construct their identity.

Howe, Darcy Elizabeth. "No Heroes: Woman as Crime and Criminal, Betrayer and Betrayed in Their Own Stories." Lehigh. 1998.

Studies the portrayal of women as "others" outside of mainstream society in works by Alice Walker, Mary McCarthy, Maya Angelou, and Dorothy Allison which demonstrate creative ways of constructing lives and selves in order to gain an aesthetically positive, gender positive, sexually free identity.

Mitchell, Samuel C. "Traditional Biographies of Kabir." Hawai'i. 1998.

Shows how the traditional biographies of the mystical North India poet Kabir (15th-16th century) reveal more about the concerns of their authors and the complex social and religious milieu of medieval North India than about their subject.

Schifrin, Susan. "'A Copy of My Countenance': Biography, Iconography, and Likeness in the Portraits of the Duchess Mazarin and Her Circle." Bryn Mawr. 1998.

By viewing the seventeenth-century female portrait as an outgrowth of the social typing prevalent at the English, French, and Italian courts, argues for a reconsideration of the portrait genre as embedded in narratives of collaboration among sitter, image, and viewer.

Sturr, Robert Doddridge. "Soldiers' Stories of the American Revolution: Autobiography, Politics and the Patriotic Ideal, 1775–1830." Southern California. 1998.

Examines autobiographical writing by Revolutionary War soldiers published between 1775 and 1830, its contribution to the emerging persona of the American soldier, and its impact on ongoing debates on national identity, individual liberty, and civic virtue.

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Wenrick, S. M. "Gertrude Stein Reads Dashiell Hammett: Autobiography and Detective Fiction—'Not Solve It But Be In It.'" Claremont. 1998.

Explores generic intersections in the ways Stein reads and invokes Hammett, using his detective fiction to figure the self-representations found in autobiography.

Willard, Margaret Katharine. "Interanimating Voices: Theorizing the Turn Toward Reflective Writing in the Academy." Michigan. 1998.

By considering together the increasingly popular practice of autobiographical writing by scholars and the growing use of writing portfolios by undergraduates, situates portfolio assessment within the changing institutional dynamics of the academy.

Womack, Janet Lenore. "The Philosopher's 'I': Autobiography and the Search for the Self." SUNY Buffalo. 1998.

Elucidates philosophical implications of autobiography, focusing on works by Augustine, Descartes, Rousseau, Nietzsche, and Hazel Barnes.

Sources and databases consulted include *Abstracts in Anthropology, America: History and Life, Communication Abstracts, Dissertation Abstracts International, Education Index, Expanded Academic Index, Historical Abstracts, Humanities Index, MLA International Database, Philosopher's Index, PsycLIT, Religion Index, Social Science Citations Index, Social Work Abstracts, Sociofile, Sociological Abstracts, Studies on Women Abstracts, Uncover,* and *Women's Resources International.*

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Reviews

Kathleen Woodward, ed. *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999. 544 pp. ISBN 0-253-33450-0, $49.95 cloth; ISBN 0-253-21236-7, $24.95 paper.

It is hard to believe that twenty-five years have passed since historian David Van Tassel invited scholars and graduate students to join him and his colleagues at Case Western University in considering the relationship between "human values and aging." These discussions resulted in two collections of essays and launched other scholarly ventures, thereby legitimating new research perspectives on aging within gerontologic networks and among experts in the humanities. Men dominated the Cleveland proceedings, I recall. Economist Juanita Kreps and historian Tamara Hareven gave keynote addresses, but the main "stars" at the gathering were Erik Erikson and Leon Edel. The sex ratio was more evenly matched in the junior ranks, but I doubt that many participants noticed. We neophytes kept a low profile and minded our manners.

With memories of that two-year "Human Values and Aging" project still fresh in mind, I wanted to shout "You've come a long way, Ladies!" when I finished reading Kathleen Woodward's latest scholarly contribution, *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations.* Woodward first ventured into gerontology by serving as a junior editor of Van Tassel's *Aging and the Elderly: Humanistic Perspectives in Gerontology* (1978), a multidisciplinary collection of essays commissioned at the Case Western Reserve conference. Kathleen Woodward has subsequently become one of the field's major producers and mentors. Now a professor of English and director of the Center for Twentieth Century Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, she has written two notable works of criticism —*At Last, the Real Distinguished Thing: The Late Poems of Eliot, Pound, Stevens, and Williams* (1980) and *Aging and Its Discontents: Freud and Other Fictions* (1991). Through her work as a graduate advisor, as a consultant to the Brookdale Foundation, and as an academic entrepreneur with support from the likes of the Rockefeller Foundation, Woodward has succeeded wonderfully in encouraging young scholars to take the same sort of intellectual risks that make her one of the most engaging thinkers in the domain today.

All of the contributions to *Figuring Age* were first presented at a 1996 conference in Milwaukee on "Women and Aging: Bodies, Cultures, Generations." Most noticeable about the list of authors is the fact that twenty-one of the twenty-two writers are women.

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Together, these contributors constitute a rising generation of scholars. I believe that the authors in *Figuring Age* represent critical voices that will shape the future of gerontologic inquiry in the humanities. These researchers ensure that gender issues are a priority in age studies. They show, moreover, that women's aging has many dimensions. Woodward selected scholars from various disciplines—(American) cultural studies; art history; comparative studies; drama; English; history; photography; sociology; television, video, and film studies; and woman's studies. A few are also performing artists and playwrights. Some, such as Joanne Braxton, Patricia Mellencamp, Nancy Miller, and Susan Squier hold chairs; others, such as Anne Davis Basting, completed their Ph.D.s fairly recently. *Figuring Age* offers broad and varied perspectives.

The volume operates on several levels of imagery and discourse across sections and within chapters. *Figuring Age* helps "to bring the study of older women into visibility and to reflect on growing older as women, with our contributions to this project built primarily on the foundations of studies and images, words and visual texts," writes Kathleen Woodward in her Introduction:

> Many of the essays address the cultural discourses and social practices that construct the meaning of aging for us. Many of the authors, turning to the genre of personal narrative, reflect on how their experience of growing older is inflected by these cultural meanings attached to age. Many turn to recent artwork—in literature, film, photography, and performance—to imagine alternative futures. (xvi)

Woodward hoped that *Figuring Age* would create "an arena of visibility" about a field of vision that remains too often marginal, even hidden, in gerontologic inquiry (x). By focusing on women's bodies and the passage of generations in evolving cultural contexts, Woodward invited artists, writers, and critics to recalculate the prevailing meanings and images of aging bodies and long-standing relationships so as to invent fresh faces—not to mention new masks —of age.

The first section, "Opening the Subject," holds up mirrors that reflect both the shapes and distortions that older women and their young friends and kin conjure about aging. We are reminded that physical features and life styles are refracted through temporal patterns, notably notions of anachronism and decline. The second section, "Historicizing Age," puts such contemporary themes into historical context. These essays delve into nineteenth-century British children's literature, a famous French medical treatise, and schemes to rejuvenate the elderly earlier in this century. A brief third section on "Psychoanalytical Theory and Aging" presents

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readers with physical models of being aged, and psychiatric theories that might enrich feminist paradigms on aging. The fourth section, "Visualizing Age, Performing Age," reproduces artistic and dramatic presentations offered at the 1996 conference on "Women and Aging." It also offers several critical essays that deal with film and the performing arts. The final section, "Family Portraits," consists mainly of personal narratives that draw readers back to themes enunciated in the first section. It mirrors how women of certain ages experience aging. It illuminates how authors form relationships based on their bonds with older women in their families.

I heartily recommend *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations.* Although specific texts are too dense to warrant too much generalization, Ann Kaplan captured (for me) the essence of the volume in the opening lines of her comparative essay about Marlene Dietrich, Melanie Klein, and Marguerite Duras: "I want to challenge the conception of aging as trauma—not by disproving what I have already shown (I think aging IS a trauma for some within modern ways of seeing and knowing)—but by seeking new future (even millennial) paradigms for conceptualizing aging that may begin to free women from dire humanistic projections" (171). Kaplan and her colleagues eschew dualistic notions about aging. They limn a range of contemporary experiences—good, bad, mixed, ambivalent, ambiguous. In contrast to male colleagues often tempted to "engineer" utopian solutions to the problems at hand, contributors to *Figuring Age* embark on journeys at once introspective and inclusive. They seek, like Christiana and her band in *Pilgrim's Progress,* to imagine paradigms that will liberate women, and probably men, from blinders. *Figuring Age,* as Woodward anticipated, is a worthy complement to at least two other recent collections of essays on aging—*Aging and Gender in Literature: Studies in Creativity,* edited by Anne Wyatt-Brown and Janice Rossen (U of Virginia P, 1993), and *Images of Aging: Cultural Representations of Later Life,* edited by Mike Featherstone and Andrew Wernick (Routledge, 1995).

Even first-rate collections of essays are uneven. *Figuring Age* is no exception. The volume demonstrates the importance of gender differences in shaping opportunities and limitations in later years, but so too are race, ethnicity, and class. At a time in which the academy is reaping the benefits of its commitment to multiperspectivist interpretations of the human condition, it is too bad that this volume does not prominently feature the eyes and ears of African-American, Asian, Islamic, Native American, or Spanish-speaking academics and artists. And because I was fascinated by the descriptions of the networks that sustained the emotional and

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intellectual lives of several contributors, I looked forward to learning about women's rituals of collective aging. I wanted to read about women eating chocolates together, sharing their collective wisdom through music and objects. Am I wrong in supposing that mature women create such rituals with one another? Surely these rituals are not analogous to the company of men sweating in a sauna or drinking alone in a convention bar late at night.

That said, *Figuring Age* does offer one such talisman in the form of an academic convention. In the Index it takes ten lines to record all of the contributors' references to Kathleen Woodward. Only Sigmund Freud gets more (19); Melanie Klein (6) and Simone de Beauvoir (5) get fewer. How appropriate that the insights of a gifted, generous, and generative scholar should be so recognized here by her peers.

W. Andrew Achenbaum

Deborah E. Reed-Danahay, ed. *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social.* Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997. 277 pp. ISBN 1-8597-3970-9, $55.00 cloth; ISBN 1-8597-3975-X, $19.50.

How can "we" write about "them"? How does the biographical subjectivity of an ethnographer color attempts at objective representation? And how should academic theory engage with the voice of the other, which, in its myriad forms, both shares and resists anthropology's project of cultural and social description? Such late twentieth century crises of representation have been both lamented as paralyzing and celebrated as liberating. *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social* simultaneously acknowledges such contemporary anxieties, and attempts to use them as energizing, often personalized, sources of exploration into the construction of categories like "self" and "other." Through such explorations, this book aims to open up the boundaries between ethnography and autobiography, a project that draws on contemporary issues in literary theory, anthropology, and feminism.

The volume is comprised of nine chapters which vary a good deal in voice, style, analytic scope, and intention. Their authorial positions relate in different ways to their ethnographic subjects. But they come together through the common themes and theoretical implications that emerge in editor Reed-Danahay's thoughtful and historically grounded introduction (which also includes a useful discussion of related interdisciplinary literature).

At the same time, *Auto/Ethnography* is composed of different textual strands which do *not* unify, but rather complicate, the

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boundaries of genre. The diversity of these essays reflects the complexity of the term "auto-ethnography" itself, as Reed-Danahay explains it, noting that autoethnography stands at the crossroads of several other genres. The term can refer, first of all, to "native ethnography" (ethnography that is written by a native member of the group studied). It can also signify the genre of "ethnic autobiography," in which autobiography by "members of ethnic minority groups" is seen to stand for cultural experiences exceeding the subject, making the individual life into an ethnographic allegory. It is, of course, problematic to regard personal narratives that emerge from ethnic minority groups as inherently more ethnographic than those written by members of "majority" groups, in which individual lives tend to be naturalized as "personal" rather than "cultural"; and *Auto/Ethnography* does draw out the ethnographic significance in autobiographies from sources both ethnically marked and unmarked, as in the final essay by Caroline B. Brettell, which uses autobiographical narrative material from her white, Canadian, mother filtered through the authorial lens of the anthropologist daughter. The autoethnographic project also involves a third related genre: "autobiographical ethnography," or reflexive anthropology. In this genre, the writer's subjective memories and personal experiences are explicitly incorporated into, rather than excised from, the ethnographic text.

Through essays which perform one, both, or all of these generic functions, *Auto/Ethnography* as a whole attempts to transcend the opposition between the written "self" and the written "social" to suggest the inevitable co-construction of culture and the individual. The interplay of these three sub-genres—native ethnography, ethnic autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography—often occurs within single essays. For instance, Michael Herzfeld, in the most complex and multilayered essay of the collection, considers identity, hegemony, resistance, and power in Greece through pleasurably interwoven connections between ethnographic, novelistic, and self-reflexive discourses and narratives. Here, themes as varied as animal theft, bureaucracy, and the ethnographic dilemma of how to engage with repugnant ideologies in otherwise sympathetic subjects are woven into the autoethnographic tapestry.

The essays in this book variously revolve around three distinct but overlapping core issues: 1) identity and selfhood; 2) voice and authenticity; and 3) cultural displacement and exile. These themes are invoked to relate autoethnography to currently circulating interdisciplinary questions about the multiple identities of the post-colonial native anthropologist, about the politics of representation, and about the mutating role of the self's sense of "place" in a transnational world.

The sub-genres of autoethnography emerge strikingly in the intertextual relationships between chapters, which are divided into

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three thematic sections: "Power, Documentation, and Resistance"; "Exile, Memory, and Identity"; and "Voice, Representation, and Genre." Throughout the volume, both explicit and implicit echoes begin to accumulate. For instance, autoethnography is considered as a hidden form of political expression in David Kideckel's fascinating chapter on a native ethnographer in socialist Romania; here, a vivid local character exhaustively records the minute details of village life in resistance to a silencing state. In contrast to this unofficial, private, or "folk" ethnography, Birgitta Svensson, in a Foucauldian analysis of the Swedish prison system, looks at biographies of criminals produced by those in power, official stories which reduce the complex lives of the condemned to a simple litany of crimes.

Kay B. Warren's powerful, cogent chapter on a Mayan ethnographer's written "testimony" discusses personal narrative, truth, and ethnographic authority in the intensely violent context of Guatemala, where collective experience has been strategically valued over individualism. This theme of trauma, and its capacity to imbue a life story with social significance, is echoed in Henk Driessen's engaging analysis of narratives by two transnationally mobile members of the Kabyle minority in Algeria. His essay considers, most strikingly, the dual nostalgia for, and escape from, place and tradition in gender-specific constructions of identity. Reed-Danahay's illuminating essay also considers the trope of "home" in a close, insightful reading of two French "schooling stories." Like the Kabyle case, the French one suggests the intimate connection between social and geographic movement, nostalgia and identity, as does an intelligent and vivid essay by Alexandra Jaffe about Corsican identification with the homeland. The role of geographic movement is echoed again in Pnina Motzafi-Haller's impassioned, reflexive analysis of her own multiple identities as a native of the oppressed Arabic Jewish community in Israel, a fieldworker in Africa, an academic in America, and a returning autoethnographer to Israel. And Motzafi-Haller's privileging of personal memory in various contexts is echoed by reflexive essays such as Caroline B. Brettell's, which considers themes in the life of her journalist mother alongside those of Portuguese migrant women. These are, of course, just a few of the intriguing parallels which emerge among various essays.

In the introduction to *Auto/Ethnography,* Reed-Danahay acknowledges the long history of biographical writing in anthropology, but affirms that its re-emergence also expresses contemporary theoretical concerns. In many ways, biography and autobiography are used in new and experimental venues here. One difficulty, though, which is not always avoided, has remained the same throughout the history of anthropology: that the "voice" of a

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single person may be too transparently regarded as the metonymic embodiment of the culture as a reified whole. And while *Auto/Ethnography* locates its theoretical project inside "the postmodern condition," the book's own stylistic "postmodernity" derives, in most of its essays, from an emphasis on reflexivity, rather than from the kinds of abstraction and verbal play often associated with the term "postmodern"—a choice which will appear as a limitation or as a delightful strength, depending on the reader, but which in any case results in a very readable volume which would be accessible to upper-level undergraduates as well as to graduate students. Most important, *Auto/Ethnography* attempts to identify, perform, and explore the points of connection between important genres of writing about self and society which can, in their openness, yield rich and surprising insights. It is an exploration whose effects vary depending on the essay, but which at its best here is both intellectually stimulating and emotionally stirring.

Susan Lepselter

Marshall Grossman. *The Story of All Things: Writing the Self in English Renaissance Narrative Poetry.* Durham: Duke UP, 1998. 347 pp. ISBN 0-8223-2101-7, $54.95 cloth; ISBN 0-8223-2117-3, $18.95 paper.

As noted in its Preface, *The Story of All Things* takes its immodest title from a commendatory poem in Latin, published with the second edition of *Paradise Lost* (1674), which celebrates "Milton's great song" as a book holding within itself the origins, ends, and destinies of everything. Milton might have regarded such validation as merely just, but Marshall Grossman's project, though ambitious in its own right, is not quite so totalizing: to show how a recognizably modern literary subject emerges in English Renaissance poetry from Spenser through Milton. One of his arguments, derived from the work of these poets and their poems, is that things have no reality aside from their incorporation into story, and that from the Renaissance onward, narrative becomes the vehicle through which history makes things meaningful, and in which the human subject comes to understand its own identity. Grossman also argues that the homology between Renaissance narrative and modernist theoretical discourses like Marxism and psychoanalysis, noted by Foucault and his New Historicist successors, is a function of similar ways of defining human experience through the accumulative and belated understanding of a being, constantly changing in its subjectification, that defers its

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own self-awareness to points in time when its differences can be recuperated as identity. A formulation by Lacan, cited twice in the book, defines this narrative construction of modern selfhood: "I identify myself in language, but only by losing myself in it like an object. What is realized in my history is not the past definite of what was, since it is no more, or even the present perfect of what has been in what I am, but the future anterior of what I shall have been for what I am in the process of becoming." Identity is thus the trace of a consciousness that predicates itself in language and writing but is always being deferred to a constantly receding final point from which it attempts to (re)construct itself.

In literary narrative, of course, the final point is the end of the story, a terminus that may seem to have determined, or have been determined by, everything that has preceded it, a substitution of effect for cause that Grossman associates with the rhetorical figure of metalepsis. As he traces the emergence of early modern literary subjectivity, Grossman draws on linguistics, epistemology, rhetoric, early modern economic and social history, biography, and psychoanalytic and literary theory, as well as literary criticism and rigorous readings of the literary texts themselves. Bristling with authoritative erudition across a wide range of discursive disciplines, *The Story of All Things* provides a theoretical, rhetorical, and generic foundation in the three chapters of Part 1 for its complex analyses in Part 2 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*; Donne's "Aire and Angels" and the two *Anniversaries*; Marvell's "Garden," the Mower poems, and "Upon Appleton House"; and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (and *Eikonoklastes*). Part 2 ends with an epilogue on Milton (*Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*) and postmodernism. Chapter Three provides a starting point for distinguishing early modern from medieval literary subjectivity, defining Augustine's conception of identity in *The Confessions* as a "rhetoric of the Christian ego" from which Dante and Petrarch diverge.

For those interested in lifewriting generally, Grossman's Preface and first two chapters ("Literary Forms and Historical Consciousness in Renaissance Poetry" and "The Subject of Narrative and the Rhetoric of the Self") are the most valuable portions of this impressive study. Here, drawing upon Joel Fineman's seminal work on poetic subjectivity and the breakdown of mimetic idealization in Shakespeare's sonnets, New Historicist studies of Renaissance literature, and psychoanalytic theory, Grossman defines the Renaissance literary subject as a confluence of exigent circumstances (historical and personal) and a poetic rhetoric whose changes slowly record the representation of selfhood as teleological rather than originary. The literary symptom of these changes is a movement from lyric epideixis, in which the poetic subject identifies with an idealized image, to narrative, where the poetic subject writes out its identity diachronically. Grossman acknowledges such changes

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through intensive explorations of Kenneth Burke's four master tropes (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony), adapted by the metahistorian Hayden White and then by Grossman himself, as they reconfigure themselves in the literary texts under investigation. Another literary indication of the movement from Augustine to Lacan is the appearance of Renaissance works (*The Faerie Queene*, Marvell's lyrics, Donne's *Anniversaries*) in which there is tension or transaction between lyric and narrative modes and whose precursors may be found in Dante's *Vita Nuova* and Petrarch's *Rime Sparse*. Besides tracing the emergence of a recognizably modern literary subject in English Renaissance poetry, therefore, Grossman offers a new conception of literary history, rigorously conceived and developed from within literary texts themselves, that reestablishes the historical agency of individual writers as textual self-representation: "the new literary history I propose places the determinative force of discourse not in a 'poetics of culture,' the elements of which can never be specified, but rather in the cognitive implications of a linguistically conditioned rhetorical usage" (16).

Both in Part 1 and in their reinforcement by the formal analyses of Part 2, Grossman's theoretical arguments concerning the narration of subjectivity are illuminating and convincing, original as well as authoritative. As for the new literary history that makes up most of this study, Grossman's analyses are intellectually formidable and variously convincing, but as a collection of readings they ironically replicate the anecdotalism that he criticizes as an almost parodic marker of New Historicism. Another name for what the author labels the "literary historical events" traced in this book is simply the conventional canon. A study that connects Augustine, Dante, Petrarch, Spenser, Donne, Marvell, and Milton can be innovative only in its methodology, after all. Grossman's recent collection of essays on Aemylia Lanyer (and his own essay in that collection) interrogates the very notion of canonicity and literary history that *The Story of All Things*, despite its subdued filial rebellion against New Historicism, self-consciously endorses. Since the book is largely a revision and reconstruction of eight earlier articles written between 1982 and 1993, discontinuities were inevitable, although its coherent theoretical ground effectively informs the sutures provided from chapter to chapter.

Another limitation of this important collection is a function of its greatest strength, its rigorously formalistic approach to literary history. Grossman scrupulously avoids incorporating conventional understandings of both biography and history into his readings. Although texts both register and reconfigure the exigent and contingent contexts in which writing takes place, it is only in language that traces of what we unreflectively regard as reality may be encountered. Thus, Goldman argues, drawing upon Lacan, "a properly literary history will chronicle the *literary* forms in and

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through which this empty place of the Real is successively marked" (55). The literary history so produced is radically textual and more narrow than what a less theoretically correct concept of the subject might produce. The "selves" that Grossman investigates are textual constructions, represented subjects that are "surrogates of a historically situated author experimenting . . . with a series of possible configurations" (46), not to be confused or identified with the person who was, for example, Andrew Marvell.

Although I believe *The Story of All Things* would have been an even more valuable work if it had attempted to go beyond its almost purely textual and formal tracing of literary biography and literary history, it is an important and authoritative re-reading of the Western poetic canon. Readers interested in lifewriting will find valuable Marshall Grossman's sophisticated understanding of how selfhood narrates its own identity. Literary theorists will be well-rewarded by his application of Lacan, Freud, and Derrida to early modern literature. And readers and scholars of medieval and English Renaissance literature will be impressed and enlightened by the book's rigorous, powerful revalidation of rhetorical and formal analysis.

Mark Heberle

Lawrence Lipking. *Samuel Johnson: The Life of an Author.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 372 pp. ISBN 0-674-78777-3, $35.00.

Perhaps no English writer has had his life and career chronicled more often, and in greater detail, than Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), so it is no simple task for a modern critic to find a fresh and compelling way to tell his story. But Lawrence Lipking has done so admirably in his fine new book.

Samuel Johnson: The Life of an Author is not a biography in the conventional sense. Lipking sets out to study

> the life of an author—not the life of a man but the life that he put in his work, a life to be found not by going outside his writings but by going more deeply inside them. . . . It is the opposite of most recent biographies of authors, which comb through the private life of the person but often fail to satisfy the kind of reader who cares about authors because of what they have written. . . . It assumes that the crucial part of an author's life is what has gone into his writing, and it tries to bring out the powers of mind and feeling that kept that writing alive. (1)

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This approach to Johnson, while not unique in modern criticism, is still a welcome one. Even well-educated readers are more likely to know Boswell's Johnson—the personality, the master of the witty retort—than to know what, and why, Johnson wrote. Though it takes care to summarize relevant biographical information at strategically useful points, this book focuses squarely on the answers Johnson's writings give to such questions as "What did being a writer mean to him? How did he understand his own career?" . . . "Is there anything new in his sense of a profession?" (10). These are, of course, Johnsonian questions, aptly (but not often enough) asked about the man whose *Lives of the Poets* first taught us how to examine the shape of literary careers and the conditions under which authorial aspirations could be realized or frustrated. And Johnson's answers to such questions, as Lipking shows, evolved over the course of his life.

During his early to middle years, Johnson lived in two different authorial worlds. He made his living as a "hack" writer, churning out short, anonymous pieces (prefaces, reviews, accounts of parliamentary debates) for magazine editors, booksellers, and most anyone else who would hire him. Such work helped tune Johnson's ear to the varied needs of a rapidly growing and increasingly pluralistic reading public, and helped secure his personal and professional connections with the publishers who would commission most of his later works.

At the same time, Johnson was also attempting to become a more elevated sort of "author," and for a while he succeeded—though not, perhaps, to the extent of his hopes—in the imaginative genres associated with high culture. His play *Irene* had a respectable London run; several of his poems were modestly successful (and "The Vanity of Human Wishes" would eventually rank with the century's greatest); and his fictional tale *Rasselas* was popular and admired.

But when his career finally took shape during his middle to later years, Johnson emerged as a different kind of author—neither hack nor laureate, but a sophisticated blend of both. It was a career at once attuned to, and independent of, the public and the publishers, a career at once deeply embedded in the works of other authors and set at a critical distance from them. The great products of these years formed the basis of Johnson's reputation—then and now: the moral and literary essays published as *The Rambler;* the first comprehensive dictionary of the English language; the edition of Shakespeare's works, with its celebrated preface and commentary; and the *Lives of the Poets,* the first serious effort to define the nature and trajectory of the English literary tradition.

Lipking tells the story of how Johnson's career assumed this emphasis and direction, and of how, in the course of earning his fame as a lexicographer and editor, scholar and critic, Johnson "put forward a new model of what a writer might be: a rational man of

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letters" (131). He was driven by what Lipking calls an "ideal of service": partly to readers, partly to publishers, partly (and most importantly) to language and literature—the very things any true author seeks to preserve and advance.

At this story's center is the *Dictionary*. Johnson's varied experience prepared him uniquely well to undertake a project that would require the self-effacing patience of a "humble drudge" (Johnson's own description of a lexicographer), the canny ear of a man steeped in the evolving meanings of his language, and the bold confidence of an author unafraid to dwell among his tradition's major writers (for it would be from their works that Johnson would cull his illustrative examples and derive his definitions). The *Dictionary* would be the product of Grubstreet and Parnassus, serving the immediate needs of readers and publishers for precise definitions, agreed-upon spellings, and other forms of stability the new "print culture" demanded, while also paying tribute to—and ultimately drawing its authority from—the great authors of the past.

The *Dictionary*, Lipking suggests, served another purpose too: it allowed Johnson to author himself. Through subtle analyses of the *Dictionary*'s remarkable preface and of Johnson's testy letter to Lord Chesterfield (who had disappointed Johnson's hopes of patronage for the project), Lipking traces the emergence of a complicated narrative persona that allowed Johnson at once to conceal and feature himself as an author, to present himself as both servant and master of language, and to assert simultaneously a proud sense of authorial singularity and a poignant desire for fellowship with communities of writers, living and dead.

Lipking argues that this "compound of pride and modesty, of service and independence"—this self-definition "as both nameless public servant and timeless hero"—would shape the rest of Johnson's life and work, including his other landmark achievement, the *Lives of the Poets* (32, 300). "Just as the *Dictionary* had balanced between two views of its maker, one an anonymous drudge and the other a heroic guardian of England's heritage," Lipking writes, so the *Lives* "feature a servant of booksellers, poets, and readers who is also defiantly independent" (263). In the *Lives*, Johnson both critically judges, and sympathetically associates himself with, the authorial ambitions of other writers; and he both challenges, and aligns himself with, the opinions of common readers.

While Lipking's commentaries on the *Dictionary* and *Lives* establish the book's essential claims, other chapters (there's one on each of Johnson's major works) enrich and extend the argument. Two of the most interesting explore forms of authorship about which Johnson had serious doubts. Chapter Seven analyzes Johnson's edgy attitudes toward fiction writing, and in particular, his worry that novelists may undermine morality by making "readers lose themselves in another world." In *Rasselas*, Lipking

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argues, Johnson deliberately engages in a "disenchanting of fictional form." It is an "antinovel" whose self-conscious and episodic structure is meant to break the kind of "spell" that other novelists seek to cast (185). Chapter Eight, on *Irene* and the "Preface to Shakespeare," considers some similar issues in relation to Johnson's authorship and criticism of drama. Johnson was always suspicious of theater's "urge to please," Lipking writes, and "to counteract it, Johnson sometimes seems to recommend a sort of alienation effect, in which the play is deliberately stripped of fantasies until illusion yields the stage to naked precepts" (216). This way of regarding drama affects his criticism of Shakespeare, whose plays, Lipking says, are treated by Johnson as "texts to be read, not as scripts to be performed" (209).

Certain aspects of the issues this book considers deserve more detailed treatment. One wishes to hear more, for example, about the significant role Johnson played in encouraging the careers of other contemporary writers—a kind of "service" that would shed further light on his own sense of authorship. The book might also probe more thoroughly into the doubts and disappointments Johnson may have been confronting when he largely left behind his career as an "original" writer (of poems and plays) and focused his talents on the secondary arts of scholarship and criticism. Lipking touches on this subject several times, but perhaps underplays the anxieties Johnson may have felt about his own creativity once he understood the nature of his calling and the direction of his career. But these are small reservations about a book whose other arguments take us deeply into Johnson's essential concerns.

This book on authorship is crafted with fine authorial skill. It is calibrated well to the needs of a varied audience, deftly guiding readers who may have limited experience with Johnson's works, while still providing experts with fresh and stimulating insights. Lipking returns to the issue of authorship persistently—but not relentlessly; he explores whatever aspects of Johnson's texts will enhance our appreciation of them. He draws respectfully on the work of earlier scholars, building on—but not duplicating—their arguments, and tactfully disagreeing when necessary. The writing is enlivened by Lipking's gift for concisely articulating the essentials of the texts he considers (as in his excellent short analysis of Johnson's first poem on pages 34–37), and for capturing, in memorable and elegant phrases, the psychological complexities of Johnson's relation to authorship (the sense of "preemptive dejection" that haunts his works, or the "assertive diffidence" that often marks his tone).

I appreciate, finally, the quiet authority and unobtrusive confidence of this book's judgments—the products, it seems reasonable to suggest, of Lipking's long meditation on Johnson and

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on the issues his career presents. Admired as one of the most thoughtful interpreters of eighteenth-century (and other) texts, Lipking initially considered Johnson's sense of literary vocation in a chapter of his influential first book, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (1970). He sustained but broadened this investigation in *The Life of the Poet: Beginning and Ending Poetic Careers* (1981). Arguing that poems, from classical to modern times, "have always confided something about the life of the poet—not necessarily his personality or even his individuality, but his sense of a vocation and a destiny," Lipking proposed to accept "the testimony of poems as decisive evidence about the way that poets conceive, or invent, their careers" (viii, x). Those same concerns have brought Lipking home again to Johnson, with happy and illuminating results.

Stephen Fix

Margaret Homans. *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837–1876.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 283 pp. ISBN 0-226-35114-9, $18.00.

When John Brown boldly usurps the head place at the upper servants' table in John Madden's much-acclaimed *Mrs. Brown* (1997), he responds to the heated objection that the seating is "arranged personally by the Queen herself" with an apt rejoinder: "that's a tautology, lad. If you say the queen has arranged something, there's no need to say she's arranged it personally; that's understood." Taken as a whole, however, the film proceeds to complicate Brown's sense of the Queen's authority as at one with her very self, representing Victoria in her withdrawal from active public life as subject to her household, her ministers, the enormity of her own protracted grief, and especially, for a time, to Mr. Brown himself. Indeed, the *dénouement* of the film—Victoria's physical return to "her public" at a thanksgiving service to celebrate the Prince of Wales's recovery from life-threatening illness—is marked precisely by her reassertion of her powers of personal arrangement, when she spurns Brown's suggestion that she ride safely in a closed coach by choosing instead to appear to "her people" in an open carriage. Becoming once more visible to her subjects, achieved at the price of her intimate personal relationship with Brown, is equivalent to regaining full control of her self and her royal prerogatives.

Margaret Homans' new book mediates on many of these same themes, but tells a more complex set of stories about the meaning of the Queen's absence and presence; it considers the ways in which

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Victoria—omnipresent even in her absence—mediated important social and political transformations, such as "the transition to a wholly symbolic monarchy" (xx), that give the age which bears her name its distinctive historical importance. And *Royal Representations* provokes us as well to reflect on the scope and limits of queenly agency in an era that both feared and revered the qualities it assigned to woman's part. Ultimately, Homans is less interested in gauging what Victoria herself "personally" did or didn't do in the way of shaping her own image during the forty-year period between her accession to the throne and her becoming empress of India in 1876 than in examining the cultural work performed by the pervasive trope of queenliness. In analyzing this figure, by which the queen is made to appear or into which she disappears, Homans also measures its impact on the middle-class women, actual or fictional, who both exemplify and imitate the qualities that they (and we) associate with Victoria and Victorianism.

Homans argues that in "an era of rapidly diversifying technologies for the dissemination of the self," Victoria "performed the action of creating the nineteenth-century monarchy largely through representations" (xxi), with her extremely rare public appearances in the fifteen years after Prince Albert's death constituting only one among myriad forms regal representation may take. Homans documents the queen's paradoxical execution of her "sovereign obedience" as wife and mother primarily through close study of the paintings and photographs of Victoria, Albert, and their young children that help to construct an image of the royal family very much in keeping with (and partially formative of) the emergent ideal of bourgeois domesticity. She suggests that like most middle-class women, Victoria achieved access to the symbolic power of influence by renouncing the autonomy of single life, emphasizing the ambiguities in how "the young Queen was able to assert her authority only by giving up some aspect of it" in deferring to codes for conventional femininity (15).

The deconstructive turns that inform this way of characterizing the publicly private profile of the queen persist throughout the book as a whole, indeed growing ever sharper as the range of the study widens. Turning to other representations that stage Victoria's invisibility as a widow, Homans argues that those literary texts which put queens on display during the first decade of her widowhood, including John Ruskin's "Of Queens' Gardens," Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books, and George Eliot's heroine-centered novels, "produced multiple queens in the vacuum created by Victoria's absence" (67). A subsequent chapter draws on Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* and the photographs by Julia Margaret Cameron that accompany one of its many editions, locating these texts alongside the many public monuments raised to the dead Albert, to

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support Homans' claim that "allegorizing Albert makes Victoria herself a vanished presence" (224).

But images of these queens of everyday domestic life, of "alternative fairylands" and poetic epic (73)—whose powers of action and self-fashioning are portrayed as being as severely qualified or as "fantasmatically powerful" as Victoria's own (85)—constitute only a single part of the discursive terrain on which related contemporary debates about representation in the public sphere were waged. Homans connects the appearance of "the widow as author" in the late years of the 1860s, particularly in the memorializing *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (1869), to the contest over political representation that issued in the passage of the Second Reform Bill in 1867. Drawing as it does on a variety of sources and texts, and pursuing an ambitious and subtly nuanced argument with particular relevance for Victorianists, this lengthy chapter defies easy summary. For example, the claim that "the Queen's staged absences" both "assert her presence and constitute symbolic representations or representations of culture that would replace direct democratic representation" is accompanied by the counterbalancing suggestion that those very same performances of invisibility also "assert her absence and cede the space of public representation to others" (146). Homans' commitment to reading Victoria for the "equivocal effect" (146), however maddening it may be at times for the reader, enables her to maintain that while the queen expressed only "lukewarm enthusiasm for any expansion of the electorate," the footnotes she wrote for *Leaves* "urge the opposite argument as well" (150), by recounting the life histories of Victoria's humble but devoted attendants, including John Brown, in a textual form which accords them a right to be represented—if only by means of her laudatory prose.

Thus, through analysis of the monarch's own words and deeds and those of others, the Victoria (or Victorias) represented is very much a queen for our own times, a hybrid product of Homans' postmodern reading strategies, historicist insights, and interdisciplinary knowledge. Fashioning the Queen, in the book's final words, "as both the captive and despot of her own regime" (244), Homans draws our attention once more to the paradox of queenly agency in a patriarchal culture, in which even so powerful a female figure is, after all, subject to the structures that she seems voluntarily to embrace. What is particularly useful if occasionally perplexing about Homans' method on this point is that she allows the paradoxes to stand, in a manner antithetical to some of the more materialist strands of feminist scholarship within which she situates her own work; at times, her desire to recast Victoria as both maker and made, monarch and subject, strikes this reader as special pleading on behalf of privilege, even if delivered in accord with the post-Foucauldian

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orthodoxy that governs so much academic research and writing. Nonetheless, the book as a whole bears out beautifully one of the axioms with which it begins: "whatever else she may represent, she always represents lack" (xxix). That *Royal Representations* reconstitutes that "lack" as plenty is chief among its virtues.

Mary Jean Corbett

Rodger M. Payne. *The Self and the Sacred: Conversion and Autobiography in Early American Protestantism.* Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1998. 123 pp. ISBN 1-57233-015-5, $27.00.

Payne attempts to tackle a very difficult problem—an explanation of the relationships among the Enlightenment conception of the autonomous self, the evangelical Christian conception of self, the experience of the individual's conversion to such a self, the language of the convert's autobiography, and the converted self's subsequently changed perception of its relation to its community. The primary evidence for Payne's investigation comes from American nineteenth-century evangelical spiritual autobiographies, and his main claim is that the discourse in which these authors wrote descriptions of their conversion experiences did not merely "demonstrate a degree of correspondence between their experiences and a preordained morphology of conversion" (91) or "replicate the pietistic formula of despair, conviction, and conversion (86), but rather, these "texts of conversion (as opposed to texts *about* conversion) served to constitute self, experience, and community for early American evangelicals" (2). In other words, such descriptions of conversion could not and did not represent an experience of something existing prior to and independently of the discourse that claims to report it, but, as with any other experience of "fictional realities" (my words, not Payne's), the experience of conversion is an experience of an entanglement in signs whose only referents are other signs.

Payne draws theoretical support for his thesis that conversion rhetoric does not merely represent but constitutes evangelical religious experience from a number of twentieth-century post-structuralists and social constructionists, such as Clifford Geertz, Hayden White, Stephen Greenblatt, and Michel Foucault, for whom all the objects of human experience, and indeed the very human self, are unfounded cultural products, the result of the mediating force of systems of conventions and discursive formations. According to these theories, no element within a system can make sense except in relation to the whole system, and thus change must always be explained as a series of ruptures. Such historical

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discontinuity Ferdinand de Saussure first institutionalized with his distinction between diachronic and synchronic linguistics, but the notion that history is thus discontinuous permeates all structural and poststructural thought. As Payne notes of Foucault's explanation of the rise of new "discursive formations," "The individual elements of any discourse may have been present for years, even centuries, within a culture but may not have functioned as discourse until the formation of a specific historical context that sanctions the combination of these elements into a meaningful form with paradigmatic value." Accordingly, "new discursive formations may arise quite suddenly and almost immediately attain the status of 'truth' as they become the basis for analyzing and explaining the human condition" (5).

Payne argues that conversion discourse emerged in precisely this way, starting in the seventeenth century, as "changes in the theoretical and political life transformed Western culture, creating a correlative sense of confusion and disorder" (7). Most disruptive, in Payne's view, was the conception of the autonomous self, a self that could use the new science and technology to create choices and change its way of life, so that by the mid-eighteenth century "even grace itself had become a matter of choice to be accepted or rejected by human beings" (7). In order to salvage the Protestant tradition, which had relied heavily upon the doctrines of providence and predestination, a whole new discourse of conversion was required that could both "affirm the traditional Protestant values of personal humility and human inability" and also "embrace and secularize the concept of the autonomous self" (8).

This salvaging effort's result was that conversion came to be described (unconsciously) as the consequence of what might be termed a cultural/linguistic immersion. Through such immersion (again, this is my analogy, not Payne's), one became Christian in much the same way as an immigrant alien might become an American. And, as Payne explains, using Stanley Fish's terminology, "Only by appropriating the rhetorical and interpretive strategies that had been legitimated and sanctioned by the larger 'interpretive community' was the experience of the individual validated" (11). In other words, becoming Christian, like becoming American, was an arduous process, marked by uncertainty and interpretive doubt, but one having a goal toward which one could engage one's autonomous will, even if the actual experience of being Christian (or American) could only be understood after the fact of conversion, and even if the validity of that conversion could be affirmed only by other Christians (or Americans).

Not surprisingly, then, just as, according to structural theory, the elements of language precipitate into a system in one fell swoop, evangelical autobiographies typically recorded the exact time and

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place when their conversion occurred—when and where conversion discourse suddenly made sense. The time was instantaneous, or out of time. As one of these autobiographers, Ariel Kendrick, reports, "'In these few moments more knowledge of God, His law, the evil nature of sin, and extreme enmity of my heart; was communicated to me, than ever before in my whole life'" (69). The place of such synchrony is one of stasis, or rest—the end of a confused, wandering journey, a journey often "conceived in both literal and metaphorical terms" (74). This journey finally ending in rest became the conventional structure of conversion, affecting not only the autobiographies but also the religious rituals. In the autobiographies, "the author, as a character, had to ritually 'move' through the narrative in a way that paralleled the ritual movement of conversion" (75). In the frontier revivals, with the innovation of the "altar area" or the "mourner's bench," the "ritual structures of revivalism began to incorporate actual physical movement into the conversion process": "By physically and publically separating themselves from the congregation . . . potential converts who entered the altar area entered a ritual space where the transformation of conversion could properly be effected" (74, 75). Such a rite of passage symbolized "the separation, transformation, and reaggregation of the convert away from and back into the society" (75).

Payne concludes his well-written and documented argument with the following claim:

> By admitting the autonomous self into the American consciousness, the discourse of evangelical conversion created an enduring paradigm of American literature, not by contributing a linguistic formula that would later be "secularized" but rather by creating a modernist discourse where the ambivalence and tensions of modern selfhood could be confronted. (90)

"Avoided," not "confronted," would have been the better choice of terms here, for what Payne demonstrates above all else is that the paradoxes of evangelical rhetoric prefigure those paradoxes of modern structuralism that the poststructural theories Payne utilizes consistently attack. Payne's poststructural perspective does indeed help us to understand the dynamics of evangelical rhetoric. Unfortunately, since poststructuralism shares most of structuralism's basic assumptions about how language works and relates to reality, that perspective cannot, as Payne does not, provide any sort of critique of evangelical discourse. As far as this book is concerned, the evangelical movement was just something that happened.

Stephen R. Yarbrough

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Jeffrey Prager. *Presenting the Past: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Misremembering*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 261 pp. ISBN 0-674-56641-6, $35.00.

Memory and its uncertainties seems to be a central concern of the millennial period. At the level of whole societies, repression of the past is countered by a pressure towards documenting and disinterring, with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa being the most dramatic, watershed example of this tendency. In that particular instance, it looks as though the drive to memorialize has established new conditions for the relationship between witnessing and political progress, although it is also clear that notions of truth continue to be savaged by expedience and self-protection. Remembering trauma is of critical concern, perhaps reflecting a social impulse towards cleansing or excusing. The enormous energy currently expended on collecting Holocaust (Shoah) testimonies is driven by a sense that it is the precious direct testimony of survivors which must be preserved; yet the ambiguities surrounding this project and the complex relationship between testimony and "historical record" is never far away. Evidence for this is given, for example, by the furor surrounding the revelation that Binjamin Wilkomirski's searing memoir of his childhood experiences, *Fragments*, was a work of his imagination, either deliberately or accidentally (see Lappin). The question surrounding that particular example of misremembering is whether Wilkomirski's absence from the scene of his own memory reduces the value of his remarkable book, and if so, as what? To what degree does the fact (or not) of an occurrence affect the validity of the memory?

As psychoanalysis vividly testifies, remembering is not necessarily something easy for individuals or collectives to manage. As Adam Phillips comments, "People come for psychoanalytic treatment because they are remembering in a way that does not free them to forget" (22). He also comes to the heart of a set of important matters with the further point that "We use memories to forget with" (24). That is, many memories are "screen memories" for other things, for desires or for worse trauma. It is not simply that horrible things are forgotten; often they are replaced by something else. Much of the time, this suits us better than the alternative, remembering the horrible. After all, why should we put ourselves and our neighbors through it, in pursuit of some moral imperative of truth at all costs? Unfortunately for peace and quiet, forgetting and misremembering does not always work (we do not know the frequencies, of course—perhaps it works most of the time, perhaps it never does). If the repressed keeps returning, the forgotten keeps bouncing back, then memorializing at an individual—that is, psychotherapeutic—or social level is needed: remembering in order to forget. The Shoah demands memory because it cannot be laid to

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rest; there are too many ghosts. In the lives of individuals traumatized in other ways, there are great gaps, inexplicable hardships; something, it seems, must be at their source. If nothing obvious can be found, it must be lurking inside, misremembered or repressed, awaiting retrieval so that a life's story can be forced to make sense.

Many of the issues here—about "truth" and fiction, forgetting and recalling, whether lives are coherent narratives and why people seem to want them to be so—have come together over some time in the related debates concerning the "good faith" of psychoanalysis and the reality or otherwise of memories of (sexual) abuse "recovered" during therapy. Can an experience of something as powerful as being sexually abused be forgotten, and if so, can it then be recovered during the process of therapy, without that recovery being a further kind of "abuse," arising out of a kind of collusive process between therapist and patient in which memories are constructed in the light of political, social, and personal ideologies? If remembrances of traumas past are thought of as fantasies, is this a way of consolidating the abuse of a victim, and hence is not just a failure of nerve on the therapist's part, but a process of revictimization that calls into question the good faith of therapy in general? How separate should the process of telling a good, emotionally compelling story be from the question of its factual accuracy?

In *Presenting the Past: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Misremembering*, Jeffrey Prager addresses these questions from the vantage point of being both a sociologist and a psychoanalyst, although his book is dominated by the latter rather than the former discipline. His encounter with the politics of memory is hung onto a case study of a patient of his, "Ms. A.," who during the course of analysis comes to believe that she has been sexually abused in childhood by her father, but then (through a process never fully explained) comes to leave aside this belief. Prager makes a good case for understanding the emergence of her "memory" of abuse in the context of a wider social discourse—a moral panic, perhaps—on the existence of recovered memory in therapy and the significance this has for making sense of deeply troubled biographies. He also comments with some precision in several places in the book on the place memory has been granted in identity construction, with a view to questioning the weight given to what is remembered over and above the conditions that gave rise to an act of remembering. For instance, rather unusually for a psychoanalyst, here he is suggesting that society's fascination with memories is overdone:

> Today, the past has achieved a kind of iconic, even sacred status. Remembering the past is now widely understood as a valuable activity in and of itself; so much so that how and why we remember in the present is a topic of relatively

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> little popular interest. . . . We are inclined not to challenge the determinativeness and significance of the past for the present; and we do not doubt that memory recovery often plays a transformative, redemptive role in the lives of those who remember. (67)

This seems an exact and prescient understanding of the issues involved in examining the place memory has been granted in constructing life stories: no question about the story-telling, just excavate the fact. What Prager goes on to do, through (rather selective) encounters with the debates on sexual abuse, traumatic memory, psychoanalysis and neuroscience, is to develop an account of remembering as an "intersubjective" process, in which "memory is activity, actively symbolizing the self's relation to its own body and to its social world" (219). He thus draws attention to the forces that produce memories now—what memories draw on and what (social) functions they serve—rather than on questions of fact and truth.

Presenting the Past is, generally speaking, a valuable addition to the literature on memory, compatible with more general moves in psychoanalysis towards a more actively socially constructionist view both of therapy and of identity formation, and also suggestive for understandings of the broader social climate towards memory described above. It is clear and consistent, and if it devotes too much space to summaries of some selected authorities, it is nevertheless helpful to have these brought together in one small book. But although its presentation of the evidence on the power of the intersubjective context to construct memory is persuasive and attractive, there are some loose ends which keep coming back, returning like the repressed. The most troubling of these is perhaps the story of Ms. A. herself. What, exactly, makes Prager so sure that she misremembered (rather than remembered) her father's abusiveness? What if Prager is wrong? Given that memory is a constructive process, what difference does it make if the abuse happened or not? Or, for that matter, the Shoah? My thought, throughout this book, was a deeply ambiguous one: that I completely accept the argument that when, how, and what is remembered is a product of the present, not the past, but knowing something about "the truth of what happened" is still a moral task.

Stephen Frosh

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Andrea Liss. *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography, and the Holocaust.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998. 224 pp. 12 color, 28 b/w photos. ISBN 0-8166-3059-3, $49.95 cloth; ISBN 0-8166-3060-7, $19.95 paper.

Andrea Liss provides a sensitive, insightful, and lucid exploration into the risk-laden practices of Holocaust representation, specifically those involving exhibitions of documentary photography, film, and artifacts. Several key questions permeate the book. What are the most appropriate and effective ways of exhibiting Holocaust evidence which inevitably bears the double burden of fixing the accurate history of atrocities while providing respectful sites of remembrance and mourning? What implications do postmodern critiques of visual representation have for the traditional division between documentary and aesthetic approaches to evidence? More concretely, how do the mediating strategies employed by contemporary institutions like the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum interrelate with techniques used by today's visual artists? Fittingly, Liss emphasizes that these explorations are inherently without resolution, in large part because of the incomprehensibility at the heart of such trauma. Her notion of "(im)possible witnessing" through photographic exhibitions highlights the goal of keeping "the memory and the trauma at once approachable and unmasterable" (xix).

Liss's book is a model of scholarly yet accessible writing that lays out the theoretical and material stakes involved in the use of Holocaust photography for public memory and history. Using a variety of contemporary theorists and practical examples, she consistently illustrates both the invisibly mediated nature of photographs in general and the ambivalent honoring/revictimizing quality of Holocaust photographs in particular. She also exemplifies her idea of "trespassing" as delicately as possible in this difficult material by frequently using questions to imply her leanings without evoking closure. Her feminist and Levinasian ethics of empathic care and respectful openness toward the subject are also demonstrated through the book's numerous inclusions of primary sources such as photographs of most of the works examined, personal interviews with the museum planners and visual artists, extended quotations from documents that she critiques, a substantial part of a Holocaust survivor's letter to Christian Boltanski, and some full-text citations from museum tags and labels. In addition, Liss makes poignant use of first-person accounts of her experience at the museum and some of the artistic exhibitions. Finally, Liss invites readers to join the dialogue by providing several extensive bibliographies on such topics as photographic theory, Holocaust representation, and memorial and museum theory.

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The chapter on the use of photography at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum introduces the first of a series of instructive contrasts in representational strategies, in this case between the identity cards that visitors receive upon entering the museum and the Tower of Faces exhibit. In an attempt to personalize the Holocaust, the museum planners designed cards with a pre-Holocaust photo and a brief biography of a victim or survivor. In a much different attempt at personalization, the Tower of Faces exhibit contains over a thousand family portraits of former residents of the small shtetl town of Ejszyszki (in what is now Lithuania) taken between 1890 and 1941. The tower is five stories high and can only be partially navigated through a series of glass bridges. In direct contrast to the identity card photo, the Tower photos remain both physically and (in many cases) visually out of the visitor's assimilation capacities. In Liss's helpful formulation, the Tower more effectively "acknowledges the riddled (im)-possibility of mourning itself" by "perform[ing] more as a fluctuating memorial rather than as a stable and self-assured monument" (36).

Liss highlights the interpretive dangers of the Tower photos, however, through a stark transition to the next chapter on Christian Boltanski's photography and Art Spiegelman's *Maus* comic books. "This is not a Boltanski," states Martin Smith, a key museum planner who strives to assure her that the Tower does not disrespectfully aestheticize the events (39). This quotation cuts to the heart of troubling representational issues created by Boltanski's self-reflexive, unconventional uses of pre-Holocaust photographs in several of his artistic exhibitions, especially those from the late 1980s collectively titled *Lessons of Darkness.* In an evenhanded assessment, Liss points out the potential flippancy but ultimate success of Boltanski's rejection of the "traditional documentary photographic rhetoric of victimology" (45) in favor of what she calls "antimonumental memorials," or "an act toward circling around rather than smothering memory and the trauma of its representation" (49). In a similarly enlightening discussion of Spiegelman's *Maus* comic books, Liss outlines how his autobiography as the child of Holocaust survivors reverses documentary expectations through the comic book format in which the few actual family photographs he includes appear more staged and less "realistic" than his drawings of cats, mice, and pigs that dominate the "true" narrative. Thus, Spiegelman's deployment of photographs to "provoke the irreality of the zone between the present and the Holocaust world" comprises another challenge to the strained divisions between documentary and aesthetic presentations of Holocaust photography, as well as another potentially effective memorial strategy for respecting the event's incomprehensibility (67).

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Before moving on to the Holocaust-related work of several other contemporary visual artists (including brief treatments of such films as Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* and Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*), Liss returns to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to consider the dilemmas of exhibiting artifacts as physical evidence that can often overpower photographic evidence. She exemplifies her conflicted notion of "artifactual witnessing as (im)possible evidence" by re-creating her physical and psychological experiences with (and "trespasses" through) such artifacts as a freight car, barracks, oral testimony, uniforms, and shoes. In each case, she ruminates productively on the potential for empathy, fetishization, or violation that the "hyperreal" quality of these institutionally-owned artifacts can evoke (83). Her analysis of how the absence of visual evidence influences visitors at the Voices of Auschwitz exhibit could have been developed further, but overall the discussion is insightful and well-presented.

The next chapter shifts from the museum's artifacts to more artistic exhibitions, beginning with the provocative strategies of Suzanne Hellmuth and Jock Reynolds in their display titled *In Memory: A Bird in the Hand* (1987). By making several concrete links between their exhibitions and the museum's, Liss carefully guides the reader through her guardedly positive assessment of these artists' risky techniques of cropping and juxtaposing archival and family photographs. With similar clarity but an opposite evaluation, Liss explains her reasons for judging the use of Holocaust photography by Judy Chicago and Donald Woodman in *Holocaust Project* (1993) an overstepping of appropriate boundaries because of too much "retrospective self-projection" (102). Though less developed than these suggestive treatments, Liss's discussions of artistic Holocaust exhibitions by Anselm Kiefer, Connie Hatch, Jeffrey Wolin, and Aharon Gluska also manage to fuel one of the book's central claims: "Recognition of and profound investment in the undervalued realm of the domestic, the intimate, and the autobiographical, traditionally codified as 'feminine,' demonstrate how a feminist methodology to history can expand intersubjective approaches to the representation of the Shoah" (110).

Liss's final (but not conclusive) chapter continues to probe the potential benefits of more fully acknowledging the similarities between supposedly "documentary" strategies of exhibiting visual evidence of the Holocaust and techniques considered more "aesthetic." She calls for a thoughtful reconsideration of "retrospective evidence" in light of the memorial power and respect for trauma's insistent impact yet incomprehensible core that intermixing representational techniques can generate, particularly as fewer and fewer "direct witnesses" remain available (116). Her admirable goal for Holocaust representation is to move "toward an otherness that

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envisions respectful distance and invites partial palpability" (124), which her book achieves in impressive fashion.

Vincent A. O'Keefe

Traise Yamamoto. *Masking Selves, Making Subjects: Japanese American Women, Identity, and the Body.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1999. 317 pp. ISBN 0-520-21034-4, $17.95.

In the wake of challenges made by contemporary cultural theory to previously unquestioned assumptions of subjecthood in literary studies, historically underrepresented voices are entering the arena of scholarly inquiry. Using the tools of feminism and cultural studies, they ask questions about who may be a subject, how a subject may be recognized, and how it may be embodied in a text. In a book that asks whether a specific group may find subjecthood, the question of "Is the experience of this particular group unique as a topic of inquiry?" implicitly asserts that it is. The monograph, then, becomes a defense of this assumption. In her introduction to *Masking Selves, Making Subjects,* Traise Yamamoto describes the contradictions in her methodology:

> This study grounds itself in the awkward juncture between two claims: that identity is a highly contingent and constructed category, one that for marginalized subjects must necessarily reference the ways in which the individual body is marked and circulates in the social and discursive arenas; and the somewhat contradictory assertion that for all the language of postmodern subjectivity, there remains a place for the self, that which is often rather condescendingly referred to as the product of backwards humanism. I retain the language of the self in conjunction with that of the subject, conjoined in what one might call a critical humanism, in order to discuss modes of agency that disrupt and cannot be causally or directly traced to the social or discursive constructs that would seem to determine the subject in all its modalities. (3)

Masking Selves, Making Subjects is the result of this project, in which the fiction of Japanese American women writers is read as a defense of the writers' selves against the contingencies that endeavor to define them. Yamamoto's work is the first to engage with current debates in literary theory in an examination of post-World War II Japanese American women's writing. She argues that these writers

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have dealt with the various encroachments on their identities as defined by their gender, nationality, and ethnicity, by using these very encroachments and assumptions as a "mask" beneath which they may continue to exist, and more importantly, act.

As the first of its kind, *Masking Selves, Making Subjects* bears the burden of presenting as comprehensive a study of the topic as possible, attempting to cover history, personal accounts, theoretical expositions, and textual analysis. Perhaps as a result of the ambitious nature of this task, the book reads somewhat like a collection of five thematically related articles rather than a comprehensive whole; connections are sometimes clumsily made and require that the reader untangle the reasoning behind her arguments. This criticism notwithstanding, these chapters, especially the last three, offer a wealth of information and interpretation on a hitherto untouched topic. Using Edward Said's theory of orientalism as a point of departure in her study, Yamamoto considers how the gaze of the "west" has imagined Japan and subsequently Americans of Japanese descent, especially women, who embody a hyperfeminine vision of the already feminized "east." The first two chapters of this book follow the mathematics behind the lumping together of Japanese American women with Japan through a long history that reaches its defining moment during the Second World War. Yamamoto reveals the western assumptions of the duplicity of the Japanese, who are thought to hide their true selves beneath a veneer. In her readings of film and travel narratives, Yamamoto points out the troubling ways in which the gaze of the (male) west determines to see Japan as a mysterious woman. Yamamoto continues to demonstrate how these assumptions easily were transferred to those whose physical appearance betrays and overrides their nationality as American citizens. The "mask," then, is not a mask that has been designed by its wearer, but one that has been forced upon her by those who view her. What interests Yamamoto is what the Japanese American woman does with the mask she is made to wear.

Yamamoto asserts that contrary to the expectations that an autobiography will tell the tale of a journey towards finding one's individual self, the Japanese American woman's autobiography goes against genre and reflects instead a sameness, as if repeating the story of a group rather than a single person. Indeed, Yamamoto replicates this method herself by using anecdotes about her own experiences in a childhood classroom, her son's "folded" eyelids, and her grandmother's choice of a name, to illustrate arguments or to introduce sections, applying her individual experience to broader issues. In Chapter Three of *Masking Selves, Making Subjects*, Yamamoto's examination of autobiographies written by interned Japanese American women argues that they go against the tradition of autobiography, and specifically American autobiography, as a

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comment on the effect of the internment of Japanese Americans. Yamamoto suggests that these autobiographies are the only accurate reflection of the effects of the internment, which functioned to take identity and subjectivity away, creating a "negative group identity" (109). Her reading of these autobiographies posits an alternate reading of the genre itself: autobiography as the story of a community rather than of an individual. Yamamoto points out the tropes of masking that are deployed in these autobiographies. The speakers' narrating their use of the "oriental" mask is mirrored by the larger mask worn by the autobiography itself, as representative (and reclaimant) of the group. The trope of masking is not only applied to autobiographical narratives, but to poetry, which in many cases is also read as autobiography.

The chapter on "Mothers, Daughters, and the Trope of Maternal Absence," which argues that the mother's presence—or absence—teaches the Japanese American woman what she must do in order to survive and preserve her "self" in this world, seems to be rather tenuously tied to the larger themes of identity and female body in this book. This chapter, however, also highlights Yamamoto's considerable strength in the close reading of texts. In her fine readings of the works of poets Mitsuye Yamada, Janice Mirikitani, and Kimiko Hahn, Yamamoto seeks to demonstrate that these poets and those like them are not simply notable for their skill as writers, but for their determination in wrestling with a language that threatens to silence or define them. Her readings show how these women, through different methods, attempt to address the history of the ways in which they have been seen and defined, and to use those same terms which have been applied to them in protest or to redefine their positions.

Yamamoto ends her book with a quotation from a poem by Mitsuye Yamada:

> as I gesture with each
> new play of
> light
> and shadow
> this mask be
> comes you. (204)

As Yamamoto reads it, these lines turn the projection of the gaze back onto, and against, the gazer. It is indeed a lamentable state of affairs when it is suggested that the only claim to agency had by a modern woman poet is the sleight-of-hand of wordplay.

Shiamin Kwa

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Joseph C. Hermanowicz. *The Stars Are Not Enough: Scientists —Their Passions and Professions.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 268 pp. ISBN 0-226-32766-3, $45.00; ISBN 0-226-32767-1, $15.00.

The late historian Barbara Tuchman, who spent much of her time writing biography, harbored little enthusiasm for the study of sociology. Her primary criticism of the discipline was that its practitioners are fond of belaboring the obvious; that is to say, they engage in studies whose outcomes are clear from the outset, at least to most reasonably educated individuals with a modicum of common sense. She challenged sociologists to forget their questionnaires, to stick their heads up, and to survey the landscape. If only they would do so, they might avoid the fate of producing "a mouse."

Though this was partly said with tongue in cheek, one suspects that *The Stars Are Not Enough* is the very sort of study to which Tuchman was referring. In the early 1990s, Joseph C. Hermanowicz, an independent sociologist living in Chicago, set out to chronicle the professional careers of sixty physicists (young, middle-aged, and senior), working in three types of academic settings: "top-ranked" or "elite" universities, "middle-ranked" or "pluralist" universities, and "tail" or "communitarian" universities. Their identities remaining secret, two schools were chosen from each category for a total of six. A problem arises immediately, however, because twenty of the twenty-three participants from the "elite" institutions came from only one of two schools, while there is no data at all from one of the two pluralist institutions. The author "compensates" by adding a third communitarian institution, which to this reviewer's way of thinking seriously skews the sampling method from the outset.

Employing both questionnaires and face-to-face interviews, Hermanowicz seeks to untangle the riddle of what he calls "ambition," or the "will to accomplish." Scattered throughout the text are the autobiographical musings of scholars who have made it big as well as those who acknowledge themselves to be also-rans.

Not surprisingly, the results of this statistically flawed study confirm what virtually everyone associated with the academy learns in graduate school. Elite institutions draw the preponderance of their faculty from elite institutions, the middling universities less so, and communitarian schools less still, although the latter are clearly benefiting from the glut of talented young Ph.D.'s in the job market. Moreover, physicists at the elite schools not only publish more (a minimum of three papers per year), they also publish in the most prestigious journals (the top 5 percent) far more often than their less well-connected colleagues. This, of course, leads to more frequent and larger research grants, appointment and election to high office in

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professional societies, speaking engagements, and so forth. Furthermore, the elites remain highly active right up to retirement age and beyond, their reputation commanding deference if not downright awe. And guess who gets the lion's share of the top-notch graduate students?

Thus does *The Stars Are Not Enough* confirm Tuchman's idea of common sense. And though Hermanowicz believes physicists are in a category apart from their fellow scientists and colleagues in other disciplines, his conclusions regarding the academic pecking order—which is what this book is really about—apply equally well to professors of education, philosophy, political science, literature, history, and yes, even sociology.

Perhaps the major surprise, at least for me, was the challenge to a stereotype prevalent among faculty at the second- and third-ranked schools, who are prone to rationalize. They view elite institutions as cut-throat operations, lacking in professional comradeship and empathy for one's peers. Yet as one of the "elitists" remarked to Mr. Hermanowicz,

> There are two simple reasons you want to be at a place like this one. One is that your colleagues are good and you can talk. . . . [W]hen I go to ask my colleagues questions I get good answers, because my colleagues are knowledgeable. And then you have good students and you have good postdocs, it's only to my benefit to be at a good school, because I'm going to benefit from the people around me. . . . I'd much rather have colleagues who know more than I do. (65–68)

A wise man indeed.

Gale E. Christianson

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Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing editors William Bruneau, Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, Gabriel Merle, Barbara Peterson, Forrest R. Pitts, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *American Scientist, French Review, The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), *The Historian, Journal of Asian Studies, Journal of British Studies, Los Angeles Times Book Review* (*LATBR*), *Le Monde des Livres, The New Yorker, New York Review of Books* (*NYRB*), *New York Times Book Review* (*NYTBR*), *Opera News, Pacific Historical Review, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Sight and Sound*, and the *Times Literary Supplement* (*TLS*).

Albright, Madeleine

Madeleine Albright: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey. Michael Dobbs. New York: Holt, 1999. 466 pp. $27.50.

"'Madeleine Albright,' Dobbs's illuminating and generally even-handed biography, makes a strong, albeit circumstantial, case that Albright has not been entirely candid on this point [her Jewish heritage]. . . . If Albright did not know more about her background, it was, he suggests, because she did not want to know."

Aaron L. Friedberg. *NYTBR*, May 9, 1999: 45.

Auden, W. H.

Later Auden. Edward Mendelson. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999. 570 pp. $30.00.

"'Later Auden,' which took more than half as long to write as it did to live, completes this biography, not the life of the life but the life of the poetry. Mendelson's indulgence in vital statistics is brief and perfunctory."

William Logan. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 28.

Augustine, Saint

Saint Augustin. Serge Lancel. Paris: Fayard, 1999. 796 pp. F180.

From the "heretical" years to the (particularly emphasized) Pelagian crisis, this book (one among the few good books on the subject)

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retraces the personal, intellectual (always passionate) life of the famous bishop of Hippo.

François Decret. *Le Monde des Livres*, Apr. 23, 1999: 5.

Saint Augustine. Garry Wills. New York: Lipper/Viking, 1999. 152 pp. $19.95.

"Not often, but every now and then, a truly gifted director takes up well-known material—a famous short story, a novel, a biography—and turns a subject with which we thought we were thoroughly familiar into something once again strange and challenging. To do this he must exercise a dictatorial power over the material. . . . Garry Wills's *Saint Augustine* has done this, in a little under 150 pages. Seldom has a long-familiar figure, whose works fill thirteen double-columned volumes in the standard edition, and whose life and thought have been debated for sixteen hundred years, emerged so fresh and challenging, from under so masterful a 'director's' hand."

Peter Brown. *NYRB*, June 24, 1999: 45–50.

Balzac, Eve

Eve de Balzac. Roger Pierrot. Paris: Stock, 1999. 551 pp. F170.

A biography of Honore de Balzac's wife. "This is a book for specialists in Balzac biography." "Pierrot's massive contribution to Balzac's birthday party will remain valuable for as long as Balzac scholarship exists."

Graham Robb. *TLS*, May 21, 1999: 3–4.

Bamber, Helen

The Good Listener: Helen Bamber, A Life Against Cruelty. Neil Belton. New York: Pantheon, 1999. 473 pp. $27.00.

"Neil Belton's profound and moving book is essentially a reflection on torture and its effects upon its victims. He calls it 'a footnote to the scholarship of an infamous period,' the fifty years that have passed since the passage of the Geneva Convention in 1949. But he adds that he has attempted 'to imagine how the extreme violence of our world affected one woman, beginning with the Holocaust, and how she did something creative about it. I have tried to give a stand against cruelty the force of a human story.'"

Gordon A. Craig. *NYRB*, June 24, 1999: 40.

Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de

Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais. Tome I. *L'irrésistible ascension, 1732–1774.* Maurice Lever. Paris: Fayard, 1999. 594 pp. F180.

Perhaps not "irresistible," for the first years had their ups and downs. But indeed his intelligence, his inventiveness, his appetite for life, his energy, his cheerful, ferocious pen, his aptitude to neutralize the enemies he made for himself by gaining protectors,

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his understanding of the mechanisms of the society marked him out for a remarkable rise. In sympathy with his subject, Lever does not conceal his weaknesses. His erudition is precise and elegant.

Philippe-Jean Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres*, May 21, 1999: 5.

Beethoven, Ludwig von

Beethoven. Maynard Solomon. New York: Schirmer, 1999. 554 pp. $30.00.

"No one has contributed more to that process [of understanding Beethoven] than Maynard Solomon, author of the landmark biographical study 'Beethoven,' which first appeared in 1977. . . . A good book has been made even better, and it remains an indispensable volume for the aficionado."

Ted Libbey. *LATBR*, May 30, 1999: 6.

Bell, Mary

Cries Unheard, Why Children Kill: The Story of Mary Bell. Gitta Sereny. New York: Metropolitan/Holt, 1999. 382 pp. $26.00.

"In Gitta Sereny's competent hands, the faces of the guilty become distorting mirrors in which we are forced to acknowledge skewed but still recognizable versions of the faces we have seen, and lived with, all our lives."

Francine Prose. *The New Yorker*, Mar. 29, 1999: 102–104.

"Sereny, to her credit, pulls the reader along ever so slowly and gently, so that it's only by the end, having heard her story in its entirety, do we realize how wrongheaded we are in attributing adult reasoning to young children who commit violent acts."

Alex Kotlowitz. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 9.

Benzer, Seymour

Time, Love, Memory: A Great Biologist and His Quest for the Origins of Behavior. Jonathan Weiner. New York: Knopf, 1999. 300 pp. $27.50.

"In *Time, Love, Memory*, Weiner deals with the work of Seymour Benzer, who was in his twenties when he decided to leave physics and become a biologist. During World War II he worked in a top secret government lab on semiconductors, and others would later build on his work to develop the transistor. Weiner suggests that, for the young Benzer, physics—or at least the physics in which he specialized—just seemed too easy. Benzer's friends were eager to carry on their work in solid-state physics, or to set up lucrative electronics companies, but Benzer worried that the entire field was becoming pedestrian. On the other hand, in the late 1940s biology posed truly mysterious questions about how living things are made."

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Helen Epstein. *NYRB*, June 24, 1999: 14.

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"'Time, Love, Memory,' by Jonathan Weiner, is the story of Benzer's career, especially his work on genes and behavior, as well a glimpse of the history of genetics itself and how it became molecular. It is also a wonderful description of biologists at work together, with cameos of many leaders. Inevitably it is a little technical in parts."

Lewis Wolpert. *NYTBR*, May 2, 1999: 33.

Bukowski, Charles

Charles Bukowski: Locked in the Arms of a Crazy Life. Howard Sounes. New York: Grove, 1999. 309 pp. $26.00.

"A must-read for anybody who is a fan of Bukowski's writing, *Charles Bukowski* successfully conjures the voice of this outrageous character, and offers clear-eyed insight into his extraordinary life."

Martha Watson. *The Globe and Mail*, June 19, 1999: D16.

"[Sounes] indicates at the start of 'Charles Bukowski: Locked in the Arms of a Crazy Life' that he is going to show how Bukowski strived markedly to 'improve upon' his life and make it even 'more picaresque' than it was. Unfortunately, the book is more hair-splitting than revisionist."

John D. Thomas. *NYTBR*, May 2, 1999: 10.

Bundy, McGeorge and William

The Color of Truth, McGeorge and William Bundy: Brothers in Arms. A Biography. Kai Bird. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999. 496 pp. $27.50.

"Kai Bird's keenly perceptive, thoroughly researched, fair and balanced book explores the major influences . . . which gave the Bundy brothers exceptional self-assurance, mental toughness, a powerful sense of duty to country, unswerving loyalty to established authority and the conviction that American interests must prevail in the Cold War. . . . The author's detailed account of their major roles in the Vietnam imbroglio adds significantly to the historical record."

Townsend Hoopes. *LATBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 4.

" . . . while he bills his book as a biography, and writes at length about McGeorge Bundy's early and later career—and, in rather less vivid shades, about the career of his older brother, William Bundy, who held senior appointments in the C.I.A. and in the Defense and State Departments and later became editor of Foreign Affairs—'The Color of Truth' is at its heart a 'Vietnam book' and one that follows a trail first broken by David Halberstam and 'The Best and the Brightest.'"

Mark Danner. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 11–13.

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Burroughs, Edgar Rice

Tarzan Forever: The Life of Edgar Rice Burroughs, Creator of Tarzan. John Taliaferro. New York: Scribner, 1999. 400 pp. $30.00.

"... this well-written, well-researched book ... illuminates not only his [Burroughs's] life and works, but the times in which Burroughs lived."

José Farmer. *The Globe and Mail,* July 3, 1999: D14.

"... John Taliaferro, the author of 'Charles M. Russell: The Life and Legend of America's Cowboy Artist,' skillfully recounts the story of Burroughs and his creations and is particularly good at showing how Burroughs fits into the growing importance of popular culture in the 20th century. However, the book would have benefited from deeper thinking about the contradictions of the man himself."

David Traxel. *NYTBR,* Apr. 4, 1999.

Byron, George Gordon, Lord

Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame. Benita Eisler. New York: Knopf, 1999. 837 pp. $35.00.

"Eisler's account of Byron's appalling marriage and its termination is a page turner. . . . [The] book astutely identifies links between Byron's defiance of prevailing moral codes and his political radicalism, distinguishing him from Rousseau and his fellow patrician Shelley. ... The weakness of the book is the skimpy treatment of Byron the writer. There is too little information about his intellectual life, the literary traditions to which he belonged, the other poets (English, classical, Italian) which shaped the various styles of his poems. Eisler's comments on the poems themselves are banal and sometimes imprecise."

Claude Rawson. *NYTBR,* May 9, 1999: 10.

Callas, Maria

Maria Callas: Sacred Monster. Stelios Galatopoulos. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 544 pp. $35.00.

Callas at Juilliard: The Master Classes. Maria Callas and John Ardoin. Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1998. 304 pp. $19.95.

Callas by Callas: The Secret Writings of 'La Maria.' Renzo and Roberto Allegri. Trans. Peter Eustace. New York: Universe, 1998. 168 pp. $35.00.

"Both biographies are from worshipers who claim a divine right to under standing the sphinx. . . . The one book which is actually by Callas herself is oddly bland. . . . 'Callas by Callas' can hardly be considered an 'autobiography'. . . . This book is just another coffee-table valentine to La Divina. . . . On many crucial details these two books ['Maria Callas' and 'Callas by Callas'] disagree."

Michelle Krisel. *LATBR,* May 30, 1999: 3–4.

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Carter, Jimmy

The Carter Presidency: Policy Choices in the Post-New Deal Era. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1998. 368 pp. $39.95.

"This collection of thirteen original essays is based on a conference at the Carter Library during the 1995 Organization of American Historians' annual meeting in Atlanta. It is a valuable collection by a distinguished group of historians covering many but not all issue areas of public policy during the Carter administration."

Steven A. Shull. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.3 (Sept. 1999).

Charles, Ray

Ray Charles: Man and Music. Michael Lydon. New York: Riverhead, 1999. 448 pp. $27.95.

"Lydon . . . has meticulously researched the life of Ray Charles Robinson. . . . But 'Ray Charles' suffers from the author's chronic inability to distinguish between what readers need to know and what they do not. . . . The style seems crafted for readers of *Rolling Stone,* with frequent excursions into the realm of supermarket tabloids. . . . 'The Genius' deserves a far more readable full-scale biography than this."

Grover Sales. *LATBR,* May 30, 1999: 2.

Chatwin, Bruce

Bruce Chatwin. Nicholas Shakespeare. London: Harvill, 1999. 591 pp. £20.00.

"If there's a stone Shakespeare left unturned in his eight-year pursuit of Chatwin's life, it must be buried deep in the shale. He seems to have been everywhere Chatwin was, and to have talked to most everyone he encountered, from the famous likes of Robert Hughes and Stephen Spender right down to the woman who cleaned Chatwin's grandmother's house. . . . Marshalling facts and fabulations, he reveals Chatwin in all his humours."

Stephen Smith. *The Globe and Mail,* June 19, 1999: D18.

"Chatwin, as Shakespeare affectionately, yet pitilessly demonstrates, was a great many things to a great many people. . . . *Bruce Chatwin* punctures many illusions, but none more so than the image of the bronzed, purposeful, self-reliant explorer."

D. J. Taylor. *TLS,* Apr. 16, 1999: 23.

Chopin, Kate

Unveiling Kate Chopin. Emily Toth. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1999. 290 pp. $18.00.

"Since the unconventional Chopin was shaped almost exclusively by female influences herself, Toth, a professor of English and women's studies at Louisiana State University, views the parallel as

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a key to Chopin's inner life. Also, newly armed with recently discovered manuscripts exposing Chopin to be more 'hardworking' than she admitted, Toth suspects that 'ambition, not adultery, may have been her biggest secret.'"

Renee Tursi. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 22.

Churchill, Clementine and Winston

Winston and Clementine: The Personal Letters of the Churchills. Ed. Mary Soames. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. 702 pp. $35.00.

"The early portions of the correspondence are the most orderly, sustained volleys of one letter replying to another. Later on, especially during World War II, dictation, haste and the need for secrecy take their toll. The two-way coded cable traffic between 'Colonel and Mrs. Warden' is nothing like so absorbing as the exchanges from the Great War two decades earlier. One suspects that a few of the volume's ellipses arise more from daughterly loyalty than the need to save space, but Lady Soames has done a thorough, scholarly job of putting together 'Winston and Clementine.'"

Thomas Mallon. *NYTBR*, May 9, 1999: 6.

Clinton, Hillary. See also **Collections: Wellesley Women.**

The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton. Joyce Milton. New York: William Morrow, 1999. 435 pp. $27.00.

"*The First Partner* details how the U.S. left evolved from a haphazard group of campus radicals into thousands of conflicting constituencies, each preoccupied with its own goals, determined to redress the inequities of poverty and race by creating a massive social-welfare state. This historical analysis is the underlying strength of the book. One's only qualifier is that Milton is clearly no fan of the left, although she claims no political association, and insists she was hoping for a much prettier and more admirable picture. . . . Milton's case is clear: Because of Hillary's sense that social reform was necessary, she and many of her cohorts decided that creating an overarching welfare state was their first principle, and an end to be achieved by any means necessary. They became masterful at subverting the law, at technocratic interpretation, at delay, obfuscation, red herrings, spinning the press, demonizing their opponents, muckraking and harassing—all skills we have become familiar with while watching the First Couple."

Elizabeth Nickson. *The Globe and Mail*, June 19, 1999: D13.

"Mrs. Clinton is held accountable for a lot in this book, and a reader who does not share Milton's sense of betrayal, or anger, or whatever it is that gives this biography its disdainful tone, will find herself saying 'yes, but' a lot."

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Robin Toner. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 13.

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Clinton, William Jefferson

Uncovering Clinton: A Reporter's Story. Michael Isikoff. New York: Crown, 1999. 402 pp. $25.00.

"'Uncovering Clinton' sets out in lucid, largely chronological fashion how he [Isikoff] got his stories [about Clinton]. He forcefully defends his behavior, which has come under attack from other journalists and Clinton partisans. It is hard to render an absolute verdict on the propriety of his actions based just on his book, for it decidedly presents one (admittedly one unusually knowledgeable) person's version of reality. But Isikoff makes a plausible case—perhaps the best case that could be made—for continuing to pursue a story that could possibly have brought down a President. At times, as he acknowledges, sometimes directly, sometimes opaquely, Isikoff became too immersed in his story."

Tom Goldstein. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 5.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor

Coleridge: Darker Reflections, 1804–1834. Richard Holmes. New York: Pantheon, 1999. 622 pp. $32.00.

"Richard Holmes's first volume of this outstanding biography was titled *Early Visions*, as against this second and final volume's *Darker Reflections*. Even absolute beginners in Coleridgiana will be aware, then, that this latter half of Coleridge's life is to go, on the whole, downhill. Yet the extraordinary thing, as Dorothy Wordsworth saw, was how often he was on his feet again after crashing blows—breakdowns, near bankruptcies, publisher betrayals, tragedies in love and in friendship. Through it all, until old age smoothed things down a little, he never ceased to be a deeply unhappy man."

Rosemary Dinnage. *NYRB*, June 10, 1999: 7.

"[In this book] Holmes hoped to make him [Coleridge] 'leap out of these pages—brilliant, animated, endlessly provoking—and invade your imagination (as he does mine).' Certainly, in this superb second volume, he has succeeded in this."

Penelope Fitzgerald. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 7.

Cookson, Catherine

Catherine Cookson: The Biography. Kathleen Jones. London: Constable, 1999. 349 pp. £16.95.

"It is not surprising to discover from Catherine Cookson's fascinating biography what a richly wretched early life this troubled and driven woman endured. . . . The biography is thus the result of a remarkable gathering and sifting of evidence."

Charlotte Cory. *TLS*, May 28, 1999: 36.

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Copland, Aaron

Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man. Howard Pollack. New York: Holt, 1999. 690 pp. $37.50.

"The timing of the new Pollack biography is doubly felicitous. Not only does it celebrate the imminent centenary of Copland's birth in 1900, but with the waning of the high modernists who once dismissed him, Copland is due for a balanced and comprehensive reassessment. . . . Pollack does not completely address [some issues]. But he furnishes a necessary starting point for their proper investigation. . . . American cultural historians regularly ignore the complex and fascinating saga of our musical high culture. Perhaps this book will make a difference."

Joseph Horowitz. *LATBR*, May 30, 1999: 5.

Connolly, Cyril

Cyril Connolly: A Life. Jeremy Lewis. London: Jonathan Cape, 1999. 653 pp. $19.95.

"A 600-page biography of a book reviewer may seem an eccentric and supererogatory undertaking. However, *Cyril Connolly: A Life* is not only a fascinating portrait of a greatly gifted man whose work deserves to be remembered, but also a survey, lightly executed yet remarkably comprehensive, of a generation of Englishmen—it was practically all men, in those days, with one or two notable exceptions—who in youth seemed set to achieve great things, but whose subsequent careers fell far short of expectations."

John Banville. *NYRB*, June 24, 1999: 69.

Coolidge, Calvin

The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge. Robert H. Ferrell. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1998. 272 pp. $29.95.

"Ferrell, the author of more than three dozen books on American political history, seeks to reevaluate the Coolidge administration despite the ironic alliance of liberal historians who caricature Coolidge as complacent, lazy, humorless, hostile to progressivism and devoted to materialism and business, and conservative revisionists who celebrate Coolidge as a mossbacked antitax, anti-government ideologue."

Sheldon M. Stern. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.3 (Sept. 1999).

Cunanan, Andrew

Vulgar Favors: Andrew Cunanan, Gianni Versace, and the Largest Failed Manhunt in U.S. History. Maureen Orth. New York: Delacorte, 1999. 452 pp. $24.95.

"Orth, a contributor to Vanity Fair, seems to recognize this intrinsic drawback [that so much has happened elsewhere since the Versace

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murder], and she uses the book's prologue to invest her narrative with a significance beyond the outrageous and occasionally poignant details she has assembled. 'Vulgar Favors' is framed, somewhat disingenuously, as both a cautionary tale about unchecked materialism and hedonism and an exposé of the seamiest side of gay life, the possible fatal bunglings of law enforcement and the voracious appetites of scandal-chasing journalists."

Frank Bruni. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 34.

Three Month Fever: The Andrew Cunanan Story. Gary Indiana. New York: Cliff Street/HarperCollins, 1999. 254 pp. $25.00.

"Indiana admirably liberates one 'somewhat poignant and depressing but fairly ordinary' life from the post-Versace myth, but one wishes he explored more thoroughly the more interesting media cycle of irresponsible titillation and stereotyping that spurred his interest."

James Poniewozik. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 22.

Cuny, Fred

The Man Who Tried to Save the World: The Dangerous Life and Mysterious Disappearance of Fred Cuny. Scott Anderson. New York: Doubleday, 1999. 374 pp. $24.95.

"Scott Anderson has used the disappearance to write a mystery story, straight out of a plot from a novel by John Le Carre, whose Caucasus thriller, 'Our Game,' Cuny happened to be reading when he disappeared. 'The Man Who Tried to Save the World' works best, though, as biography, the story of a man whose youthful ambition to become a Marine pilot was thwarted and who instead turned his energies to helping victims of war. Finally, it is a chronicle of one of the bloodiest conflicts of our times, where Russia's 150-year grip on the Caucasus finally slipped."

Richard Beeston. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 35.

Deng Zhongxia

Marxist Intellectuals and the Chinese Labor Movement: A Study of Deng Zhongxia (1894–1933). Daniel Y. K. Kwann. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1997. 309 pp. $45.00.

"Dr. Kwann's book [is] basically . . . the biography of a radical labor leader, born in December 1894 in south Hunan and shot by a firing squad in Nanking in September 1933, and a monograph of the famous Shenggang Strike (Hong Kong-Guangzhou) which lasted from June 1925 to October 1926. As usual, relationships between the presentation of the adventures of a person and the history of a social movement in which he engaged are uneasy."

Alain Roux. *Journal of Asian Studies* 58.1 (Feb. 1999): 166–67.

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Déroulède, Paul

Déroulède: L'inventeur du nationalisme. Bertrand Joly. Paris: Perrin, 1999. 440 pp. F179.

Soldier, poet and agitator, Déroulède (1846–1914), at the head of the powerful Patriots' League, was a clamorous revanchist and a fierce foe of the Parliamentary Republic, to the extent of attempting a coup (1899), which failed lamentably and put an end to his political career. Joly's picture of Déroulède is full of benevolence and humor.

Véronique Hallereau. *Le Monde des Livres,* Feb. 26, 1999: 8.

Derrida, Jacques

La contre-allée. Catherine Malabou and Jacques Derrida. Paris: La Quinzaine Littéraire-Louis Vuitton, 1999. 312 pp. F150.

Always absent, always elsewhere, always on the move. "I wonder if I don't travel so much because I have the feeling that from France I have always been, as I was from school, expelled" (exclusion in accordance with Vichy laws, Algiers 1942). Besides, being at the confluence of three cultures—North African, Jewish, French—and bringing into France his Maghreb accent, he tended to think of himself as a wog. Hence the perpetual wandering, the perpetual flight—into writing.

Christian Delacampagne. *Le Monde des Livres,* Mar. 12, 1999: 1.

Dillon, Ham

Indiana Gothic: A Story of Adultery and Murder in an American Family. Pope Brock. New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1999. 302 pp. $24.95.

"'Indiana Gothic' is being sold as nonfiction, even though parts of it have clearly been invented. But whatever it is called, it is well worth reading."

Andrea Higbie. *NYTBR,* June 13, 1999: 20.

Doyle, Arthur Conan

Teller of Tales: The Life of Arthur Conan Doyle. Daniel Stashower. New York: Holt, 1999. 472 pp. $32.50.

"[This is] an excellent biography of the man who created Sherlock Holmes—and who would like to have been remembered for a great deal more."

David Watson. *NYTBR,* May 2, 1999: 34.

Dunn, Patrick

Mean Justice: A Town's Terror, a Prosecutor's Power, a Betrayal of Innocence. Edward Humes. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999. 491 pp. $26.00.

"Dunn was not exactly framed by the system, but he was trapped

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by it, because he lived in a county that convicted lots of innocent people. Edward Humes, a journalist and the author of a richly detailed book on juvenile courts, shows how this is possible anywhere the benefit of the doubt is allowed to shift from the defense to the prosecution."

Laura Mansnerus. *NYTBR*, May 9, 1999: 41.

Du Pont, Henry Francis

Henry F. du Pont and Winterthur: A Daughter's Portrait. Ruth Lord. New Haven: Yale UP, 1999. 300 pp. $27.50.

" . . . as this frank but affectionate memoir by his daughter shows, his [du Pont's] passion for Winterthur, the family's Delaware estate, rescued him from a life of gilded hopelessness."

The New Yorker, Apr. 26 and May 3, 1999: 191.

"This life of Henry Francis du Pont, founder and supporter of the great museum of Americana in Winterthur, Del., as told by the younger of his two daughters, Ruth Lord, is an admirable study of a highly individualistic, intensely sensitive, often querulous and demanding autocrat who combined his own genius as a spotter and collector of beautiful objects with a fortune inherited from du Pont gunpowder forebears to re-create in one vast house all that was finest in colonial and early American decoration. It is a fascinating story."

Louis Auchincloss. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 50.

Du Pré, Jacqueline

Jacqueline du Pré: Her Life, Her Music, Her Legend. Elizabeth Wilson. New York: Arcade, 1999. 466 pp. $27.95.

"Elizabeth Wilson is aware of the limitations of biography, and for that reason her life of Jacqueline du Pré is satisfying and invaluable."

Kevin Barry. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 16.

Duras, Marguerite

Marguerite Duras. Laure Adler. Paris: Gallimard, 1999. 627 pp. F155.

"Adler . . . paints . . . a much fuller picture. She does not express warts for warts' sake, for she can tell the difference between artistic licence and an intention to deceive. . . . Her Duras can laugh and be good company, but by the end is more often aggressively defensive, still afraid, living on the edge, vulnerable, and inseparable from her writing persona."

David Coward. *TLS*, May 21, 1999: 6–7.

Earp, Wyatt

Inventing Wyatt Earp: His Life and Many Legends. Allen Barra. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1999. 426 pp. $27.00.

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"Barra's well-researched, provocative study of the many stories and of his legend offers us a welcome opportunity to consider what our several versions of Wyatt Earp tell us about ourselves."

Richard E. Nicholls. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 25.

Edison, Thomas

Edison: A Life of Invention. Paul Israel. Chichester: Wiley, 1999. 552 pp. £19.50.

"Israel has been editing the 5 million pages of documents left by Edison and Associates for almost 20 years." He "does not engage in social construction of knowledge, nor feel obliged to explode myths of origin."

J. L. Heilbron. *TLS*, Apr. 2, 1999: 31.

Elizabeth II

The Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth II. Ben Pimlott. London: HarperCollins, 1996. 654 pp. £20.00.

"Pimlott had extraordinary facilities to write this biography. . . . Initial reaction to this book in some British newspapers was a sort of 'Ho hum. We've heard it all before.' This assessment seriously underrates the extent of Pimlott's achievement. He retells the political history of the reign with a deeply skeptical eye. . . . More important, he is the first historian to document the relationship between the palace and the press over the last fifty years."

William M. Kuhn. *Journal of British Studies* 38 (Apr. 1999): 267–72.

Erikson, Erik

Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik Erikson. Lawrence J. Friedman. New York: Scribner, 1999. 592 pp. $35.00.

"Already the subject of two books, and scores of praising and critical articles, Erikson might seem an unlikely candidate for a new and relatively long study. But this sympathetic portrait of Erik Erikson by the historian Lawrence J. Friedman proves to be well worth reading. Erikson's unusual life affected his work in ways that are fascinating and revealing, even for those who are not much in sympathy with his ideas. As someone who knew Erikson off and on for thirty years, I might have emphasized somewhat different aspects of his work; yet, in my view, Friedman's achievement as his biographer is definitive."

Howard Gardener. *NYRB*, June 24, 1999: 51.

Faulkner, William

Faulkner, Mississippi. Edouard Glissant. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999. 357 pp. $25.00.

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"[Glissant] describes the progression of Faulkner's work as 'an accumulating mystery and a whirling vertigo—gathering momentum rather than resolve.' This last characterization applies to the way in which Glissant himself proceeds: there are no demonstrations in his book, only observations that are slowly accumulated, insights gradually or suddenly revealed and questions raised—all of which transforms an academic project (undertaken when Glissant was teaching literature at Southern University in Baton Rouge) into a piece of writing that is often poetic."

Christine Schwartz Hartley. *NYTBR*, May 16, 1999: 28.

Foccart, Jacques

Dans les bottes du Général. Journal de l'Elysée III, 1969–1971. Jacques Foccart. Paris: Fayard, Jeune Afrique, 1999. 791 pp. F195.

A high functionary without a political mandate, Foccart reigned supreme on African affairs. He invented neocolonialism. Here, he wants to demonstrate that Pompidou just put on De Gaulle's boots. What Foccart demonstrates as well is that he was a disreputable plotter in the dark. His book is tantamount to an unwitting confession, revealing at once his state of mind and the scandalous practices of the régime.

Thierry Bréhier. *Le Monde des Livres*, May 14, 1999: 6.

Friedan, Betty

Betty Friedan: Her Life. Judith Hennessee. New York: Random House, 1999. 330 pp. $27.95.

Betty Friedan and the Making of "The Feminine Mystique": The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism. Daniel Horowitz. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1999. 354 pp. $29.95.

"Neither Hennessee nor Daniel Horowitz is quite up to the challenge Friedan poses as a subject. 'Betty Friedan: Her Life' is good on her personal life but too shallow and gossipy to convey the subtleties of her thinking. Horowitz's 'Betty Friedan and the Making of "The Feminine Mystique"' is more intellectually ambitious, but so tendentious you want to throw it across the room."

Judith Shulevitz. *NYTBR*, May 9, 1999: 18–19.

Frost, Robert

Robert Frost: A Life. Jay Parini. New York: Holt, 1999. 314 pp. $35.00.

[According to Frost] "'No sweeter music can come to my ears than the clash of arms over my dead body when I am down.' Jay Parini's sympathetic book might have seemed sweet music to Frost, but the clash of arms will continue."

Christopher Benfey. *NYTBR*, Apr. 25, 1999: 13.

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Furet, François

Un itinéraire intellectuel. L'historien journaliste de France-Observateur au Nouvel Observateur (1958–1997). François Furet. Ed. Mona Ozouf. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1999. 618 pp. F180.

A member of the communist party in 1958, of the Unified Socialist Party in the sixties, then discovering in the eighties that "democracy and market form an inseparable couple," Furet denied having become a rightist. "Writing that is not vindicating capitalism, it is acknowledging the ambiguous universality of the system that we thought, erroneously, that we could go beyond." Articles and preface help us catch the coherence of his intellectual itinerary.

Gilles Martinet. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 26, 1999: 11.

Gautier, Theophile

Theophile Gautier. Correspondance generale. Vols. 9 *(1865–1867)*, 10 *(1868–1869)*, and 11 *(1870–1871)*. Histoire des idées et critique littéraire 340, 349, 355. Geneve: Droz, 1995, 1996, 1996.

"The editors of this series are once again to be commended for the painstaking work required to assemble Gautier's extant correspondence into a useful, even entertaining format."

William G. Allen. *French Review* 72.4 (Apr. 1999): 756–57.

George III and IV

George III: A Personal History. Christopher Hibbert. New York: Basic, 1999. 464 pp. $27.00.

Prince of Pleasure: The Prince of Wales and the Making of the Regency. Saul David. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1999. 484 pp. $30.00.

"Fleshed out—and what monstrous flesh it proves to be—by Christopher Hibbert, the Old Pretender to the title of Britain's smoothest popular historian, and by Saul David, thrusting claimant to Hibbert's throne, and with even a sharper eye for the garishly telling detail than his old master's, the ramshackle Gothicity of the whole British royal business is lighted up as never before. 'George III' and 'Prince of Pleasure' make simply unputdownable theater of the personal and political absurd."

Valentine Cunningham. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 15–16.

Gore, Albert

Gore: A Political Life. Bob Zelnick. Washington: Regnery, 1999. 384 pp. $29.95.

"In 'Gore: A Political Life,' Bob Zelnick offers a useful and comprehensive survey of the highs and lows of Gore's political career. . . . But the book falls short in offering readers any sense of Gore that is more textured or revealing than what has already appeared in newspaper and magazine articles."

Richard L. Berke. *NYTBR*, Apr. 25, 1999: 19.

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Grant, Duncan

Duncan Grant: A Biography. Frances Spalding. North Pomfret, VT.: Pimlico/Trafalgar Square, 1999. 570 pp. $24.95.

"In the end, Spalding makes a powerful case for the dynamism that came of Grant's eclecticism, arguing that it was this very lack of fixity that allowed him to remain so inventive and open in old age. Even in his 90's, Grant continued to travel, paint and fall in love."

Andrea Barnet. *NYTBR,* June 6, 1999: 54.

Greer, Germaine

Germaine Greer: Untamed Shrew. Christine Wallace. New York: Faber and Faber, 1999. 333 pp. $27.50.

" . . . 'Germaine Greer: Untamed Shrew' veers into partisan sermonizing when it rebukes Greer for being insufficiently feminist (as the term has been narrowly defined by what feels like a shadowy female collective breathing down Wallace's neck). . . . Wallace should have just stuck to her story, which is spellbinding."

Camille Paglia. *NYTBR,* May 9, 1999: 19–20.

Guilloux, Louis

Louis Guilloux Biographie. Yves Loisel. Spézet: Coop Breizh, 1999. 280 pp. F148.

"Yves Loisel's biography of Guilloux is short, factual and seldom if ever speculative, which is no small relief in these days of over-researched and prurient biographies."

John Sturrock. *TLS,* May 21, 1999: 4–5.

Hamilton, Alexander

Alexander Hamilton, American. Richard Brookhiser. New York: The Free Press, 1999. 240 pp. $25.00.

"Richard Brookhiser, an editor at National Review and the author of the excellent 'Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington,' has brought us a dramatic, compact biography that fairly gallops through Hamilton's picaresque life. 'Alexander Hamilton, American' succeeds in arguing that Hamilton deserves greater credit than he usually gets for his brainpower, idealism, character and vision."

Michael R. Bechloss. *NYTBR,* Apr. 25, 1999: 10.

Hamilton, James, Duke of

Duke Hamilton is Dead! A Story of Aristocratic Life and Death in Stuart Britain. Victor Slater. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998. 332 pp. $26.00.

"Slater, who teaches history at Louisiana State University, gives the duel great immediacy with a richly detailed play-by-play of the

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proceedings. 'Duke Hamilton is Dead!' is occasionally repetitious, and it is a challenge to keep the cast of characters straight. But it will delight Anglophiles who can never get enough dowager duchesses and Knights of the Thistle."

Carol Peace Robins. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 20.

Herbart, Pierre

Textes retrouvés. Pierre Herbart. Paris: Le Promeneur-Gallimard, "Le Cabinet des lettrés," 1999. 154 pp. F90.

Posterity is unjust. Although Pierre Herbart's personal destiny was distinguished, and indeed almost legendary, he is mainly remembered as one living in the shadow of André Gide. In these "Textes retrouvés," augmented by a biographical note, one will find indeed, among other pieces, some memories concerning Gide.

P. K. *Le Monde des Livres*, May 28, 1999: 5.

Hicks, Edward

The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks. Carolyn J. Weekley. New York: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center/Colonial Williamsburg Foundation/Abrams, 1999. 254 pp. $39.95.

" . . . Carolyn J. Weekley, director of Museums at Colonial Williamsburg, deftly chronicles Hicks's early training as a decorative painter, his journey into the Quaker world and his lifelong struggle to reconcile his spiritual beliefs with his material needs. . . . Weekley has compiled a scholarly history of Hicks as both minister and painter, and of the turmoil these conflicting vocations wrought on his own kingdom."

Amy Todd. *NYTBR*, May 16, 1999: 28.

Hirohito

Hirohito and War: Imperial Tradition and Military Decision Making in Prewar Japan. Peter Wetzler. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1998. 294 pp. $38.00.

"In September 1945 the Shōwa emperor and his palace advisors launched a campaign to distance him from responsibility for the decision to attack the United States. . . . In private, especially in his so-called 'monologue' of 1946, the emperor continued to insist that he had unsuccessfully attempted to avoid the unavoidable war. . . . Peter Wetzler, who variously calls the Shōwa emperor an 'opportunist,' a 'liar,' 'less than candid' and a propagator of 'misinformation,' handily demolishes this myth in the first part of his book. Marshalling evidence calmly, he documents with great care the degree to which the Shōwa emperor was privy to the operational plans of the army and navy."

Peter Duus. *Journal of Asian Studies* 58.1 (Feb. 1999): 221–22.

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Hobbes, Thomas

Hobbes: A Biography. A. P. Martinich. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 390 pp. $49.00.

This book is "really an outline of the development of Thomas Hobbes's thought. . . . [It] is interesting for the light it throws on Hobbes's religious beliefs. . . . Hobbes was radical without being outside the mainstream of 17th-century Anglican doctrine."

William Christian. *The Globe and Mail*, June 5, 1999: D10.

Hussein, Saddam

Out of the Ashes: The Resurrection of Saddam Hussein. Andrew Cockburn and Patrick Cockburn. New York: HarperCollins, 1999. 322 pp. $26.00.

" . . . there are two problems with this book, one technical and one philosophical. The technical problem is that the sourcing is irregular. Some details are presented with footnotes; others are presented without a trace of source—a significant lapse in a book navigating such a rumor-filled swamp. The philosophical problem has two related parts concerning the failures of the American people and the desires of the Iraqi people."

Ethan Bronner. *NYTBR*, Apr. 25, 1999: 8.

James, Henry

A Private Life of Henry James: Two Women and His Art. Lyndall Gordon. New York: Norton, 1999. 500 pp. $30.00.

" . . . Lyndall Gordon has produced a remarkably entertaining and informative study, funny and moving by turns, full of fresh material and provocative assertions. Although she is an enthusiastic Jamesian, Gordon is anything but a hero-worshiper, and she firmly rejects the image of the solitary genius that James created through the 'phantasmagoria,' as Gordon skeptically calls it, of his autobiographical writings, the self-conscious mythologizing of the prefaces to the New York edition of his work and his selective destruction of personal letters."

Brooke Allen. *NYTBR*, May 16, 1999: 10.

Jewett, Pauline

Pauline Jewett: A Passion for Canada. Judith McKenzie. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1999. 204 pp. $24.50.

"With the publication of political scientist Judith McKenzie's [biography], interested parties will delight in discovering that the dearth of information on the St. Catherines pioneer MP, who would become the first woman appointed to the post of university president (at Simon Fraser University), has been supplanted by an articulate and clear-eyed chronological account of a woman of remarkable strength, courage and will."

Judith Fitzgerald. *The Globe and Mail*, July 3, 1999: D15.

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Johannessen, Anna

She Came to Live Out Loud: An Inspiring Family Journey Through Illness, Loss, and Grief. Myra MacPherson. New York: Scribner, 1999. 309 pp. $25.00.

"She [Anna Johannessen] invited Myra MacPherson to chronicle the end of her life as she endured a battery of treatments and struggled to help her children and husband prepare for the future without her. The outcome is a rich description of an optimistic, charismatic woman who stubbornly refused to allow illness to run her life, even while her feet went numb, her hair fell out and her insides shriveled."

Sara Ivry. *NYTBR*, May 9, 1999: 27.

Johnson, Lyndon

Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society. John A. Andrew III. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998. 224 pp. $24.95 cloth, $12.95 paper.

"John A. Andrew III sets out to correct the distortions coming from both the political Right and political Left of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society legislation. Focus[es] on 'the underlying ideas and principal objectives of the original Great Society legislation' . . ."

H. Warren Gardner. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.3 (Sept. 1999).

Joplin, Janis

Scars of Sweet Paradise: The Life and Times of Janis Joplin. Alice Echols. New York: Metropolitan/Holt, 1999. 408 pp. $26.00.

"Echols conducted more than 150 interviews for the book, in many cases talking to friends and associates who were at first reluctant to tell the story again. No doubt Echols won them over by stressing the book's sociological focus. But it is this very aspect that limits 'Scars of Sweet Paradise.' Well researched though it might be, the book has about it the air of a topic handled one too many times; the quotations feel picked over, and Joplin's life never leaps off the page. In addition, Echols has the habit of using quotations when a simple paraphrase would do."

Kim France. *NYTBR*, May 2, 1999: 13.

Jordan, Michael

For the Love of the Game: My Story. Michael Jordan. New York: Crown, 1999. 156 pp. $50.00.

" . . . he has published his own memoir—*For the Love of the Game: My Story.* Like Jordan himself, it seems more a product than a book, its prose a pottage of cliché, sermon, self-adulation, and self-righteousness, set off by glorious photographs and trick typography in a dazzling number of hues, fonts, and sizes, often centered for maximum effect."

Helen Epstein. *NYRB*, June 24, 1999: 14.

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Playing for Keeps: Michael Jordan and the World He Made. David Halberstam. New York: Random House, 1999. 430 pp. $24.95.

"Halberstam returns to basketball and to race in *Playing for Keeps*, the story of Michael Jordan's career and his final season with the Chicago Bulls. When *The Breaks of the Game* was published in 1981, Halberstam had noted the cracks that were beginning to show in the social and economic architecture of professional athletics. What interests him eighteen years later is the way in which those fissures widened to the point where they essentially forced the aging edifice, and the old ways in which business was done there, to collapse. Michael Jordan was not alone responsible for the structural changes, but his arrival on the pro basketball scene, and in a more important sense on the national economic stage, supplied the last and loudest trumpet that blew the walls down."

John Gregory Dunne. *NYRB*, July 15, 1999: 11.

Knowland, William F.

One Step from the White House: The Rise and Fall of Senator William F. Knowland. Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 361 pp. $29.95.

"This fascinating biography of California's once famous (or notorious) U.S. Senator is written by two professional journalists. . . . Born to wealth and power as the son of Joseph R. Knowland, the publisher of the powerful Oakland Tribune, who had been a California congressman and had almost made it into the United States Senate, Bill Knowland was, from the first, 'programmed' by his father and by himself for national political prominence, by no means excluding the presidency."

Jackson K. Putnam. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.2 (May 1999): 352–53.

Kriss, John

Harvesting the High Plains: John Kriss and the Business of Wheat Farmers, 1920–1950. Carl Miner. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1998. 225 pp. $25.95.

" . . . this is a first-rate work of scholarship that will be of interest to all students of agriculture in the Great Plains."

Michael W. Schuyler. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 491–92.

Land, Edward

Insisting in the Impossible: The Life of Edward Land. Victor K. McElheny. Reading, MA: Merloyd Lawrence/Perseus, 1999. 510 pp. $30.00.

"Aloof and intensely private, Land did not make himself an open biographical target. It would be easy to complain that we get little of the man in Victor K. McElheny's book, 'Insisting in the

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Impossible.' Never mind: in this biography we get plenty of good material on Land's technological superachievement."

Nancy Maull. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 28.

"Straightforward, unadorned, contemporary prose." "Refreshingly free from self-conscious over analysis."

J. L. Heilbron. *TLS*, Apr. 2, 1999: 31.

Lansbury, Angela

Balancing Act: The Authorized Biography of Angela Lansbury. Martin Gottfried. Boston: Little, Brown, 1999. 336 pp. $25.00.

"Gottfried's biography is highly readable, but 'authorized' is the key word here. The book is much more a chronological than psychological approach to what Gottfried, the author of 'Sondheim' and 'George Burns and the Hundred-Year Dash,' characterizes as the 'reserved, intensely private' Lansbury. Those looking for the dirt ought to look elsewhere."

Andrea Higbie. *NYTBR*, Mar. 21, 1999: 20.

Lartigue, Jacques Henri

Jacques Henri Lartigue, Photographer. Vicki Goldberg. Boston: Bullfinch/Little, Brown, 1999. 126 pp. $95.00.

"[The book] is beautiful: the black-and-white prints have been gorgeously reproduced, giving this volume more the feel of a portfolio than a book. Goldberg's comments are illuminating. But most of all, she lets these exuberant images speak for themselves."

Andrea Barnet. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 25.

Law, Bonar

Bonar Law. R. J. Q. Adams. London: John Murray, 1999. 548 pp. £25.00.

"The perspective of *Bonar Law* adds little to the existing understanding of the period itself. . . . Nevertheless, the political history of this biography is excellent, especially after 1916 when Law comes into his own."

Alan Sykes. *TLS*, Apr. 23, 1999: 36.

Lee Kuan Yew

The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew. Lee Kuan Yew. New York: Prentice Hall, 1999. 680 pp. $29.99.

"Not a Singapore story, but *the* Singapore story: it is a bit grandiose to identify one's life story with that of one's country, but in Lee Kuan Yew's case perhaps not entirely unjustifiable. Singapore existed as a place before Lee, but the Singapore we know today was shaped to a remarkable extent in his image. . . . Much of the autobiography,

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which ends in 1965, when Singapore was separated from Malaysia (the next volume is yet to come), concerns Lee's relations with his Communist, or 'communist,' enemies."

Ian Buruma. *NYRB*, June 10, 1999: 34.

Lenya, Lotte

Lenya: The Legend, a Pictorial Autobiography. Ed. David Farneth. Woodstock: Overlook, 1999. 254 pp. $45.00.

"This handsome volume, published to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Lotte Lenya's birth, charts the singer's often tumultuous life through photographs and her own words. Editor David Farneth has expertly culled these reminiscences from letters, interviews and autobiographical notes, stepping in only when his subject's memory proves faulty or selective."

Paul Gruber. *Opera News* 63.10 (Apr. 1999): 95.

Lewinsky, Monica

Monica's Story. Andrew Morton. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. 288 pp. $24.95.

"There is still an important book to be written by someone with political insight into what this past year teaches us about the connection between character and leadership. Perhaps it was unfair to think this might have been that book."

Michael Oreskes. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 6.

Lynes, George Platt, Monroe Wheeler, and Glenway Westcott

When We Were Three: The Travel Albums of George Platt Lynes, Monroe Wheeler, and Glenway Wescott, 1925–1935. Anatole Poharilenko and James Crump. Santa Fe: Arena, 1999. 299 pp. $65.00.

"The photographer George Platt Lynes and the writer Glenway Wescott are two-thirds of the triangle brought to light in 'When We Were Three,' a beautifully produced text-and-photo compilation that is part love story, part informal history and part excavation of the gay demimonde between the world wars. The third man in this 'marvelous ménage,' as James Crump calls it in one of two informative essays that accompany the 200 or so photographs of these 'travel albums,' was Monroe Wheeler."

Christopher Benfey. *NYTBR*, Mar. 21, 1999: 9.

MacDonald, Jeanette

Hollywood Diva: A Biography of Jeanette MacDonald. Edward Baron Turk. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 450 pp. $35.00.

"Turk has had access to MacDonald's private papers (including her unpublished autobiography), and his book boasts a formidable critical apparatus."

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Nick Roddick. *Sight and Sound* 9.5 (May 1999): 32.

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Macdonald, Ross

Ross Macdonald: A Biography. Tom Nolan. New York: Scribner, 1999. 496 pp. $32.00.

"Throughout his life, [Ross Macdonald, born Ken Millar] tried to make sense of his fractured identity. His books are searches into the hurt of his early troubled years in Kitchener, Wiarton and Winnipeg, explorations of a California sun that hides sordid secrets in tidal pools and under rocks that were thought best not to be moved. . . . It took a discerning eye to see that the Ross Macdonald books were more than brass-rubbings of earlier models. He took the *noir* out into the California sunshine and dipped it in Freud."

Howard Engel. *The Globe and Mail,* May 1, 1999: D11.

"The book has occupied [Nolan] for the better part of a decade and is demonstrably a labor of loving insight and celebration, yet it is unblinkingly candid about the complexities and contradictions of Macdonald, the sometimes vexing nature of his marriage to Margaret Millar and the trouble-strewn life of their only child. . . . Nolan's minutely researched, eloquent and definitive critical biography makes movingly clear how significant [Macdonald's] footsteps were [for detective writers who followed him]."

Charles Champlin. *LATBR,* Apr. 4, 1999: 10.

Magnuson, Warren G.

Warren G. Magnuson and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century America. Shelby Scates. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1997. 360 pp. $27.50.

"Shelby Scates's biography of Warren Magnuson is a lively and authoritative insider's guide to one of the most influential liberal politicians of the New Deal order. Scates admirably details Magnuson's achievements . . . and . . . begins the important task of evaluating Magnuson's place in twentieth-century politics."

Robert D. Johnston. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 484–85.

Marion, Frances

Without Lying Down: Frances Marion and the Powerful Women of Early Hollywood. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 475 pp. $30.00 cloth, $17.95 paper.

"Most of us would assume that the major breakthroughs for women in film-making took place during and after the feminist movement of the 1970s. Not so. Frances Marion was one of a generation of women who could be found editing, screenwriting, and even directing and producing films before the rise of the studio system."

Karne Ward Mahar. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 481–83.

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Mary Queen of Scots

Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation. Jayne Elizabeth Lewis. London: Routledge, 1999. 259 pp. £14.99.

" . . . Jayne Lewis argues that the emergence of a nation is as much a family romance as a history, as much a 'drama of compulsion and desire' as 'a sequence of rationally analysable events.'"

Lorna Hutson. *TLS*, Apr. 23, 1999: 31.

Menchú, Rigoberta

Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans. David Stoll. Boulder: Westview, 1999. 336 pp. $27.00.

"'My story,' she [Menchú] is quoted as saying by way of introduction, 'is the story of all poor Guatemalans.' That claim is the primary target of the detailed, sometimes fascinating and often tedious attack that David Stoll mounts in 'Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans.' If not a phony, he contends, the heroine of so many college freshmen is the author of an elaborate personal myth, one in which she embroidered liberally on some experiences, fabricated others and hid all others from public view. Stoll, an anthropologist at Middlebury College, concedes that many Guatemalan peasants suffered the sort of horrors Menchú recounts when the army waged a murderous campaign against the rebels, beginning in the late 1970's. But where her testimony turns to fiction, he writes, it also becomes propaganda for the guerrilla army with which she was allied."

Tom Golden. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 29.

Michelangelo (Buonarroti)

Three Worlds of Michelangelo. James H. Beck. New York: Norton, 1999. 269 pp. $25.95.

"This biography balances the breezy style of contemporary accounts by Vasari and Condivi with the accumulated knowledge of scholarly investigation. . . . If at times Beck gets a bit conjectural, the payoff is his evocation of the living artist, 'neither painter nor sculptor, overcoming the boundaries of medium.'"

The New Yorker, Apr. 19, 1999: 98.

Mitterand, François

La décennie Mitterand. Tome IV. *Les déchirements.* Pierre Favier and Michel Martin-Roland. Paris: Seuil, 1999. 642 pp. F160.

Mitterand didn't write memoirs, he told them to the authors who took the pen in his place. This book will find readers among those who are interested in those fourteen years (not ten as the title curiously suggests) from which a new France emerged, but its basic flaw is that the authors proffer the Elysée's version and nothing else. Still, true historians will use it cautiously.

Thierry Bréhier. *Le Monde des Livres*, Mar. 19, 1999: 15.

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Modotti, Tina

Shadows, Fire, Snow: The Life of Tina Modotti. Patricia Albers. New York: Clarkson Potter, 1999. 382 pp. $30.00.

Tina Modotti: A Life. Pino Cacucci. Trans. Patrick J. Duncan. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. 224 pp. $24.95.

"Albers has managed scrupulously to weave together all the loose threads of Modotti's life, without trying to prettify the sometimes clashing patterns that emerge. As in the photographer's finest work, the textures are more fascinating when allowed to retain a bit of mystery. . . . Substantially shorter, and bumpily translated from the Italian by Patrick J. Duncan, Cacucci's book skips Modotti's childhood—an odd decision considering the author's nationality—and most of her early years to focus on the political drama of her last phase. He spends precious few pages on Modotti's photography, and describes it as 'a means, a transition' to her political missions rather than as a subject worth much study."

Ted Loos. *NYTBR,* May 2, 1999: 24.

Moore, Harry T.

Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr. Ben Green. New York: The Free Press, 1999. 310 pp. $25.00.

"Green has performed a valuable service in bringing attention once more to this courageous man. He does a good job of conjuring up the bug-infested, sweaty towns that are the backdrop. The story is dramatic because of its very obscurity. But this book is flawed by a tendency toward hyperbole (starting with the subtitle: it seems unlikely that Moore was America's 'first' civil rights martyr) and cliché. Mobs are 'unruly' and poverty is 'grinding.' And Green, in researching his book, has spent too much time listening to doubtful theories about Moore's death in the furtive world of former Klansmen, whose entire reason for existing is to get drunk and talk."

Amy Nossitar. *NYTBR,* June 13, 1999: 17.

Morgan, John Pierpont

Morgan: American Financier. Jean Strouse. New York: Random House, 1999. 800 pp. $34.95.

"This book is not a whitewash, but neither is it a full explanation of Morgan's financial importance and legacy. He was armourer to the Union in the Civil War, financing essential gun purchases for tidy profits, banker of last resort to the Treasury, maestro of the industrial revolution and impresario of the Metropolitan Museum. But there were no Faustian bargains, no devils to be paid. Though he was grilled by senators determined to root out monopolies, Morgan maintained his respect for government and kept up his philanthropies. Between paragraphs detailing his orders for violets

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at a certain fashionable New York florist and an examination of his interest in collecting Babylonian seals, Morgan's portrait by Strouse emerges, either (pick one) rich in detail or maddeningly trivial."

Andrew Allentuck. *The Globe and Mail*, Apr. 24, 1999: E3.

"No one else has told the story of Pierpont Morgan in the detail, depth and understanding of Jean Strouse, who spent nearly a decade searching for the living truth behind the mythology of Morganalia. This effort . . . took Strouse to many previously unexplored sources of the Morgan saga . . . [and] is a riveting detective story, oddly left out of the book. It is a pity, for 'Morgan' is in every other respect a masterpiece."

Robert Heilbroner. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 3.

Moro, Aldo

Le Prisonnier: 55 jours avec Aldo Moro. Anna Laura Braghetti and Paola Tavella. Trans. Josette Monfort. Paris: Denoël, 1999. 202 pp. F130.

Aldo Moro was kidnapped by four Red Brigades, including one woman, Anna Laura Braghetti (life sentence commuted into a semi-freedom régime). In spite of Moro's appeal, the Pope's imploration, and the jailers' reluctance to kill their prisoner, Moro was shot down because of the rigidity of the government: they refused to acknowledge the Red Brigades as valid negotiators.

Daniel Vernet. *Le Monde des Livres*, May 14, 1999: 6.

Nabokov, Véra

Véra (Mrs. Vladimir Nabokov). Stacy Schiff. New York: Random House, 1999. 456 pp. $27.95.

"Before she first put herself in Nabokov's way, Véra was convinced of his literary genius, and utterly sure both of her own powers as a reader and of the paltriness of her powers as a writer compared with his gifts. Where Joyce liked the fact that his wife, Nora, had no understanding of his work, Nabokov enjoyed writing for Véra as his first and best reader, and for all her natural complaints about the workload his fame brought, she was proud to do all she could to leave him all the time possible to create. Schiff knows this, even if she does not explain it well."

Brian Boyd. *The Globe and Mail*, May 15, 1999: D15.

"This portrait of a 52-year marriage to a woman who was a writer's prime reader opens up Nabokov's private life, complementing the two-volume biography by Brian Boyd. But the triumph of 'Véra' is not just providing entrée to her famous husband. She fascinates in her own right as the 'émigré' of Berlin and Paris who appears in America a mere 'refugee,' a white-haired wraith hunting butterflies in her odd black dress."

Lyndall Gordon. *NYTBR*, Apr. 25, 1999: 34.

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Nansen, Fridtjof

Nansen: The Explorer as Hero. Roland Huntford. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1999. 610 pp. $19.95.

". . . the photograph of Nansen on the book's cover suggests self-conscious heroism, and a great virtue of Huntford's extraordinarily well-researched book is that it allows one to ponder the cost of the ideals Nansen so energetically lived up to."

Annette Kobak. *NYTBR*, May 16, 1999: 16–17.

Nin, Anaïs

Comme un arc-en-ciel: Journal inédit non expurgé 1937–1939. Anaïs Nin. Trans. Béatrice Commengé [*Nearer the Moon*]. Paris: Stock, 1999. 412 pp. F140.

The third volume of the unexpurgated Journal, now accessible in French, covers Anaïs Nin's French period (1937–1939). It reveals the secret affective geography of the diarist (the passionate triangle she composed with Henry Miller and Gonzalo Moré), and contains her first reflections on feminine writing ("Women's art must come from the womb, not from the brain"). But the Journal of the "divine liar" is such a labyrinth that many questions remain unanswered.

Christine Rousseau. *Le Monde des Livres*, Apr. 23, 1999: 4.

Nixon, Richard

Tricky Dick and the Pink Lady: Richard Nixon vs. Helen Gahagan Douglas —Sexual Politics and the Red Scare, 1950. Greg Mitchell. New York: Random House, 1998. 316 pp. $25.00.

"Newly available for this book were several boxes of Nixon papers and campaign material, including memos by Nixon and his campaign manager Murray Chotiner. Mitchell . . . sets the Nixon-Douglas race within the context of California politics and national history."

Susan M. Hartmann. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (June 1999): 493–94.

Olmsted, Frederick Law

A Clearing in The Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century. Witold Rybczynski. New York: Scribner, 1999. 480 pp. $28.00.

"Witold Rybczynski, who is a professor of urbanism at the University of Pennsylvania and has written eight books, including 'City Life' and 'Home: The Short History of an Idea,' also reflects Olmsted's character in the style in which he renders him in his excellent biography, 'A Clearing in the Distance.' It's a straightforward work, thorough and respectful, yet easeful in a way that is reminiscent of Olmsted himself."

Suzanna Lessard. *NYTBR*, June 13, 1999: 7.

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Pasteur, Louis

Louis Pasteur. Patrice Debré. Trans. Elborg Forster. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1998. 552 pp. $39.95.

"Interest in Pasteur and his discoveries that revolutionized biology, chemistry, agriculture, medicine, industry, surgery, public hygiene and the environment peaked recently in 1995, the centennial of his death. . . . Among the commemorative books to appear, now available in a felicitous English translation, was an extensive and balanced biography by Patrice Debré. . . . Debré's is a book that could only have been written by a scientist who is a Frenchman. He exhibits intimate familiarity with all the locales where Pasteur spent his professional and personal life."

George B. Kauffman. *American Scientist* 87.4 (July–Aug. 1999): 378–79.

Pickford, Mary

Mary Pickford Rediscovered: Rare Pictures of a Hollywood Legend. Kevin Brownlow. New York: Abrams/Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, 1999. 256 pp. $39.95.

"Anyone who has seen a few of the major Pickford films knows that she was a great deal more than a cuddly little girl in ringlets and pinafores, but how much more is amply and beautifully demonstrated in 'Mary Pickford Rediscovered,' a celebratory work of re-evaluation by the film historian Kevin Brownlow. [Robert] Cushman, who is also the photographic services administrator at the academy's Margaret Herrick Library, has selected the book's exquisite photographs and movie stills, which range from Pickford at her most winsomely beautiful to her most unrecognizably, even grotesquely, plain. Brownlow, one of our most eloquent guides to silent cinema, provides fascinating background stories and appreciations of the films themselves."

Molly Haskell. *NYTBR,* June 6, 1999: 9.

Praeger, Robert Lloyd

Robert Lloyd Praeger: The Life of a Naturalist. Sean Lysaght. Dublin: Four Courts, 1999. 208 pp. £25.00.

"The academic part of the book is impeccable, indeed, and pays belated tribute to Praeger's considerable achievements. . . . However, one can't regard it as in any sense an attempt to infuse immediacy into an irrecoverable life." The author "is extraordinarily incurious about his subject's personal activities."

Patricia Craig. *TLS,* Apr. 23, 1999: 30.

The Pressman Family

The Rise and Fall of the House of Barneys: A Family Tale of Chutzpah, Glory and Greed. Joshua Levine. New York: William Morrow, 1999. 256 pp. $25.00.

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"If the story of Barneys' bankruptcy is more than a footnote in the history of 20th-century retailing, then Levine may just have cornered himself a market. But the fact that a family—enthralled by the deep pockets of Japanese investors—built a high-end clothing mini-empire, took their show on the road and flopped, fighting all the way over whose fault it was, is not the 'Yiddish theater Euripides' that he claims. . . . This is not the stuff of tragedy. It's really just business."

Jennifer Steinhauer. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 25.

Pushkin, Alexander

Pushkin's Button. Serena Vitale. London: Fourth Estate, 1999. 398 pp. £16.99.

An analysis of the circumstances surrounding Pushkin's death in a duel. "What severely compromises this account is its failure to see Pushkin's role in his own tragedy."

Andrew Kahn. *TLS*, May 28, 1999: 25.

Puységur, Armand de, Marquis

Un somnambule désordonné? Journal du traitement magnétique du jeune Hébert. Armand de Puységur. Préface de Jean-Pierre Peter. Paris: Institut synthélabo, "Les empêcheurs de penser en round," 1999. 306 pp. F80.

Puységur initiated psychic therapy. Beyond the obvious scientific interest of this Journal, one discovers with emotion the incredible character of the relationship that established itself between the old marquis and his young patient. Puységur puts him up in his chateau, sometimes sleeps by his side to spare him the anguish born from repetitive cries of frenzy, takes him along on his trips in order to train him to a normal life, and finally cures him.

Elizabeth Roudinesco. *Le Monde des Livres*, Mar. 26, 1999: 1.

Quillot, Roger

Mémoires. Roger Quillot. Préface de Claire Quillot. Paris: Odile Jacob, 1999. 286 pp. F130.

Universitarian, former Minister, editor of Camus in the La Pléiade collection, and never too strong, Quillot took his own life (in 1998). His Memoirs show a classical meritocratic itinerary. He was the pupil who applied himself. As a writer, he applies himself too. A sharp observer, he is at once lucid and tough, without indulgence for himself, without bragging about his successes. The world of his childhood (the North and its coal mines) is absolutely bygone.

Patrick Jarreau. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 12, 1999: 9.

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Radcliffe, Anne

Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Anne Radcliffe. Richard Norton. London: Leicester UP/Cassell and Continuum, 1999. $19.95.

"With its quotations from remote archives bolstered by sensitive analysis of Radcliffe's books, 'Mistress of Udolpho' reads at times like a scholarly detective novel. The heroine remains an enigma, but her world comes vividly to life."

Diane Jacobs. *NYTBR*, Apr. 25, 1999: 21.

Ramsey, Jon Benet

Perfect Murder, Perfect Town. Lawrence Schiller. New York: HarperCollins, 1999. 621 pp. $26.00.

"'Perfect Murder, Perfect Town' is Schiller's overstuffed scrapbook on the Ramsey case. He vacuumed up all the details he could lay his hands on, assembled them with the numbingly chronological quality of Board of Assessment minutes, then tossed in newspaper clippings, press releases, snippets of television transcripts, letters of resignation, first-person ruminations by participants, memos, e-mail and one Jay Leno joke."

Janny Scott. *NYTBR*, Mar. 21, 1999: 7.

Rassinier, Paul

Fabrication d'un antisémite. Nadine Fresco. Paris: Seuil, "La librairie du Xxe siècle," 1999. 595 pp. F180.

For many, negationism is such an aberration of the mind that it is a mystery. For Nadine Fresco, it is not: the negation of the nazi gas chambers is a cancer contracted in antisemitism, and which is now spreading on the web, as demonstrated through the biography of one of the first propagators.

Michel Contat. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 12, 1999: 7.

Red Cloud

Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesman of the Lakota Sioux. Robert W. Larson. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1997. 336 pp. $24.95.

"Larson often exhibits careful scholarship, supplementing traditional documentary evidence with oral accounts to flesh out important details. . . . Unfortunately, Larson's prose paints an image of an Indian leader without conveying any real sense of the political, social, and spiritual nature of Oglala society. . . . Larson offers a highly readable biography. . . . Far too often, Larson sees and describes the man, but he ignores the culture in which that man lived."

Henry E. Stamm IV. *The Historian* 61 (Winter 1999): 423–24.

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Roberts, Clifford

The Making of the Masters: Clifford Roberts, Augusta National, and Golf's Most Prestigious Tournament. David Owen. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999. 289 pp. $25.00.

" . . . Owen is remarkably complete. He presents convincing rebuttals to some of the more established tales of Roberts at his most arbitrary and abusive, including those concerning Frank Stranahan's expulsion from the Masters, Jack Whitaker's removal from the broadcast of the tournament and Charlie Sifford's attempt to become the first black golfer to play in the Masters."

Jaime Diaz. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 1999: 42.

Robertson, Sir William

Field Marshal Sir William Robertson: Chief of the Imperial General Staff in the Great War. David R. Woodward. London: Praeger, 1999. 300 pp. £46.50.

"Woodward's dispassionate and scrupulously documented *Field Marshall Sir William Robertson* throws further light on this blunt, but militarily adroit soldier's battles in Whitehall. . . . [But Woodward has] missed the opportunity to provide an authoritative summing-up of Robertson's views and achievements as CIGS."

Brian Bond. *TLS*, Apr. 9, 1999: 38.

Roy, Gabrielle

Gabrielle Roy: A Life. François Ricard. Trans. Patricia Claxton. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1999. 512 pp. $37.50.

"Ricard . . . writes here with patrician fondness tempered by a clear sense of historical responsibility. Toward the end of Roy's life, Ricard became first her young literary protégé and later her editorial protector. . . . Roy's was the first Canadian fiction to dominate bestseller lists and critics' hearts in both Canada and Quebec, while garnering international acclaim. . . . In *Gabrielle Roy*, Roy's painful ghosts are finally discussed with directness. The homosexuality of Roy's husband, Marcel Carbotgte, and the strains that this put on their marriage, are dealt with head-on. . . . Ricard delights in salting descriptions of Roy's activities with relevant political and cultural facts; the result is that her life does not read as an individual line drawn flimsily through time, but is wholly integrated with her milieu."

Beverley Daurio. *The Globe and Mail*, May 22, 1999: D14.

Sade, Donatien-Alphonse François, Comte de, dit le Marquis de

The Marquis de Sade: A Life. Neil Schaeffer. New York: Knopf, 1999. 567 pp. $35.00.

"Schaeffer, a professor of English at Brooklyn College, enters this fray with the sense of urgency peculiar to Sade studies. His primary

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focus is on Sade's psychological development. Because of the minimal documentation, the early parts of 'The Marquis de Sade' are the weakest. Proceeding from the not unreasonable assumption that trauma occurred, but without any one particular thing from which to infer it, Schaeffer tends to cover all eventualities by depicting everything in Sade's childhood as traumatic—the move to Provence, the move from Provence, the stress of academic expectations, war and marriage are all suggested as motivators for what is after all only a presumed personality type, the shy and angry loner who believed that 'if he became an object of discipline, this meant that he was not alone in an indifferent world.' In spots, Schaeffer's attempts to penetrate Sade's psychological character are more earnest than they are astute. Occasionally they are silly."

Mim Udovitch. *NYTBR*, June 13, 1999: 12–13.

AND *Sade: A Biographical Essay.* Laurence L. Bongie. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. 336 pp. $27.50.

At Home with the Marquis de Sade. Francine du Plessix Gray. London: Chatto and Windus, 1999. 494 pp. £20.00

"Bongie aims a battery of acerbic erudition at de Sade's modern defenders. . . . Both [Bongie and Gray] are scrupulous in citing their sources, and thread through the roselit substructures of nineteenth-century France with agility—Bongie with scholarly authority, Gray with the brio of a consummate storyteller. . . . [Schaeffer's book is] an earnest, linguistically clumsy blockbuster bristling with anachronistic psychobabble. . . . [S]uch champions leave [de Sade] safer in the hands of his enemies."

Christina Mott. *TLS*, May 21, 1999: 9–10.

Shackleton, Ernest

The Endurance: Shackleton's Legendary Antarctic Expedition. Caroline Alexander. New York: Knopf, 1998. 211 pp. $29.95.

"There are few emotions more profitable than principled envy, and that may be why Caroline Alexander's 'The Endurance' has been such a gratifying hit. Her brisk and well-turned account of Shackleton's voyage—written to accompany the exhibition, of which Alexander herself is the curator—has been reprinted seven times, and has sold close to two hundred thousand copies since it came out in November, suggesting a hitherto unsuspected desire on the part of ordinary Americans to eat dog food and fried seal just south of the sixty-sixth parallel."

Anthony Lane. *The New Yorker*, Apr. 12, 1999: 96–101.

Smith, W. Eugene

W. Eugene Smith: Photographs 1934–1975. Ed. Gilles Mora and John T. Hill. New York: Abrams, 1999. 352 pp. $75.00.

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[This book] "presents a balanced assessment of this talented and troubled figure. The 350 photographs are richly reproduced and reflect the scope of Smith's work from banal early magazine pictures to the searing image of a mother holding her deformed daughter."

Rosemary Ranck. *NYTBR*, Apr. 25, 1999: 21.

Stevenson, Robert Louis—Ancestors

The Lighthouse Stevensons: The Story of the Building of the Scottish Lighthouses by the Ancestors of Robert Louis Stevenson. Bella Bathurst. London: HarperCollins, 1999. 259 pp. £15.99.

"The feat reconstructed in Bella Bathurst's book is a collective one. . . . [Her book is] a sweetly written and suitably lucid contribution to the history of these exhilarating kindly lights of nineteenth-century Scotland, and is full of the good stories that the sub-genre of scientific adventure requires."

Karl Miller. *TLS*, May 7, 1999: 26.

Strindberg, August

August Strindberg, visages et destin. Elena Balzamo. Paris: Viviane Hamy, 1998. 320 pp. F180.

"A scientist without science," "a writer for lack of another trade," his work "a gigantic commentary on his readings," his personality "a fragile, perhaps empty, shell"; "while writing he practices science by other means, and while busying himself with scientific research he creates literature," such are some of Elena Balzamo's formulas to light up (with the help of Strindberg's works and correspondence) a man with multiple I's.

Jean-Louis Perrier. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 21, 1999: 5.

Swift, Jonathan

Jonathan Swift: A Portrait. Victoria Glendinning. Toronto: Doubleday, 1999. 324 pp. $24.95.

"*Jonathan Swift* is as unconventional and original a biography as Swift was a man. Glendinning, whose previous subjects, including Anthony Trollope and Rebecca West, lived not quite so far outside the pale, is invigorated by this strange and difficult man into reworking the form. By her own admission, the book is about 300 pages short of the usual biographical heft, and that much more loaded with both a self-consciousness about process and with what might be called authorial 'attitude.'"

Charles Foran. *The Globe and Mail*, June 19, 1999: D12.

Tecumseh

Tecumseh: A Life. John Sugden. New York: Holt, 1998. 492 pp. $34.95.

"One of the most intriguing figures in American Indian history, Tecumseh emerged after the American Revolution as the architect of

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a vast pan-Indian alliance. . . . John Sugden tells this story in enormous detail."

Clyde Ellis. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 465–66.

Tejada, Miguel

Away Games: The Life and Times Of a Latin Baseball Player. Marcos Breton and Jose Luis Villegas. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999. 272 pp. $23.00.

"As long as 'Away Games' concentrates on Tejada, it is truly engrossing. But Breton, a senior writer at The Sacramento Bee, and Villegas, a photographer at the same newspaper, have broader ambitions. They also want to use Tejada's story as a means of reflecting upon the more general plight of Latin ballplayers in the United States. It's a worthy subject, an important and, in many ways, bitter story."

Nicholas Davidoff. *NYTBR*, May 30, 1999: 7.

Townes, Charles H.

How the Laser Happened: Adventures of a Scientist. Charles H. Townes. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. 256 pp. $35.00.

"Townes's autobiography, *How the Laser Happened*, captures how an insight can spawn broadly applicable technology from basic scientific principles. It is, however, charitable to few. It is the practical writing of a practical man, and it is often bitter and deprecating of others."

Samuel J. Petuchowski. *American Scientist* 87.4 (July-Aug. 1999): 374.

Trist, Nicolas

Defiant Peacemaker: Nicolas Trist in the Mexican War. Wallace Ohrt. College Station: Texas A & M UP, 1998. 190 pp. $29.95.

"Regarding Trist in Mexico, Ohrt tells a familiar story, but one that is sympathetic to Trist and hostile to Polk. Trist had to negotiate not only with Mexican officials, a tremendous challenge for certain, but also with General Scott and others."

Paul H. Bergeron. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 468–69.

Truffaut, François

Truffaut: A Biography. Antoine de Baeque and Serge Toubiana. Trans. Catherine Temerson. New York: Knopf, 1999. 462 pp. $30.00.

The authors "have written a definitive biography, adopting a fractured method that breaks down Truffaut's teeming life into a series of bite-sized subsections fronted by some pithy headings. . . . This marvellous biography demonstrates that even though Truffaut still thought of himself as a child staring up at that luminous screen filled with possibilities, he was no longer so terribly and pitifully alone in the darkness."

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David Weaver. *The Globe and Mail*, May 15, 1999: D10.

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"'Truffaut' is not helped by Catherine Temerson's unnuanced translation, but its problems are more deeply bred. Asked why he chose to appear in 'The Green Room,' Truffaut answered: 'So the film would be more intimate. . . . "The Green Room" is like a letter written by hand.' He deserves a biography that leaves his imprint, with all its intimacy and passion."

Caryn James. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 10.

Truman, Harry S

Harry S Truman and the Bomb: A Documentary History. Ed. Robert H. Ferrell. Worland, WY: High Plains, 1996. 128 pp. $19.95.

"In interpreting the use of the A-Bomb, Ferrell particularly stresses Truman's fear of substantial American battle casualties (wounded, missing, killed), especially after about seventy-five thousand GIs were wounded or killed at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Thus, in Ferrell's view, the president greatly desired to avoid the costly invasion of Japan."

Barton J. Bernstein. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (1999): 488–90.

Ventura, Jesse

Body Slam: The Jesse Ventura Story. Jake Tapper. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. 249 pp. $5.99.

"Jake Tapper's quickie book *Body Slam* is, expectedly, not long on analysis, but it does a good job of showing how tenuous has been Venuura's hold on employment. Even Ventura joked to the delegate at Girls State who asked him about his future in politics that 'I've never held a job for long, so I may not have a long future in politics.' He was not the great success as a wrestler that his own book claims. Tapper quotes knowledgeable critics who say his basic moves were poor."

Garry Wills. *NYRB*, Aug. 12, 1999: 40.

Versace, Gianni. See **Cunanan, Andrew.**

Villa, Pancho

The Life and Times of Pancho Villa. Friedrich Katz. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998. 1032 pp. $29.95.

"Together with John Womack's 'Zapata,' it forms a diptych of great biographies of leaders of the Mexican Revolution. . . . Katz raises all the questions the 'myth of Pancho Villa' overlooks. . . . Diligent, extremely well-documented, fluid and elegant at all times, Friedrich Katz presents Mexicans with our ghosts alive."

Carlos Fuentes. *LATBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 2.

Virgil

Virgil: His Life and Times. Peter Levi. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. 248 pp. $27.95.

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"In the end, Levi's contribution to Virgilian biography rests upon a silent rearranging of the trajectory of the career described in the poet's epitaph: Virgil should be remembered for having sung 'the crown, the shepherd's crook, the spade'—in that order."

James Shapiro. *NYTBR*, Mar. 21, 1999: 11.

The Wagners

Twilight of the Wagners: The Unveiling of a Family's Legacy. Gottfried Wagner. Trans. Della Couling. New York: Picador USA/St. Martin's, 1999. 320 pp. $25.00.

"This well-written, often well-translated post-World War II memoir reads like a detective story in which Gottfried, born in 1947, gradually finds out about his relatives' complicity with the Third Reich's propaganda machine. . . . While Gottfried sometimes falls into the sad-sack whining tone of a professional 'injustice collector,' his memoirs nevertheless compel respect for his honesty."

Steven R. Cerf. *Opera News* 63.12 (June 1999): 52.

Washington, George

George Washington: A Life. Willard Sterne Randall. New York: Holt, 1997. 548 pp. $35.00.

"Reading about Washington as a young man was the most interesting part of this book. . . . It is important to point out that Washington was intimately involved in the events leading up to the split between the colonies and England. He was willing to lead the charge and willing to risk his life and fortune to defend the rights of Americans."

Robert Previdi. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (June 1999): 498–501.

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of

On Wellington: The Duke and His Art of War. Jac Weller. Ed. Andrew Uffindell. London: Greenhill, 1999. 191 pp. £19.99.

"A charming collection of essays . . . addresses different aspects of Wellington's military campaigns in a successful attempt to show how and why he was such a masterly campaigner. . . . [The book is] brilliantly edited by Andrew Uffindell, who has added excellent introductory notes to each article."

Charles Vyvyan. *TLS*, Apr. 2, 1999: 30.

Westcott, Glenway. See **Lynes, George Platt.**

Wheeler, Monroe. See **Lynes, George Platt.**

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Whitman, Walt

Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself. Jerome Loving. Berkeley: U of California P, 1999. 582 pp. $29.95.

"One could wish that Loving was more analytic of Whitman as a person, but his strength as a biographer lies in his depiction of the rich and varied fabric of Whitman's America. He makes a convincing case for Whitman as a spokesman for the working-class masses. Emerson might complain peevishly about his catalogues, but who else was there to speak up for the dignity of humble work? Whitman's transcendentalism went beyond Emerson's 'divinity pervading nature' to the 'adhesiveness' or love that can transform democracy from rugged individualism into caring fraternization."

Phyllis Grosskurth. *The Globe and Mail,* May 8, 1999: D17.

"Powerfully argued." "One of the many virtues of Jerome Loving's biography . . . is its frank acknowledgement that as a result of the poet's own suppressions, distortions, and evasions, key questions with regard to his life can never be definitively answered."

Patrick Crotty. *TLS,* Apr. 30, 1999: 27–28.

Williams, Robin

Robin Williams. Andy Dougan. London: Orion, 1998. 264 pp. £17.99.

"Like many unauthorised biographies, the book hints coyly at numerous off-the-record interviews with colleagues and intimates, but bears every sign of a cuttings job."

Sheila Johnston. *Sight and Sound* 9.5 (May 1999): 32.

Wordsworth, William

The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Son. Kenneth R. Johnstone. New York: Norton, 1998. 965 pp. $45.00.

"It would be a great pity . . . if the book's sensational claims to new readings of Wordsworth's secret life were to overshadow its most thoughtful and impressive aspect. This is its account of a young man's self-transformation into a poet."

Hermione Lee. *NYTBR,* May 2, 1999: 14–15.

Zapetti, Nicola

Tokyo Underworld: The Fast Times and Hard Life of an American Gangster in Japan. Robert Whiting. New York: Pantheon, 1999. 372 pp. $27.50.

" . . . not particularly consequential, but a fun book about a wretched character. Robert Whiting, an American writer living in Tokyo and the author of 'You Gotta Have Wa,' tries to add context in order to illuminate Japanese-American relations as a whole, but fundamentally this is a yarn rather than a tome."

Nicholas D. Kristof. *NYTBR,* May 2, 1999: 29.

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Collections, Group Biographies, and Other Works of Interest

Alaskan Women Fishers

The Entangling Net: Alaska's Commercial Fishing Women Tell Their Lives. Leslie Leyland Fields. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1997. 156 pp. $34.95.

"Leslie Leyland Field's collection of interviews with Alaskan women fishers illuminates the fascinating, masculine, and dangerous world of commercial fishing. The twenty oral histories, including Field's own introductory reflections about the fishing life, are arranged in six thematic chapters."

Laurie Mercier. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.2 (May 1999): 360–61.

American Mayors

The American Mayor: The Best and Worst Big-City Leaders. Melvin G. Holli. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999. 210 pp. $18.95.

" . . . that's the attraction of top-10 lists: There is always something to argue about. Big-city government has become a neglected subject in recent years. May Holli stir up interest again with this provocative, enjoyable work."

Kevin Baker. *NYTBR*, May 2, 1999: 23.

American Musicians

American Musicians. Lee Friedlander. New York: Distributed Artists, 1998. 295 pp. $49.95.

"The characteristic detachment of Friedlander's black-and-white documentary photographs is barely evident in these colorful portraits, which memorialize decades of a passionate engagement with vernacular music and the people who make it. . . . Collected here, the portraits make up an often overlooked and deeply satisfying part of his work."

The New Yorker, Apr. 5, 1999: 87.

American Nurses

We Band of Angels: The Untold Story of American Nurses Trapped on Bataan by the Japanese. Elizabeth M. Norman. New York: Random House, 1999. 327 pp. $26.95.

"But what are we to learn from if not the past? Even if it is about female nurses rather than soldiers, 'We Band of Angels' shows that men do not crumble when forced to share dangerous conditions with women. In fact, one Army surgeon later called the nurses 'the greatest morale boost present in that unhappy little area of jungle.'"

Barbara Ehrenreich. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 19.

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American Women of the West

By Grit and Grace: Eleven Women Who Shaped the American West. Ed. Glenda Riley and Richard W. Etulain. Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1997. 226 pp. $22.95.

"The biographical essays treat two major groups of women—the legendary and the lesser noted—both of which the authors argue have been misunderstood. The first set includes [biographies of] the notorious doña Gertrudis Barcelo . . . politically astute Jessie Benton Fremont, enigmatic Lola Montez, hellcat Calamity Jane, and cowgirl Annie Oakley."

Nancy Page Fernandez. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 477–78.

Cattle Ranchers

Let the Cowboy Ride: Cattle Ranching in the American West. Paul Starrs. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1998. 356 pp. $35.95.

"This is a book particularly informed by training and life experience. . . . In this study he explores 'the peculiar conditions that created an abiding tension between ranchers and government in the western reaches of the United States.'"

Peter Iverson. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 488–89.

Chinese Americans

Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities During the Exclusion Era. Ed. K. Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1998. 217 pp. $59.95.

"*Claiming America* breaks new ground in Asian American history and culture in a number of important ways. It fills an information void in the study of identity formation among first and second generation Chinese Americans during the Exclusion period (1882–1943)."

Judy Yung. *Pacific Historical Review* 68.3 (Aug. 1999): 480–81.

Chinese Marxists and Labor Leaders. See **Deng Zhongxia.**

Gay Lives

Gay Lives: Homosexual Autobiography from John Addington Symonds to Paul Monette. Paul Robinson. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999. 328 pp. $30.00.

"Robinson, the author of 'The Modernization of Sex' and 'Opera and Ideas,' is awfully earnest. Where he finds unhappiness, he needs to diagnose it. His most frequent verdict is guilt by internalized homophobia, aggravated in the French case by abstraction, in the English case by fetishism of the working class and in the American case by insistence on a clear conscience. Robinson writes tickets for other offenses, too."

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Caleb Crain. *NYTBR*, Apr. 18, 1999: 22.

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Kabuki Stars

The Stars Who Created Kabuki: Their Lives, Loves, and Legacy. Laurence R. Kominz. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997. 300 pp. $28.00.

"For the first time in English, Laurence R. Kominz offers three fascinating accounts of extraordinary kabuki actors whose artistic contributions around [the] Genroku period (1688–1704) established important theatrical traditions that are still essential features of modern kabuki. . . . Kominz provides the general background for kabuki that began at the turn of the seventeenth century with women's kabuki and boys' kabuki. . . . In these biographical accounts, generously filled with dramatic and colorful details, Kominz describes each actor's theatrical triumphs and failures, professional rivalries, opinions on acting, and other more personal incidents."

Ted T. Takaya. *Journal of Asian Studies* 58.1 (Feb. 1999): 202–03.

Russian Women

Russia through Women's Eyes: Autobiographies from Tsarist Russia. Ed. Toby W. Clyman and Judith Vowles. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996. 393 pp. $35.00.

"This is a wonderful book. It will be an asset to Russian history and literature courses and, additionally, will be informative, even inspirational for the general reader. . . . [T]his anthology is more than 'gender and genre.' It weaves a rich, colorful tapestry of Russian life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."

Mary Schaeffer Conroy. *The Historian* 61 (Winter 1999): 458–60.

Slave Narratives

Remembering Slavery: African Americans Talk About Their Personal Experiences of Slavery and Freedom. Ed. Ira Berlin, Marc Favreau, and Steven Miller. New York: New Press, 1998. 355 pp. $49.95.

"'Remembering Slavery' contains excerpts from interviews with about 100 former slaves who testified to the terrifyingly arbitrary nature of the peculiar institution (the book is accompanied by two audio cassettes). These first hand accounts describe the nearly inconceivable violence to which so many slaves were subject."

Johanna Berkman. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 1999: 16.

Wellesley Women. See also **Clinton, Hillary Rodham.**

Rebels In White Gloves: Coming of Age with Hillary's Class, Wellesley '69. Miriam Horn. New York: Times Books/Random House, 1999. 328 pp. $24.00.

"The women of that age, class and education are the subject of Miriam Horn's engrossing book, 'Rebels in White Gloves.' Horn uses her group portrait to mirror the struggle of a generation to test-drive a new set of gender and cultural road rules."

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Jill Abramson. *NYTBR*, May 23, 1999: 12.

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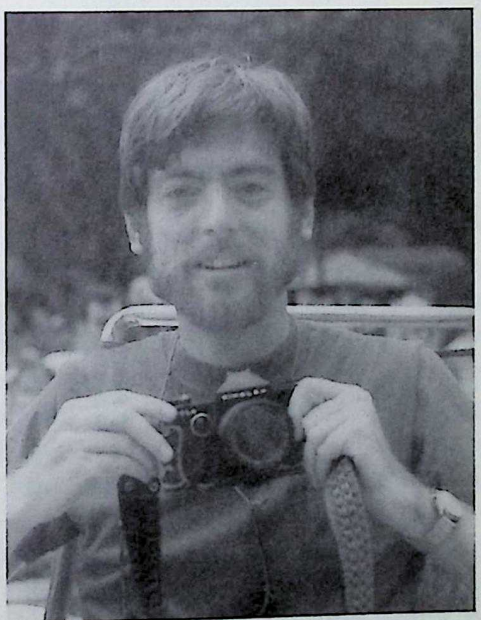
In Memoriam

Alan MacGregor

Alan MacGregor, former Literary Editor of *Biography* and University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Associate Professor of English, died on July 9, 1999, in California. A graduate of Claremont Men's College and the University of California at Berkeley, MacGregor came to UH in 1983 as an Assistant Professor, and was tenured and promoted in 1989. He was an authority on American literature, publishing articles in such journals as *American Literature* and *American Quarterly.*

The recipient of the President's Award for Distinguished Teaching in 1989, MacGregor was an enthusiastic, compassionate, and inspiring teacher and colleague. He served as an advisor to a number of studies of lifewriting, and shared responsibility for assigning and evaluating submissions to this journal in the fields of literature and history.

He is missed.



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Lifelines

Call for Papers. "Virginia Woolf Out of Bounds." 10th Annual Conference on Virginia Woolf. June 8–11, 2000. University of Maryland-Baltimore County. The conference will highlight work on Woolf that crosses regional, temporal, and disciplinary boundaries. Proposals are invited on such topics as Woolf in post-colonial contexts, Woolf and contemporary theory, Woolf and Asia, Woolf and science, Woolf and history, Woolf and the Harlem Renaissance, Woolf from lesbian/queer perspectives, material Woolf, intertextual Woolf, Woolf in translation, and in particular, Woolf and such pedagogical areas as high school curricula, women's studies, ESL, and composition study. Send seven copies of one-page proposals to Jessica Berman, English Department, University of Maryland-Baltimore County, 1000 Hilltop Circle, Baltimore, MD 21250; telephone 410-555-2054; fax 410-455-1030; jberman@umbc.edu. **Deadline:** 15 January 2000.

Call for Papers. "Memory, Autobiography, and DNA." Second Annual Graduate Student Conference. April 14–16, 2000. University of Kansas at Lawrence. Papers or performances are invited that engage in provocative explorations of the concept of memory and any corresponding "texts" that may result. Organizers encourage "material," "biomedical" and "scientific" inquiries into memory, and how these discourses affect cultural transactions with the term; and considerations of how culture, class, race, gender, ethnicities, and sexualities inflect and deflect theorizations of memory and the productions of memory's texts and practices. Send one page abstracts to the Graduate Student Conference, American Studies Program, 2120 Wescoe Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66045, or by email to diaspora@raven.cc.ukans.edu. **Deadline:** 15 January 2000.

Call for Papers. "Auto/Biography in Southern Africa." Submissions are invited for interviews of no more than 6,000 words with auto/biographers, publishers, readers, etc. dealing with political auto/biography and the politics of auto/biography; auto/biography and history; auto/biographical drama; collective and collaborative auto/biography; orature, literature, and new media; publication and dissemination; or reception and the public sphere. Send completed or proposed interviews to Judith Lutge Coullie (assagay@iafrica.com) or Thengani Ngwenya (tngweya@pixie.udw.ac.za), Department of English, University of Durban Westville, Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000 South Africa; or Stephan Meyer, Davidsbodenstrasse 28, 4056 Basel, Switzerland; sdmeyer@bluwin.ch. **Deadline:** 30 January 2000.

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Call for Papers. "Aftermath: The Cultural Legacy of the Life and Death of John F. Kennedy." November 27–28, 2000. Hebrew University, Mount Scopus Campus. A conference sponsored by the Israel Association of American Studies and the American Studies Department of Hebrew University. Conference organizers especially welcome papers that analyze depictions of Kennedy's life, times, and death in music, literature, film, and the plastic arts; papers that examine scholarly research on assassination conspiracy theories and the predominance of an "aura of conspiracy" in popular culture; and analyses of the effect of political assassination on the culture of democratic countries. Send papers, as well as inquiries, to Ephraim Gerber, Department of English, The Hebrew University (Mount Scopus Campus), Jerusalem, Israel 91905; gerbe@actcom.co.il. **Deadline:** 1 February 2000.

Call for Papers. "Cohabiting America: Native Americans and Euroamericans in the Nineteenth Century." *ATQ* Special Issue, to appear in 2001. Aiming to examine the convergences of Native American and Euroamerican cultures, *ATQ* seeks essays that contribute to current Native American scholarship on the issues of cohabiting America, or coinventing or co-opting nineteenth-century Indian subjectivity. Along with examining the prevailing literary and popular texts of the nineteenth century, essays may explore such matters as the role of anthropology in defining native peoples, tribal identities and blood quantum, the emergence of tourism and Indian representation, assimilation and governmental Indian policies, and intermarriage and the concept of miscegenaton. Textual borders may extend to Canada and Mexico and their peoples. Interdisciplinary approaches are encouraged. Send manuscripts (3,000 to 7,500 words in length and following the *MLA Handbook*), accompanied by sufficient return postage, to Alexia Kosmider, *ATQ* Special Issue Editor, Department of English, University of Rhode Island, 60 Upper College Road, Suite 2, Kingston, Rhode Island 02881. **Deadline:** 15 January 2001.

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New Discussion and Information List for Lifewriting

A newly formed organization, the International Auto/ Biography Association, was created in June 1999 at the International Conference on Auto/ Biography in Beijing. This association is sponsoring a new discussion list about autobiography and biography.

In addition to discussions of critical and theoretical issues, the list will contain postings on upcoming conferences, calls for papers, new publications, and other matters which should be of interest to students, scholars, and practitioners of lifewriting around the world.

The organizing committee is composed of Alfred Hornung, Margaretta Jolly, Thomas R. Smith, and Zhao Baisheng. The moderator of the list is Craig Howes, Center for Biographical Research, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

To subscribe to the list, send an email to

listproc@hawaii.edu

Put nothing on the subject line of the message. On the first line of the message, type

subscribe iaba-l firstname lastname

If you have any questions about subscribing, please contact Craig Howes, at biograph@ hawaii.edu.

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Contributors

W. Andrew Achenbaum (Review of Woodward, *Figuring Age*), for most of his career associated with the Institute of Gerontology at the University of Michigan, this summer became Professor of History and Dean of the College of Humanities, Fine Arts, and Communication at the University of Houston. Author of several books in historical gerontology, Achenbaum currently chairs the board of directors of the National Council on Aging.

Gale E. Christianson (Review of Hermanowicz, *The Stars Are Not Enough*) is Professor of the History of Science at Indiana State University. A Guggenheim Fellow, he is the author of several books, including biographies of Isaac Newton, Loren Eisely, Edwin Hubble, and most recently, *Greenhouse: The 200-Year Story of Global Warming* (Walker, 1999).

Mary Jean Corbett (Review of Homans, *Royal Representations*) is Director of Graduate Studies and Associate Professor of English at Miami University. The author of *Representing Femininity* (Oxford UP, 1992), she will publish *History, Politics and the Family in Irish and English Writing* with Cambridge in 2000.

Stephen Fix (Review of Lipking, *Samuel Johnson*) is Robert G. Scott '68 Professor of English at Williams College. He is the author of numerous essays on Samuel Johnson's criticism, and a member of the editorial board of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson.*

Stephen Frosh (Review of Prager, *Presenting the Past*) is Professor of Psychology at Birkbeck College, University of London, and Consultant Clinical Psychologist at the Tavistock Clinic, London. He is author of several books on psychoanalysis and social issues, most recently *The Politics of Psychoanalysis* (2nd edition, Macmillan/ NYUP, 1999), and *For and Against Psychoanalysis* (Routledge, 1997).

Mark Heberle (Review of Grossman, *The Story of All Things*) is Associate Professor of English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and former managing editor of *Biography.* He is the co-editor of *Infant Tongues: The Voice of the Child in Literature* (Wayne State UP, 1995), for which he wrote an article on *King John* and Shakespeare's representations of children.

Judith Johnston ("The Hero as Woman of Letters") teaches in the Department of English at The University of Western Australia. She is the author of *Anna Jameson: Victorian, feminist, woman of letters* (Scolar, 1997), and with Margaret Harris has recently published *The Journals of George Eliot* (Cambridge UP, 1998).

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Shiamin Kwa (Review of Yamamoto, *Masking Selves, Making Subjects*) is a graduate student in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University.

Susan Lepselter (Review of Reed-Danahay, *Auto/Ethnography*) is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Texas at Austin. Her dissertation focuses on personal narratives about the uncanny in Texas and Nevada.

Sean Meehan ("Specimen Daze") is a doctoral candidate in English at the University of Iowa. He is currently writing a dissertation that explores and speculates upon the interactions between photography and nineteenth-century American auto/biography.

Vincent A. O'Keefe (Review of Liss, *Trespassing Through Shadows*) is a lecturer in the Department of English at the University of Michigan. Author of several articles on reader-response theory, he is currently writing a book on the representational strategies of contemporary novels that memorialize historical trauma.

William Todd Schultz ("Annual Bibliography of Lifewriting") is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Pacific University, where he teaches, among other courses, psychobiography. He has also written on Ludwig Wittgenstein, Jack Kerouac, James Agee, and Truman Capote. His most recent article for *Biography* (21.4, Fall 1998) was "Finding Fate's Father: Some Life History Influences on Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*."

Phyllis E. Wachter ("Annual Bibliography of Lifewriting") has taken an early retirement from teaching so that she can pursue studies in divinity school and devote more time to her scholarship.

Stephen R. Yarbrough (Review of Payne, *The Self and the Sacred*), Associate Professor of English at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, has written numerous books and articles on rhetorical theory and history, including *Irving Babbitt* (with Stephen C. Brennen, Twayne, 1987), *Deliberate Criticism: Toward a Postmodern Humanism* (U of Georgia P, 1992), *Delightful Conviction: Jonathan Edwards and the Rhetoric of Conversion* (with John C. Adams, Greenwood, 1993), and *After Rhetoric: The Study of Discourse Beyond Language and Culture* (Southern Illinois UP, 1999). Currently, he is working on a new book tentatively entitled "The Teacher's Faith: The Problematics of Pedagogical Discourse."

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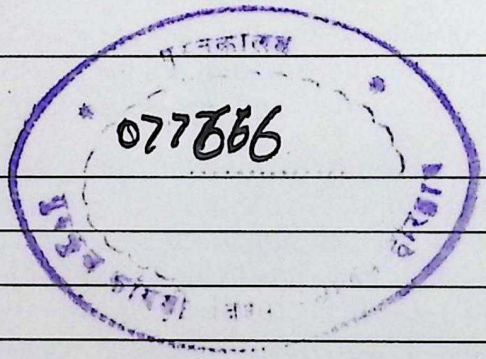

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